

Beginning of Revision of Pearis

Family Manuscript.

Since this material was typed, I learned more —

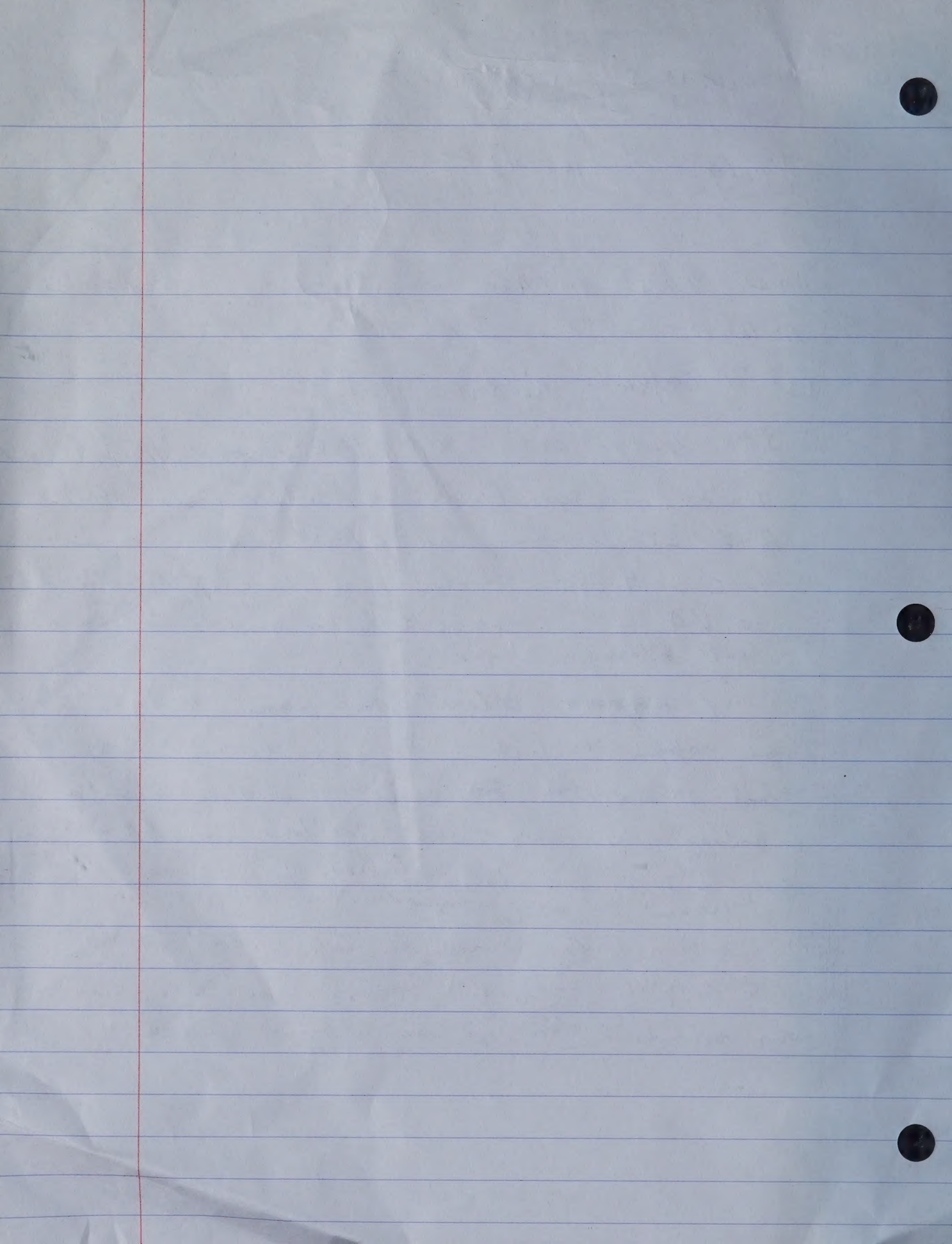
① I confused Richard and Rhode's "Indian

Son George with his Uncle George Jr. (Richard's brother) — (see Prater's son's actual file later).

Both named for George Sr. — father & grandfather, and both training Charles or Denis Morton in SA VA. It appears the brother went to Selby NC but returned later.

② I ~~confused~~ thought the ~~George~~ Robert Pearis confined to jail in SC was Richard's son, named for brother ~~George~~ Robert. On reconsideration I believe he was his brother, and that was only 2 sons, not 3. I think his sister, at least 1, was — also confined there to SC.

③ Col Wm Hutton stated he told about early in the narrative — Richard's father, and Charles' brother seen mentioned. This info was derived later.

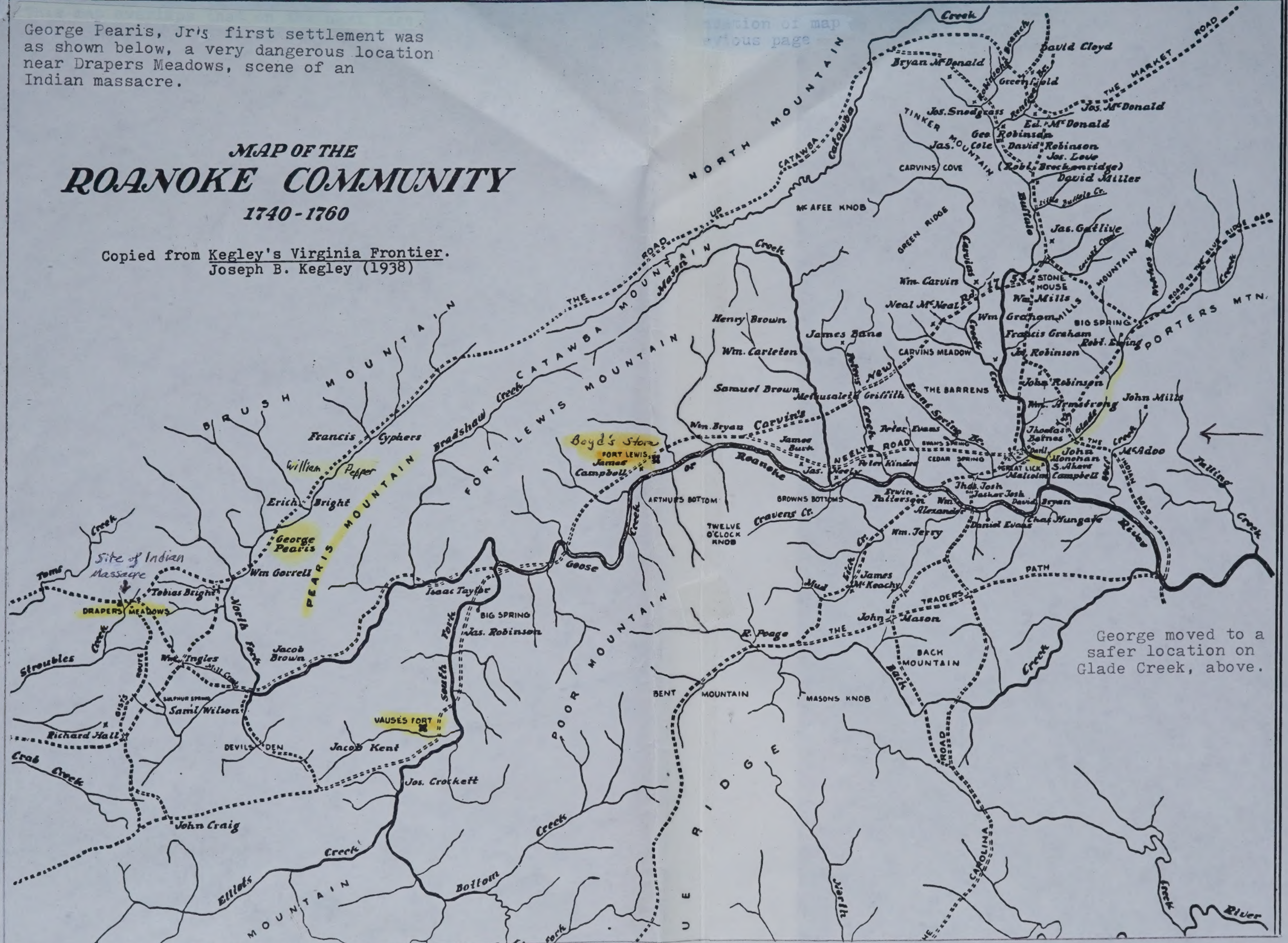


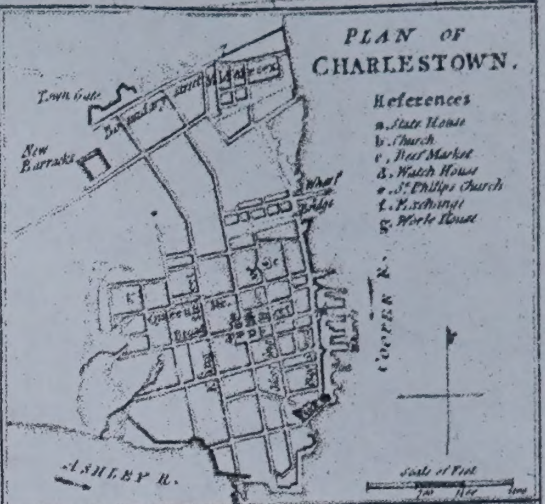
George Pearis, Jr's first settlement was as shown below, a very dangerous location near Drapers Meadows, scene of an Indian massacre.

MAP OF THE ROANOKE COMMUNITY

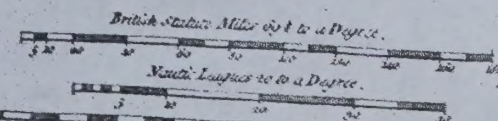
1740-1760

Copied from Kegley's Virginia Frontier.
Joseph B. Kegley (1938)





A GENERAL MAP OF THE
SOUTHERN BRITISH COLONIES
IN AMERICA.
comprehending
NORTH AND SOUTH CAROLINA,
GEORGIA,
EAST AND WEST FLORIDA,
with THE NEIGHBOURING INDIAN COUNTRIES.
From the Modern Surveys of
Engineers de Brahm, Capt. Collet, Mounzon & Others;
and from the Large Hydrographical Survey of the Coasts
of East and West Florida.
By B. ROMANS,
1776.



Longitude 82 West from 83 London 82 81 80 79 78 77 76 75

The colony that Spain ceded to Great Britain in 1763 to recover Havana after the Seven Years' War was smaller and poorer than it had been sixty years before. Only the oldest of the 3,000 *Floridanos*—white, black, and hispanitized Indian—who sailed for Cuba to escape being governed by Protestants could remember the ranches of the interior, the provisioning trade with Havana, or the exports of hides, deerskins, and depopulated the provinces in the early 1700s, had long since returned to take possession of the central ridge and savannahs, reducing the Spanish to the territory bounded by the St. Johns River and the Atlantic. Mosquito Inlet and St. Marys River. The first business of the incoming British was to make peace with the Florida Creeks, who were coming to be known as Seminoles, and to extend the proclamation line meant to keep Indians and other settlers apart.

During the brief British period (1763–1784), East Florida did not

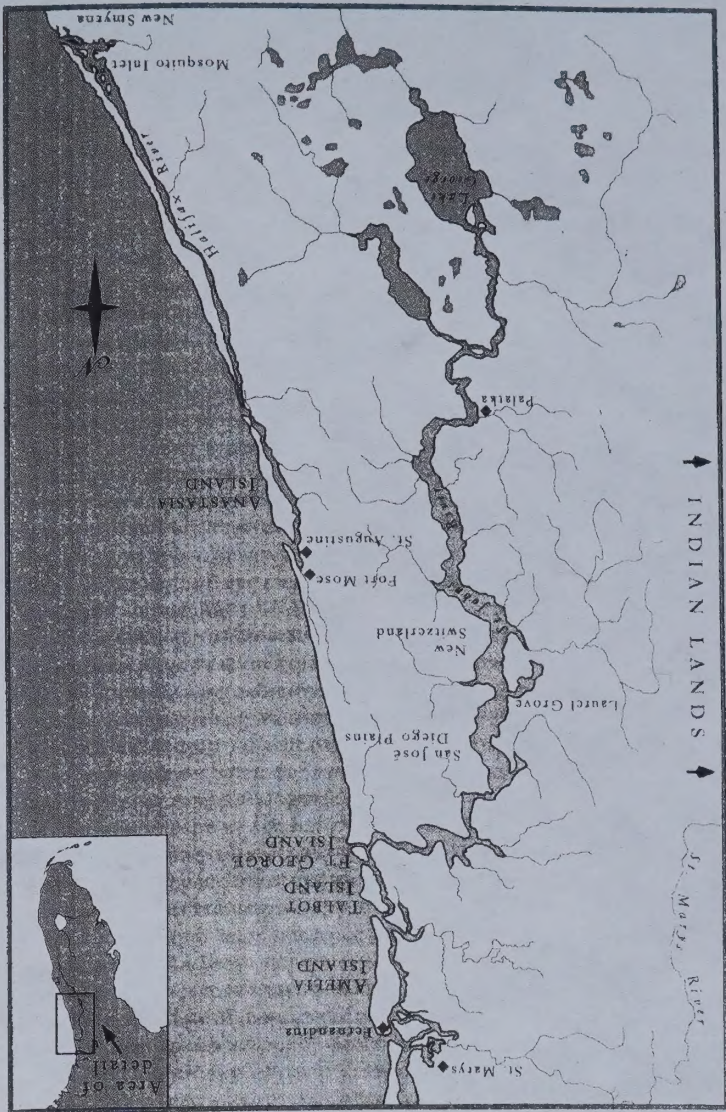
develop the system of small, family-owned farms and all-white labor that British officialdom advised for ceded colonies and achieved in the case of Nova Scotia. Its large and small plantations produced subtropical crops with enslaved labor, making it more like Georgia, South Carolina, and the West Indies. British historians often dismiss East Florida as a failed experiment. Admittedly, some planters with 20,000-acre townships grants found the poor soils and climate, lack of infrastructure, and scarcity of labor beyond their powers to remedy, but it was war, with its labor drafts, interrupted credit and trade, and disrupted planting cycles, that brought many of the rest to ruin.⁸ Hoffman himself sees little progress toward settlement or self-sufficiency under the British. Although the colony's initial trade deficit, showing an import-export ratio of 19:1, had by the mid-1770s improved to 2:1 as a result of indigo production, East Florida, like West Florida and Georgia, required a parliamentary subsidy to cover the expenses of government, defense, and Indian alliance.

The second Spanish period (1784–1821) has been on the cutting edge of colonial Florida history for the past twenty years, thanks to the calendaring of the East Florida Papers, which provide a level of detail rare for any frontier in the almost daily reports of military officers. Many of the priests and officers sent to Florida were Irish and bilingual for the Spanish backcountry increasingly spoke English.⁹ The mounting

⁸ Bernard Bailyn, *Voyagers to the West: A Passage in the Peopling of America on the Eve of the Revolution* (New York, 1986), 430–74; David Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735–1785* (Cambridge, 1995), 159; Joyce E. Chaplin, *An Anxious Pursuit: Agricultural Innovation and Modernity in the Lower South, 1730–1815* (Chapel Hill, 1993).

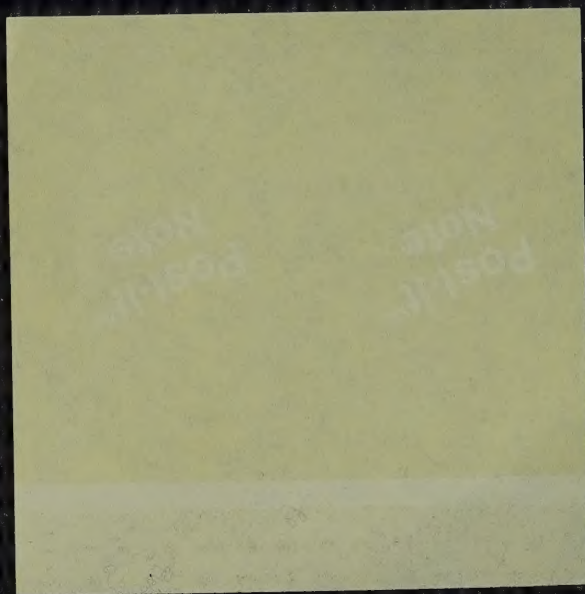
⁹ On the pre-1790 settlers see Susan R. Parker, "Men without God or King: Rural Settlers of East Florida, 1784–1790," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 69 (1990), 135–55.

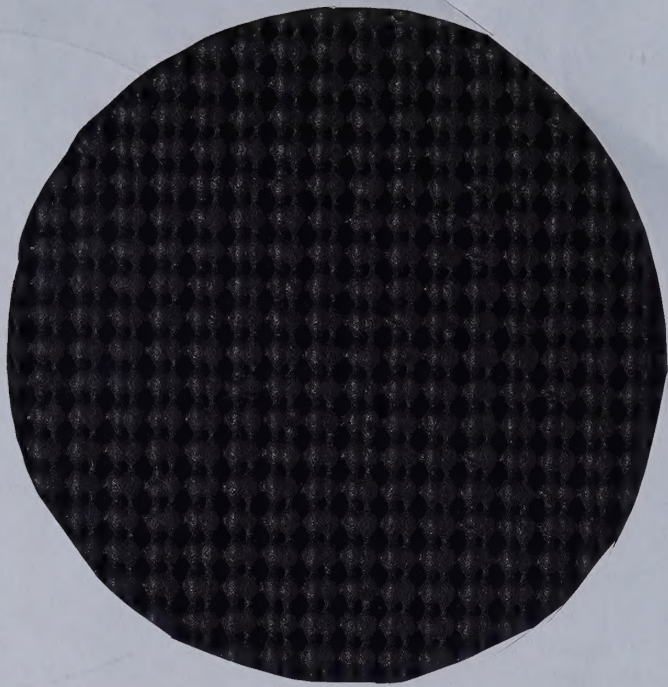
East Florida, 1763–1821, from Jane G. Landers, *Colonial Plantations and Economy in Florida*, p. 2. Jim Landers map, reprinted by permission.



4
1/2 BR 10-12

Enlarge Port near
Atlantic Ocean







Ye Overhill Townes

Cherokee Nation

Valley Townes

Ye Lower Townes

Ye Upper Creeks

Lower Creeks

Lower

Ye Province of Wallis

Saludy Towne

Saludy River

Cherokee Ye Congaree
Euchee

Ye Westoe Towne
alias ye Hickarungall
(Man-eater)

Corsaboys

Occaneechee Towne

Eno

Saponoe

Pedee

Essaugh Nations

Cuttaboe

Sara

Waxhaw

Path

Waterree

Oceaneechee

River

Santee

Kiawah

or Charles Towne

Ye Pedees

Path

Sara

Wanyaw

Sewee

Ye Province
of
Carolina
in the year 1670

for this purpose—it was exceedingly rich in nutritive qualities. “When slender it never grows higher than from four to seven feet; it shoots up in one summer, but produces no seeds until the following year. It is an evergreen, and is perhaps the most nourishing food for cattle upon earth. No other milk or butter has such flavor and richness as that which is produced from cows which feed upon cane. Horses that feed upon it work nearly as well as if they were fed upon corn, provided care be taken to give them, once in three or four days, a handful of salt.*

During the Revolution, this with the other grasses of the soil, was the chief food of the cavalry of both Whig and Tory in the campaigns of the upper-country.

In the deed of conveyance by which certain territory was ceded to the Province of Carolina, preparatory to the building of old Fort Prince George, the grass pastures lying between the Keowee and the Long-Canes, are, among other lands, particularly mentioned.†

* Narrative of Capt. Imlay in his descriptions of Kentucky previous to 1793.

† State Records.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Indian Trader—Old Anthony Park—Daugherty the first trader among the Cherokees—Peltries and Packhorses—First legislative Act in relation to the trade—The character of the traders—The Governor of Carolina interested in the traffic—Alexander Cameron—The first Board of Commissioners, &c.

✓ The Indian trader of the Cherokee Nation was a far more interesting character than either the hunter or cow-driver. Devoted as he was to the arts and wrangle of gain, he nevertheless possessed not only a fearless intrepidity, but a high order of intelligence; and in more than one instance education and extraordinary learning. “He advanced without ceremony into the heart of Indian settlements;” and for the sake of pushing his lucrative business, was content to live, in many instances, a long life-time, deprived of the comforts and amenities of civilized society.

Speculative men have drawn comparisons between savage and civilized life, highly colored in favor of the former. Their theories have been acted upon ever since the discovery of America by individuals, who, turning their backs upon the society in which they were reared, have voluntarily chosen a residence among the Indians. Of this description there were several, who, at an early day, had settled among the Indians, at a great distance from the

TO THE
PEOPLE OF UPPER CAROLINA,
AND THE
CITIZENS OF CHARLESTON,

INTIMATELY ASSOCIATED, AND CLOSELY UNITED BY TIES OF TRADE, AND OF
COMMON STRUGGLES, AND SUFFERINGS, FROM THE EARLIEST PERIODS
OF THEIR COTEMPORANEOUS HISTORY; AND NOW CONSTITU-
TING, AFTER THE LAPSE OF MORE THAN ONE HUNDRED
YEARS, THE NORTH AND SOUTH POLES
OF OUR POLITICAL MAGNET,
THIS WORK IS MOST RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

BY
THE AUTHOR.

WALKER, EVANS & CO., PRINTERS, CHARLESTON.

A
HISTORY
OF THE
UPPER COUNTRY
OF
SOUTH CAROLINA,
FROM THE
EARLIEST PERIODS
TO THE
CLOSE OF THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

BY
JOHN H. LOGAN, A. M.

GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY
OF THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST
OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS
VOL. I.

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1859.

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73

OVID, DAVID, mustered in Delancey's Brigade from 25 April 1781 to 24 June 1781. He was in the siege of Fort Ninety Six. PAC/RG-81/"C"/1876.

OXNER, MARTIN, mustered from 24 February 1781 in a vacant company (formerly under Capt. Alexander Campbell) of the South Carolina Royalists and was detached to serve with Delancey's Brigade. He was in the siege of Fort Ninety Six. PAC/RG81/"C"/1902.

O'BRYAN, DANIEL, (O'Brien, O'Bryen), mustered in Delancey's Brigade from 20 November 1779 to 1 May 1783. He was in the siege of Fort Ninety Six. PAC/RG81/"C"/1876; PAC/RG81/"C"/1877.

O'NEAL, ARTHUR, served from 14 June 1780 under Capt. William Hendricks and Maj. Patrick Cunningham of the Little River Militia. He was in the battle of Kings Mountain. O'Neal evacuated Fort Ninety Six in July 1781. On 23 August 1781, he was at Dorchester with Cunningham. From 1 July to 6 December 1781, he served under Lt. Col. William Young and Col. Thomas Pearson in the Little River Militia. PA#_/T50/1; PA#14/T50/2; PA#34/T50/6; PA#42/T50/2.

PACK, WILLIAM, mustered in the New Jersey Volunteers from 24 February to 24 June 1781. He was in the siege of Fort Ninety Six. PAC/RG81/"C"/1856.

PARADIE, WILLIAM, (Paradee), mustered as sergeant in the First Battalion of Delancey's Brigade under Lt. Col. John H. Cruger from 20 November 1779 to 23 February 1783. He was in the siege of Fort Ninety Six. PAC/RG-81/"C"/1876; PAC/RG81/"C"/1877.

PARKER, THOMAS, served from 14 June 1780 under Col. John Cotton in the Stevens Creek Militia. He evacuated Fort Ninety Six in July 1781. PA#4/T50/2.

PARKER, WILLIAM, served as captain from 14 June 1780 in the Little River Militia. He evacuated Fort Ninety Six in July 1781. From

3 November 1781 to 31 December 1782, he was an active officer in militia units. PA#_/T50/2; PA#_/T50/2; PA#3/T50/1; PA#43/T50/6; PA#161/T50/3; Letter Order#_/T50/2; {Grey, Col. Robert, Statement#_/T50/2}; GAP, 1783, 00081.

PARKS, JOSEPH, (Parkes) mustered as corporal in the New Jersey Volunteers from 29 November 1779 to 24 June 1782. He was in the siege of Fort Ninety Six. PAC/MG23/D1/26; PAC/RG81/"C"/1856.

PARKS, NATHANIEL, (Parkes) mustered as sergeant in the New Jersey Volunteers from 24 February 1781 to 24 June 1782. PAC/RG81/"C"/1855; PAC/RG81/"C"/1856.

PARTON, CHARLES, served from 14 June 1780 under Capt. John Hellen in the Stevens Creek Militia. He evacuated Fort Ninety Six with Lt. Col. John H. Cruger. PA#5/T50/2.

PATTERSON, JOHN, mustered in the New Jersey Volunteers from August 1779 to 24 June 1781. He was in the siege of Fort Ninety Six. PAC/MG23/D1/26; PAC/RG81/"C"/1856.

PATTERSON, SAMUEL, served from 14 June 1780 in the Long Cane Militia. He evacuated Fort Ninety Six with Capt. Jesse Campbell. PA#_/T50/2.

PAULET, URIAH, (Paulk) served from 14 June 1780 under Capt. Shadrack Lantrey in the Fair Forest Militia. He was in the battle of Kings Mountain. Paulet evacuated Fort Ninety Six in July 1781. PA#2/T50/2; PA#59/T50/2.

PAYNE, WILLIAM, served as captain from 14 June 1780 in the Little River Militia. He was in the battle of Kings Mountain. Payne evacuated Fort Ninety Six in July 1781. Payne was a refugee in Charleston during 1782. PA#3/T50/1; PA#29/T50/2; Certification#_/T50/2; Refugees/T50/3/11:47; Refugees/T50/3/11:408; Lambert, 265.

PEAL, JESSE, enlisted 1 February 1781 and

mustered in the New Jersey Volunteers from 24 February to 25 October 1781. He was in the siege of Fort Ninety Six. PAC/RG81/"C"/1856.

PEAR, THOMAS, mustered in the New Jersey Volunteers 24 February and 24 April 1781. He was in the siege of Fort Ninety Six. PAC/RG-81/"C"/1856.

✓ PEARIS, RICHARD, was a native of Ireland who came to America at the age of ten. In 1755 he was honored with a company of provincial troops in Virginia and was appointed by Gov. Dinwiddie to take charge of all the Southern Nations of Indians until Mr. Atkins was appointed to superintendent at which time he was removed to the Pennsylvania and Maryland service to collect the Indians. He served under Gens. Forbes, Stanwix Monckton, and Bocquet during the French and Indian War and was the first British subject to enter St. Pitt at its reduction for which he had the public thanks of Gen. Forbes. By 1775, he was residing in the Enoree River on Ninety Six District, South Carolina. He was a Scopholite adjutant and was in the encounters at Ninety Six and Great Cane Brake. Pearis was captured in December 1775 by Col. R. Richardson and sent to Charleston 2 January 1776, where he lay nine months in irons. When he took an oath of neutrality, he was released. He found that his house and other buildings had been burned and his wife and younger children had been forced to walk hundreds of miles and left to wander and rely upon the local inhabitants for food. He lived for a time in Ninety Six District but was so harassed that he fled to Gov. Rutledge, who for a short time protected him. On 11 April 1776 the General Assembly excluded him from the declaration of pardon or amnesty. Since his life was still in danger, he roamed the back-country, as a lieutenant colonel and enlisted four hundred loyalists to go to West Florida with him. However, the rebels broke up the unit. The prisoners, including Pearis, were taken to the jail in Ninety Six. On 5 August 1777, Pearis escaped and fled to the Indian Nation. Then, with six men, he reached Pensacola, Florida. While there he was appointed, in

1777, captain of the West Florida loyalists by Stuart, Commissioner of the Indians, and sent to the Florida frontier. After returning to Pensacola, he was ordered with one sergeant to conduct Mr. David Holmes and the Creek Indians to the assistance of St. Augustine to stop the rebels. Next, he was ordered by Gen. Provost to join Col. Provost and Col. Brown and the S. C. Rangers to invade Georgia. Then, he was to join Gen. Pattison in a march against Charleston. On his arrival there, he was ordered by Gen. Clinton to go to the frontier and there raise the friends of government. This he did by recruiting five to six thousand men. He claims to have disarmed all the rebels from the Savannah River to the Broad River near the North Carolina line (about one hundred miles in breadth). Pearis also claimed he destroyed three forts, imprisoned forty of their leaders, and took three thousand stands of arms, twenty-two swivels, twenty-seven blunder-busses, and a quantity of ammunition. This service was no sooner completed than Col. Innes and, afterwards Col. Balfour, arrived to take upon them the command. He served as a lieutenant colonel during the siege of Ninety Six. Pearis later settled on Abacca Island in the Bahamas. He had one son, an ensign, in British service. The other, Cherokee George was in the Cherokee Nation. He was the son by an Indian squaw who was naturalized. The Indians sold Pearis one hundred fifty thousand acres of land on the condition that 100,000 acres of it be turned over to his Indian son. He lost 10,000 acres on Reedy River known as "Great Plains," 5,200 acres on Enoree River, 5,000 acres on Saluda River, and 1,200 acres known as "Swan Pond" in granted land on Abaco Island in the Bahama Islands. L. T., XXVI, 362-385; AO12/49/300; AO12/68/60; AO12/109/250; AO13/93; AO-13/138; Ontario, I, 190; JSCGA, 1776-1780, 46-47, 51, 54; *HL Papers*, X, 567n, 614; XI, 52, 52n, 72, 230n-231n, 462, 462n, 536; *N. C. Records*, XXII, 181, 184-185, Sabine, II, 564; Gibbes, I, 249; Bethell, 50; Peters, 60; Andrea; Lambert, 33, 44, 56n, 69, 73, 81, 106-107, 268.

PEARSON, JOHN, served from 14 June 1780 under Capt. Vachel Clary in the Dutch Fork

under Col. K. Murray and was at the defeat of the rebels under Col. Few at Long Cane in December 1780. He died soon thereafter, at Fort Ninety Six from a wound. His estate was confiscated. {Murray, Susanah, L. T., LIV, 593-597}; {Murray, Susanah, AO12/48/423}; AO12/101/349; AO12/109/210, (539)}; AO-13/131; AO13/133; Lambert, 232; PA#_-T50/2; Sabine, II, 560.

MURROW, JAMES, served from 14 June 1780 in the Long Cane Militia. He evacuated Fort Ninety Six in July 1781 with Capt. Jesse Campbell. PA#_/T50/2; PA#_/T50/2.

MYARS, GEORGE, mustered from 24 February 1781 in a vacant company (formerly under Capt. Alexander Campbell) of the South Carolina Royalists and was detached to serve with Delancey's Brigade. He was in the siege of Fort Ninety Six. PAC/RG81/"C"/1902.

MYERS, ABRAHAM, mustered in the Third Battalion of the New Jersey Volunteers from August 1779 to 24 June 1782. He was in the siege of Fort Ninety Six. PAC/MG23/D1/26; PAC/RG81/"C"/1855; PAC/RG81/"C"/1856.

NAILE, EDWARD, (Neal, Neale, Neile), mustered as corporal and sergeant in Delancey's Brigade from 20 November 1779 to 24 February 1783. He was in the siege of Fort Ninety Six. PAC/RG81/"C"/1876; PAC/RG-81/"C"/1877.

NAILOR, JOSHUA, (Nailer), mustered as a corporal in Delancey's Brigade from 2 February 1781 until taken prisoner prior to 25 December 1782. He was in the siege of Fort Ninety Six. PAC/RG81/"C"/1876; PAC/RG-81/"C"/1877.

NASH, EDWARD, served from 14 June 1780 under Capt. James Gibbs in the Spartan Militia. He was in the battle of Kings Mountain. Nash evacuated Fort Ninety Six in July 1781 with Capt. William Young. From 7 December 1781 to 31 December 1782, he served in the Little River Militia. PA#_/T50/1; PA#6/T50/2 (Second Time); PA#100/T50/6; PA#134/-

T50/2; PA#155/T50/2; PA#167/T50/2; PA#-167/T50/3.

NEAL, ANDREW, served as lieutenant from 14 June 1780 in the Long Cane Militia. He evacuated Fort Ninety Six in July 1781 with Capt. Jesse Campbell. PA#_/T50/2.

NEAL, BENJAMIN, (Neale) served from 14 June 1780 under Capt. William Hendricks in the Little River Militia. He was in the battle of Kings Mountain. Neal evacuated Fort Ninety Six in July 1781. On 23 August 1781, he was in Dorchester with Patrick Cunningham. PA#_-/T50/2; PA#14/T50/2.

NEAL, THOMAS, served from 14 June 1780 in the Long Cane Militia. He evacuated Fort Ninety Six in July 1781 with Capt. Jesse Campbell. PA#_/T50/2.

✓ NEALEY, CHRISTOPHER, (Nealy, Neelley, Nielley) was a native of America, and was residing in Ninety Six District when the war began. He took up arms under "Burnt Foot" Brown and Cunningham and was in the encounter at Ninety Six in 1775. Shortly thereafter, he was captured and sent to Charleston. While in prison, about 20 January 1776, he signed a petition to the Council of Safety. He escaped into the Cherokee Indian Territory and when he returned to Ninety Six later in 1776 he was shot through the body twice and left for dead by the patriots. He managed to reach his home, where he lay nine months before recovering. In 1779, when the British reached Augusta, Nealey raised a body of militia men. His unit was part of the force of six hundred men who were intercepted at Kettle Creek while attempting to reach Col. Campbell. However, Nealey had gone to bring up a party of one hundred fifty men and therefore was not in the encounter. His party was attacked, but he managed to escape. However, Nealey delivered himself to the patriots under terms. He and his twenty-nine men were tried and sentenced to die within twelve days. The charges were dismissed by Gov. Rutledge when Nealey gave a security bond of ten thousand pounds. Part of the agreement was that he would stay away

THE LOYALISTS AT THE BATTLE OF FORT NINETY SIX

from Ninety Six District. However, in 1780 he returned to his home and remained hidden until the siege of Charleston began. He then joined the militia being raised on orders from Clinton. Nealey raised a company and served under Cols. Innes and Balfour. He served as captain in the Little River Militia under Ferguson and was in the battle of Kings Mountain. Nealey was a temporary major under Cols. Thomas Pearson and Robert Cunningham until commissioned by Col. Balfour late in 1781. He was also in the siege of Fort Ninety Six and retreated in July 1781. When Charleston was evacuated, he, his wife and their three children went to St. Augustine, Florida, and from there to the Bahama Islands. He lost 450(550) acres on the Saluda River and 650 acres at other sites. Ontario, I, 169, 193; II, 727-729; L.T., XXVI, 386-401; L.T., XXXII, 343-344; L.T., XXXIII, 304; AO12/49/320; AO12/68/59; AO12/109/236(1678); AO13/138; AO68/32-/343; PA#_/T50/2; PA#3/T50/1; {Grey, Samuel, Peition/T50/2}; Refugee/T50/3/11-32; Refugee/T50/3/11:40; Refugee/T50/11:48; Refugee/T50/3/11:249; Refugee/T50/3/11:386; Refugee/T50/3/11:413; Refugee/3/11:495; CO5/560/408b; CGFE:Plats; *Statutes*, VI, 632; *HL Papers*, XI, 52; Sabine, II, 561; Siebert, *East Florida*, II, 177n; {Murphy, Robert, EFC#39}; Lambert, 84, 85, 268, 283n20.

NEEL, ALEXANDER, served from 14 June 1780 in the Long Cane Militia. He evacuated Fort Ninety Six in July 1781 with Capt. Jesse Campbell. PA#62/T50/3.

? NEELY, JAMES, served from (13)14 June 1780 in the Jackson Creek Militia. He also served thirty-two days between 1 June and 31 July 1781 in the same unit under Capt. Hugh Smith and was with Lord Rawdon on the expedition to relieve Fort Ninety Six. Neely served from 1 August 1781 to 5 May 1782 in the Second Camden Militia. PA#_/T50/1; PA#17/-T50/2; PA#73/T50/6.

NEIGHBORS, ABRAHAM, served under Col. Benjamin Roebuck before deserting to the British. From 14 June 1780, he served under Capt. William Young in the Spartan Militia. He was

in the battle of Kings Mountain. Neighb evacuated Fort Ninety Six in July 1781. He d in British service. PA#_/T50/1; PA#6/T5 2(Second Time); Andrea; Returns.

NEIGHBORS, BAZDALE(Bazdel), sen from 14 June 1780 under Capt. William Yo in the Spartan Militia. He was in the battle Kings Mountain. Neighbors evacuated F Ninety Six in July 1781. PA#_/T50/1; PA/ /T50/2(Second Time).

NEIGHBORS, JOHN, served under Col. Benjamin Roebuck in the Spartan Regiment bef joining the British. From 14 June 1780, he s ved under Capt. William Young in the Spart Militia. He was in the battle of Kings Mou ain. Neighbors evacuated Fort Ninety Six July 1781 with Capt. William Young. He di before 5 May 1783. PA#_/T50/1; PA# /T50/2 (Second Time); Returns; Andrea

NEIL, ALEXANDER, served from 14 Ju 1780 in the Long Cane Militia. He evacuat Fort Ninety Six in July 1781 with Capt. Jes Campbell. PA#_/T50/2.

NEIL, GEORGE, was in the siege of F Ninety Six. He settled in Halifax District, No Scotia. *Old U. E. List*, 230.

NEIL, THOMAS, mustered 25 April 17 under Capt. Isaac Stewart and Maj. Jam Dunlap in the Light Dragoons and was on t expedition to relieve Fort Ninety Six. He mu ered at Orangeburg 19 July 1781 and was di charged. PAC/RG1/"C"/1899.

NELSON, WILLIAM, served from 1 June 31 July under Capt. David Saunders in tl Jackson Creek Militia and was with Lord Rav don on the expedition to evacuate Fort Nine Six. He was paid 19 November 1781 for tv months service as adjutant in the First Camde Militia. From 13 November 1781 to 27 Marc 1782, he was in the same unit. Nelson al served from 6 May to 5 October 1782 as quar er-master in the Second Camden Militia. PA/ _/T50/1; PA#24/T50/2; PA#_/T50/3; PA/ _/T50/6.

THE LOYALISTS IN THE SIEGE OF FORT NINETY SIX

by

Bobby Gilmer Moss

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GENEALOGICAL DEPARTMENT
CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST
OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS

NORTH
CAROLINA

Robert D. Bass

CAMDEN

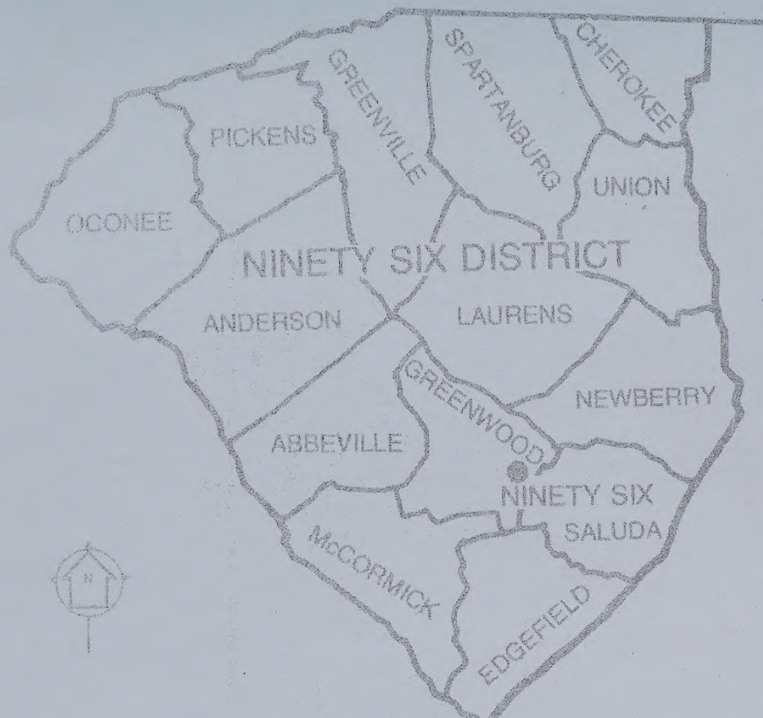
Ninety Six

The Struggle
for the
South Carolina
Back Country

CHARLESTON

ATLANTIC
OCEAN

GEORGIA



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by Robert D. Bass

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Campaigns of General Thomas Sumter*

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Campaigns of General Francis Marion*

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Then as an envoy of his Majesty, Sir Alexander confirmed Headman Moytoy of Tellico as Emperor of the Cherokees. Moytoy and the other headmen acknowledged their subjection to King George by laying before Sir Alexander the scalps of their enemies, the eagle feathers of their martial glory and the wig of opossum hair that served as the crown of the Cherokee Nation.

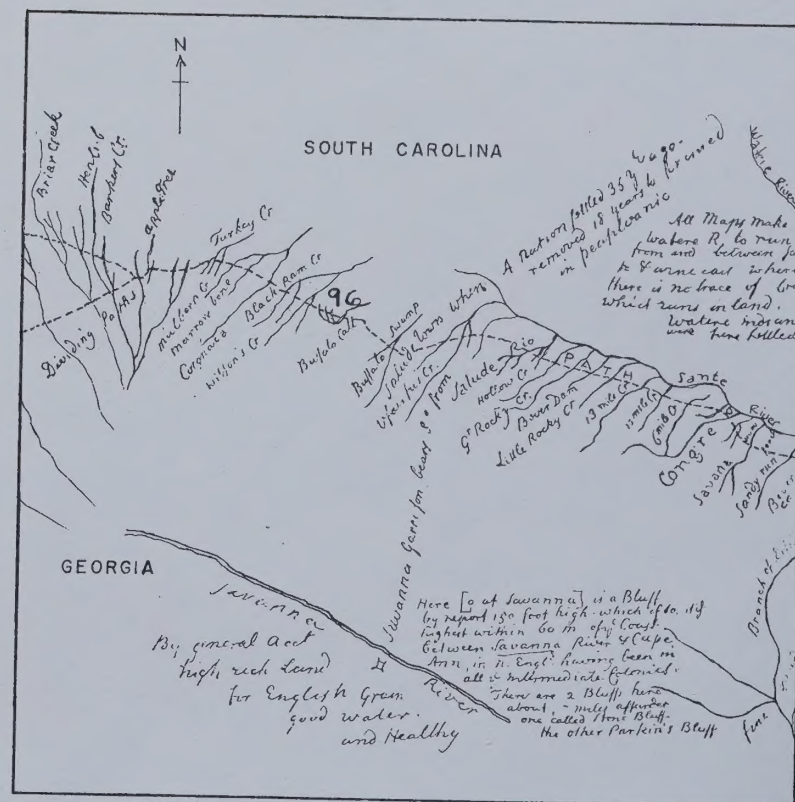
After the submission of the Cherokees, Sir Alexander took wizen Indian leader Attakullakulla of Tomotley in the Over Hills, their young Ketagusta and five of his warriors to London. The English people were curious and hospitable, and the British government showered honors upon the red men. Ministers took them to the Court of St. James and presented them to King George. They invited them to the installation of two knights of the garter, held a review of the Guards for them and showed them the Crown Jewels in the Tower of London.

English hospitality and display of power deeply impressed the Indians. "Your white people may very safely build houses near us," said Attakullakulla in farewell. "We shall hurt nothing that belongs to them."

By the time Carolina became a Crown Colony in 1729 Charlestown, with three thousand inhabitants, had become a flourishing seaport. Besides a hundred ships in coastwise trade, Carolinians annually loaded sixty merchantmen for Britain, a trade that brought in £160,000. Along with agricultural produce, naval stores and lumber, their merchants yearly exported seventy-five thousand deerskins.

To collect these skins the merchants employed more than three hundred traders, a group of callous adventurers. While profitable, their trade with the Creeks and Cherokees was highly dangerous. Harshness, lapse in diplomacy or moral dereliction could bring a packhorseman death in its cruelest forms. A favorite torture of the Indians was to thrust light-wood splinters into the victim's body and set these afire, roasting him alive.

In spite of danger and hazardous investment, the Indian trade was so important that in 1730 Acting Governor Arthur



George Hunter's Map of
the Cherokee Nation — 1730



Greenville County Museum of Art

William "Bloody Bill" Cuninghame

rallied around the officers in the old Loyalist establishment. Richard King was elected the colonel of the Long Canes Regiment while militiamen from the Dutch Fork selected Colonel Daniel Clary. Those from Stevenson's Creek elected John Cotton their colonel and those from Little River chose Thomas Pearsons, with William Young the lieutenant colonel.

The Loyalists from the settlements along Fair Forest Creek formed two battalions, each commanded by a major. Those around the headwaters of Fair Forest selected Zachariah Gibbs as their major, and those on the lower reaches of the stream elected Daniel Plummer, an active Loyalist who lived in the Plummer settlement between Fair Forest and the Tyger River.

Those in the battalion from the upper Saluda, a semiautonomous troop of horsemen, elected Major William Cuninghame. A desperate Loyalist, Bill Cuninghame was resourceful, brave and vengeful. His election was ominous.

In his oral instructions Sir Henry Clinton had warned Major Ferguson against officers like Bill Cuninghame. "You will pay particular attention to restrain the militia from offering violence to innocent and unoffensive people," Sir Henry had then written, "and by all means in your power protect the aged, the infirm, the women and children of every denomination from insult and outrage."

In his instructions Sir Henry had also written, "You will furnish each man with ammunition and osnaburg for a rifle shirt, and when practicable, supply those with arms who have none." After completing his organization, Ferguson led his militiamen to the small depot in Ninety Six and distributed among them all available arms and ammunition.

Major Ferguson finally dismissed the Loyalists, telling them to return home and begin intensive drill. As inspector of militia he would visit among them, and as soon as they had finished basic training he would call them to active duty. While on such duty they would receive the same pay and allowances as regular British troops. As added inducement he quoted Sir Henry Clinton's instructions that "Those who are averse to serve on foot may be allowed to serve on horseback at their own expense."



raids may have occurred. But these old enemies, forced for a time into a protective alliance, could not remain at peace for long. In November, 1724, we find that "the Cattabas and Charokees are gangeling, for in the summer one of their people [Cherokee] killed a Charraw Man and the Cattawbaws came here and demanded Satisfaction & about twenty days ago, the Cattawbas and Charraws took a Woman of the Charokees Prisoner, but she made her escape from them and got home again, upon which they threaten Revenge upon one another."²⁶

In 1727 a party of Oneida killed a number of women and children in a Catawba village while their men were away. Fleeing toward their homes with several prisoners, they were overtaken in Virginia by the pursuing Catawba. A severe battle took place which lasted for two days and resulted in victory for the Southern tribe, who killed and wounded fifty-seven of the enemy and took a number of prisoners. The Virginia authorities attempted to recover the Iroquois captives to prevent the Six Nations from exterminating the Catawba, but neither side would agree to arbitration.²⁷ This episode no doubt contributed to the ill feeling between the Catawba and the North Carolina Tuscarora, who were in close alliance with their brothers of the Six Nations.

In 1732 Governor Robert Johnson noted that the Catawba had been at war with the Tuscarora "for a long time."²⁸ Feeling had not been good, in fact, since the Tuscarora War. The North Carolina tribe had for years been making small but frequent raids, often accompanied by their friends, the Seneca. In the spring of 1731 a party of strange Indians invaded the low country near Georgetown, stealing slaves and cattle from Messrs. Mishoe,

✓ 26. *Ibid.*, XI, 277-278, William Hatton to the Governor. Hatton was evidently an advocate of the wise and humane policy of promoting peace among friendly Indian nations. Governor Robert Johnson openly espoused the destructive policy in the following words: "It is always the maxim of our Govern^t upon the Continent to promote war between Indians of different Nations with whom we trade and are at Peace with ourselves, for in that consists our safety."—S. C. Records, B. P. R. O., XVI, 3. It is to the glory of Governor James Glen that he bent all his energies toward alliance and mutual good feeling among the friendly tribes.

27. J. M. Lesesne, "The Catawba Indians" (Thesis MS), p. 63; Peter Wraxall, *An Abridgement of Indian Affairs*, pp. 177-179; *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, VIII, 11-14.

28. S. C. Records, B. P. R. O., XVI, 3.

Pawley, and other planters. William Waties, the old Winyah factor, followed their tracks up the path straight into the Tuscarora settlements. He at once called a parley of the chiefs, at which the Governor of North Carolina was present. The Tuscarora bitterly denied their guilt, imputing all the mischief to the Seneca. It was true, they admitted, that several years ago they had promised not to come into the white settlements of South Carolina, but the Catawba had entered their country the previous fall and had slain one of their chiefs at the head of New River, besides wounding another man. Soon afterwards a party of Seneca had come through their towns on their way to fight the Catawba. Joining these warriors they had traveled until they found the tracks of their enemies, which had led into the white settlements. Coming down the banks of the Waccamaw, "They found a small Fort with some Indians between Santee and Winyaw Rivers at a White Man's Plantation and in the night they went up to the Fort and fired in, but could not tell if they killed anyone or not, and so returned directly." Waties replied that "it was true what they said about the Fort, but that they had been at a Plantation at Black River also, and there, in a very rude way, took some shirts that were in wash and put them on and also carried away some cloth and that they had killed Cattle in 2 or 3 places now as well as formerly, that they could have no pretence of War with our Neighbour Indians but because they came against them in the North Carolina War. . . ."²⁹

The above affair was, of course, but a single episode in the perpetual war between the Catawba and the Tuscarora. As in the case of similar raids by the Shawnee and other enemy tribes, the white people frequently suffered as well as their Catawba friends.

About 1738 the great epidemic of smallpox reached the Catawba villages, decimating their people as it did the Cherokee. From the remarks of Lawson it is to be inferred that they had already suffered at least one attack of this disease, probably before the beginning of the eighteenth century.³⁰ But if they had previously endured its ravages, they had learned no worthwhile lesson from the experience—their treatment remained the same.³¹ Adair estimated

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 11-22.

30. Pp. 10-11.

31. Schoolcraft, III, 295.

INDEXED G. S.
J. H. 1946

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Red Carolinians

DATE MICROFILMED
7 Oct. 1985

ITEM # 4

PROJECT and G. S.
ROLL # CALL #

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#145

CHAPMAN J. MILLING

Photographs by
DR. BRUCE MAYNE & others

GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY
OF THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST
OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS

Chapel Hill

32343

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS

1940

COLONIAL RECORDS OF SOUTH CAROLINA

DOCUMENTS
relating to
INDIAN AFFAIRS
1754-1765

EDITED BY
WILLIAM L. McDOWELL, JR.



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1754-1765

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COLUMBIA, S. C.

GEORGE W. CALDWELL
OF THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST
OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS

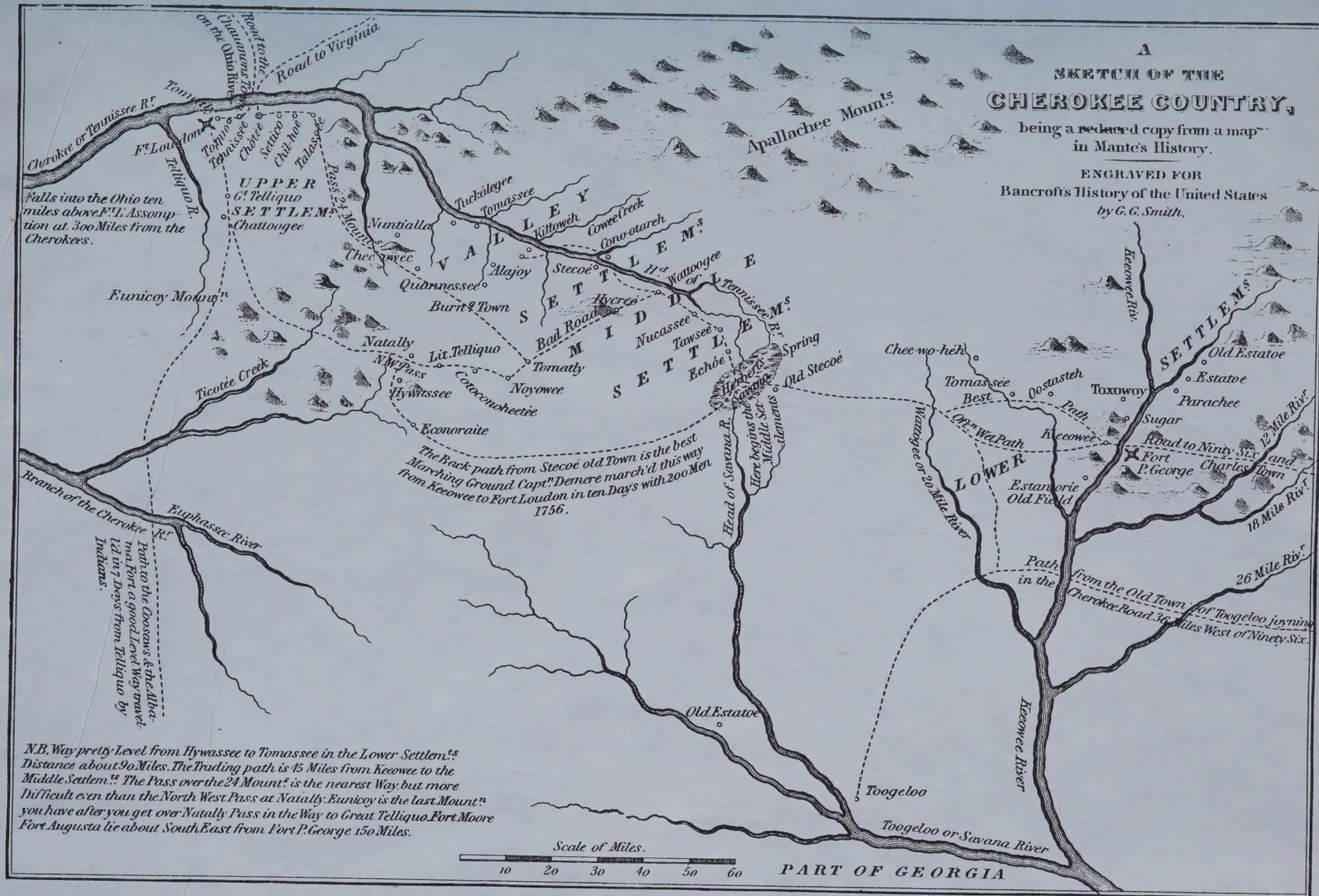
A portion of John Mitchell's map of British and French Dominions in North America, 1755.
from a copy in the Kendall Collection of the South Caroliniana Library.



A
**SKETCH OF THE
 CHEROKEE COUNTRY,**

being a reduced copy from a map
 in Mante's History.

ENGRAVED FOR
 Bancroft's History of the United States
 by G. G. Smith.



Falls into the Ohio ten miles above F. L. Assumption at 300 Miles from the Cherokees.

Branch of the Cherokee R.
 Euphassee River
 Path to the Coosaws & the Ab-
 na- Fort a good level way travel
 led in 7 Days from Tellico by
 Indians.

N.B. Way pretty Level from Hywassee to Tomassee in the Lower Settlements
 Distance about 90 Miles. The Trading path is 15 Miles from Keowee to the
 Middle Settlement. The Pass over the 24 Mount is the nearest Way, but more
 Difficult even than the North West Pass at Nantally. Eunicoy is the last Mount
 you have after you get over Nantally Pass in the Way to Great Tellico. Fort Moore
 Fort Augusta lie about South East from Fort P. George 150 Miles.

The Back path from Stecoe old Town is the best
 Marching Ground. Capt. Demere march'd this way
 from Keowee to Fort Loudon in ten Days with 200 Men
 1756.

Head of Savana R.
 Here begins the Savannah
 Middle Settlements

From the Old Town for Toogeloo joining
 the Cherokee Road 36 Miles West of Ninety Six.

Pearis Family

Abstracts of The Minutes of The Court of Pleas & Quarter Sessions
Rowan County North Carolina 1763-1774 (1775-1778)
by Jo White Kinn

- 24 28 II: 356 ^{14 July 1764} On motion of Mr. Dean order that Robert Pearis have a license to keep an ordinary at Shallow Ford on Yadkin Riv. (See) John Dean & Francis Locke ^{Planted}
- 31 33 36 39 53 54 II: 67. ^{11 July 1766} Pearis vs Pearis vs Andrew Pitts (neg).
- II: 642 12 July 1766 Robert Pearis vs Mr. Joshua Haskins etc
- 56 II: 649 15 Oct 1766. Robert Pearis vs Jacob Arment on an Ex. Peter Phlegby the Security, Surrender of the Principal in Captivity & discharge
- 57 II: 658 Robert Pearis vs Saml Ridgely ^(neg) (See) John Jay or (and) case)
- 64 II: 686 ^{14 April 1767} Deed from Robert Pearis & wife Elizabeth to John Boone Jr for 1/2 lot in N. E. family granted by Francis Quinn to 56 Pearis
- 67 II: 706 18 Apr 1767 John Mitchell ~~vs~~ Pearis vs Robert Pearis
- II: 701 ^{letter} from by Robert Pearis dated first an another jury (Goodnight vs McAllen)
- 69 70 80 82 3: 36 21 July 1768. Shallick vs Robert Pearis. Travers. neg
- 8 3: 43 22 July 1768 Deed from Robert Pearis to Jacob Gager for lot #89 in E. S. of Shallow 14 Jan 1768
- 84 85 3: 53 ^{Aug 1768?} Robert Pearis (vs) Peter Johnson. Evidence: Francis Locke
- 86 87 3: 67 15 Jan 1769 Alexander Sney vs Robert Pearis Cont #2 (Jury)
- 90 3: 84 17 Jan 1769 Francis Palmer vs George Pearis Pearis Cont #5 Evidence: Mrs. Effie, John Barty, Will McCall Sr & Jr for self. (+Jury)
- 94 96 3: 124 9 Aug 1769. case included Robert Pearis vs Wm Taylor
- 99 3: 1
- 101 121 3: 251 (1770?) stock market against 40 pages incl Master Pearis
- (1764)
44. II: 558 order that George Pearis have a license to keep an ordinary at his own dwelling house in the City.
See. Abraham Crosson & James Whitcomb agents.
(61) George Pearis on July Jan 1767

JO: II:519. 13 Apr. 1764 (cont.) On Motion of JOHN WILLIAMS Esqr. Orderd P Court
JA: that PETER JOHNSON Have Lycence to Keep Ordinary At his Own Dwelling House in
ROI Salisbury the Security Purpose is SAMUEL YOUNG & MALCOM HAMILTON. Granted.
REI
HUN Lease & release from JACOB BROWN & wife to MELCER ELLER for 157 acres 10-11 Apr.
PAI 1764 prvd by DANL LITTLE [5:463]. Same from ANDREW BAILIE to JOHN STEWART for
200 acres 24-25 Jan. 1763 prvd by WILLIAM HARRISON [5:470]. Same from FRANCIS
II: QUINE to ROBERT PARIS for ½ lot in Salisbury 14-15 Mar 1764 prvd by WM CABEEN
232 [5:465]. Same from FRANCIS QUINE to ROBERT PEARIS for lots #27,28 in Salisbury
Jno 14015 Mar 1764 [5:466]. Deed from ANDREW BAILIE to ISABEL MOORE for lot #4 in
S.E. Sq. of Salisbury 21 Jan. 1763 prvd by EDMD FANNING Esqr [5:450]

II: Orderd that BENJA STARRATS Be fined 50 shillings for Not Quallifying as Constable.
Hug

JOH Dr The Estate of WM MACKEY to JOHN BREVARD & ROBT LUCKEY Exrs. Cr. To Sundry Debt
Las Paid as Per Acct filed £134.9.3 By the Amount of the Sale of the Estate as P.
sd Accounts filed £161.13.9. Bal. due £27.4.6. Error Excepted. Jno Brevard, Robert
Luckey, Exrs.

Gra II:520. THOS DONALD Esqr by Consent of JOHN WILLIAMS Jr. Atto. for JOHN HALLUMS
JAC in a Suit Braught by the sd HALLUMS vs JESSEE BROSHEAR came into Open Court ack-
GEO nnowledged that he had in his hands at the time of Leveying the sd HALLUM's Atts
App vs the sd BROSHEAR in the hands of the sd THOS DONALD Esqr. the Sum of 21.0.0
II: Va. money, & On his the Sd DONALS paying the Same he the sd WILLIAMS Agrees that
on t he be Exonerated & Dischargd from the Judgmt & Execution of the Sd BROSHEAR Re-
to t coverd agst him at the last Inferior Court for this County on the Sd Acct. Or-
derd that he be Dischargd on paying the Sd Sum & be Exempt from any Costs on the
Sd Recovery. Court adjourned until tomorrow at 9.

Inve 14 Apr. 1764. Justices: Andw Allison, Jonathan Hunt, Jno Brandon, Wm Giles, Edwd
As F Hughes & Thomas Donnell. Lease & release from THOMAS DONNOLL to ALEXR McKNIGHT
HALI for 392 acres 11-12 Apr 1764 prvd by THOS FROHOCK [5:481]. Same from ROBT DONNOLL
amou to WM TROWSDALL for 490 acres as above [5:479 says FRONESDALE].

DINA In the Sute THOMAS HART vs JACOB INGLEMAN, HUGH MONTGOMERY Came in as Garneshee
Amou & Declared he Had in his Hands at the Leving of the Attmt the Sum of £4.7.6.

Leas II:521. SAMUEL TATE vs JAMES ANDREWS. Evidence: W. GILES & B. MILLER. Jury: ROBT
13-1 TATE, JAS PATTERSON, WM JOHNSON, SOLOMAN SPARKS, JONAS SPARKS, JAS ORTON, THOS
6-7 HOLDMAN, JNO ALLIN, JACOB FULLWIDER, PETER WISINHUNT, WM ROBERTS & JAS WILLIAMS.
RAPP Deft is guilt and pays £5.0.0.
457]

2 Ma On Motion of Mr. Harrison Orderd that JOHN LEWIS BEARD Have a Lycence to Keep a
to J Tavern At his Own Dwelling House in Salisbury the Security DANIEL LITTLE & JACOB
FULLWIDER. Granted. Same for JACOB FULLWIDER at his Own Dwelling House on Second
Creek. Granted with Security DANIEL LITTLE & JOHN LEWIS BEARD.

On M Lease & release from EVAN ELLIS & wife to WM ELLIS for 380 acres 21 July 1762
Admi prvd by EDWD HUGHES [5:477]. Court adjourned & met for Orphans Court.
bein
the
Wm G.

II:5 Be at
HANN. II:522. 15 Apr. 1764. Justices: Andw Allison, Jonathan Hunt, Wm Giles.
JOSEI WILLIAM N(H?)ADDICKS an Orphan Boy Came into Court & directed to care of WILLIAM
teen NASSERY till further Orders. Orphans Court adjourned. Inferior Court met with
Court Justices Jno Brandon, Jonathan Hunt, Walter Lindsey.

II:522. 15 Apr. 1764 (cont.) Dr. the Estate of EDWARD WILLIAMS to JAMES WILLIAMS
Adm. Cr. to Sundry Debts Paid as P Accounts filed £163.18.11. By the Amount of
the Sale of the Estate as P Accounts filed £200.7.1. Balance Due £36.8.1. Errors
Excepted P JAMES WILLIAMS Admr. fee 10/

PETER JOHNSON vs JOHN BRANDON. Evidence: W. LINDSEY. Jury: PATRICK COYLE, THOS.
HOLDMAN, JACOB BRUMWELL, JONAS SPARKS, MATHEW WOODS Jr., WM SAMPLE SPARKS, JAS.
SMITH, JNO JOSE, HUGH FOSTER, JNO HAGGINS, HENRY BARTLEY, JAS MARTIN. £8.13.0.

Orderd P Court that GEORGE MAGOUNE Have a Lycence to a Tavern At his Own Dwell-
ing House in Salisbury Granted Security MATHEW LONG & DANIEL LITTLE. Court ad-
journd ½ hr. Met with Justices Jno Brandon, Edwd Hughes, Willis Ellis.

Deed from JAMES CARTER & HUGH FOSTER to JOHN SLOAN for lots #81,82,89,90 in No.
Square of Salisbury. [5:478]

II:523. Orderd P Court JACOB BRUMMEL Have Letters of Admn on the Estate of PETER
DILL Decd & the Security is HUGH FOSTER & WILLIAM LEDFORD Be Bound in the Sum of
£500 Proc Money &c. fee 40/

ISRAEL COX Produced a Commission from his Exlency Arthur Dobbs Esqr. Appointing
him Insign of the Compy formerly under Capt. ELLIS Esqr.

Deed from Granville to ANDREW FERGUSON for 440 acres 28 Aug. 1762 prvd by John
Frohock [5:487]. Same for 580 acres 26 Aug. 1762 [5:489]. Same for 577 acres
10 Aug. 1762 [5:488]. Another for 580 acres 10-11 Aug. 1764 [5:490].

Orderd that DANIEL LITTLE be & is hereby Orderd that he be Overseer of the Road
from the River to Grants Creek Bridge the Town Land Excepted & that all the
Hands that was Settled & divided for this District between JOHN LEWIS BEARD,
DANL LITTLE & JAMES CARSON agreeable to the Old District &c. Minutes Red Over
& Signed by Jno Brandon, Edwd Hughes & Willis Ellis. [p. 524 blank]

II:525. 10 July 1764. Justices: Andw Allison, Jno Brandon, Jacob Lash.

HARMON vs NASH the Securities Came into Open Court & Sur' up the Principall the
Security is FRANCIS GARTLY & PETER DILLION.

Deed from BARTHOLOMU GROGAN & wife to JOHN LEOMAN for 186 acres 27 Feb. 1764
prvd by JOHN HUNTER [5:538 says JOHN SIMON]. Lese & release from HARMON HUSBANDS
& wife to FRANCIS McNARRY for 320 acres 2-3 Dec. 1763 prvd by NATH BRAOWN [5:530]

Grand Jury: THOS GILLISPIE (foreman), WM LUCKEY, HENRY HUEY, JNO WITHROW, HUGH
REED, ARCHABALD WASON, THOS HALL, JNO BUNTIN, THOS BRANDON, ADAM ALLISON, ANDW
REED, DAVID FULLERTON, ELIJAH TEAGUE. JOHN COWAN Appointed Constable for it.

II:526. On Petition Orderd P Court that a Road Be Cleared & Laid Open from the
upper Limits of Halifax County in Virginia Along Matrimony Road the Nerest &
Best Way to matrimony mill Crossing Dan River the Conven's way Below the Eagle
Falls of sd River and May Ho in to the Road that Leads to Salisbury & the Jurey
Appointed by the Court is JEREMIAH LAMKIN, VALLINTINE ALLIN, ABRAM JAMES, JOSEPH
CLOUD, THOS CHAYES, WM BRACKITT, PHILLIMON DITHREGE, GEO DITHRIDGE, RICHARD VAN-
LANDINGHAM, JOHN GLEN, ABSOLAM JORDON, FRANCIS HALL. Court adjourned.

11 July 1764. Justices: Jacob Lash, Jno Brandon, Andw Allison, Thos Donnell.

II:541. 9 Oct. 1764. Lease & Release from JOHN & THOMAS JOHNSTON to SIMON McCORMICK for 300 acres 1-2 Sept. 1764 [6:62]. Deed from DAVID BAILEY & wf Mary to WM BAILEY for 100 acres 22 Sept. 1764 prvd by WM Giles, Esqr. [6:33].

On Motion WILLIAM HARRISON Esqr Orderd that HENRY BAKER, in right of his wife have Letters of Admns. of all & Singular the goods & Chattles rights & Credits of BARNABY BOWER decsd Securities, ROBERT PEARIS & WM NASSERY in the Sum of £60 Pro. money & Quallified according to Law &c. Court adjourned until tomorrow.

10 Oct. 1764. 10 Oct. 1764. Justices: ALEXR CATHEY, JNO KERR, THOS DOCHESTER & JNO OLIPHANT Esqrs. On Petition of the Inhabitants of Deep River Ready fork Orderd the Road Leading from PENNINGTONS Mill to Cape fiar be utterly Disannulld.

II:542. On Petition Orderd that, ABRAHAM VAN GAMMERON, have a Licence to keep Tavern at the Town of Bethabra. As Securitys THOMAS DORCHESTER & JNO FROHOCK &c. Court adjourned until 3. Met with Justices Wm Giles, Alexr Cathey, Jno Oliphant, James Dorchester.

Lease & Release from JOHN GILLISPIE & wife to JOHN BURNS for 326 acres 13-14 Oct 1764 prvd by JOHN BRAWLEY [6:23]. Same from JOHN BURNS to JOHN HODGE for 326 acres 9-10 Oct. 1764 [6:25]. Court adjourned until tomorrow at 10.

11 Oct. 1764. Justices: Jonathan Hunt, Walt Caruth, James Dorchester, Andw Allison. Deed from JOHN BRYAN to JAMES SIMISON for 260 A 5 Apr. 1764 prvd by Wm Steeall & John fford [6:33 says JAMES BRYAN].

II:543. The King vs PETER JOHNSTON. Jury: Math Gillispie, Jas Graham, Math Long, SAML YOUNG, HANCE McWHORTER, MALCOM BLEW, JACOB BROWN, JNO BURNS, WM WILLIAMS, RUDOLPH MARCH, JNO ELLIS & DANL McFEETERS. Not guilty.

Orderd that WM NASSERY have a Licence to keep a Ordinary at his Now Dwelling House & Complying with an Act of Assembly in Such Case & Provided & security ANDREW ALLISON, GEORGE MAGOUNE, RICHD PEARIS.

Deed from Jas Carter & Hugh Foster, to JOHN FROHOCK for 20 acres Lying in the West Corner of the Towan of Salisbury in the Town Land [5:565].

JOHN MITCHELL Negroe Wench's Jedgd by the Court to be a Leven years Old &c

Orphans Court held. Justices: Jno Kerr, Jno Oliphant, Jas Dorchester, Walter Caruth

II:544. Orderd That THOMAS KELLY Orphan of JOHN KELLY aged about Seven, be bound to JOHN BULLIN til he be of the Age of 21 years, to Learn the Art & Mistery of a Cooper the Sd JOHN BULLIN to give Security to learn the Child to read & Write & when it Shall become of age to give him the sd THOMAS a Suit of Cloathes & Set of working tools Suitable for his trade & likewise £10 or in lieu thereof a horse, Saddle & Bridle of the Value of £10. Security offered & Approvd is JACOB BROWN to be Bound in the Sum of £50 Proclamation money. Refer.

Orderd that MATHEW LOCK be & is hereby Gardun to JAMES BRANDON Orphant of WILLIAM BRANDON Decd & that he Give Bond & Security in Sum of £200 Proc money & Offers for Sec. JOHN BRANDON & FRA' LOCK which was Approved of by the Court. Refer.

Orderd by the Court that PETER STROSER have no Allowance made him for the money paid by sd STROSER for the Services of sd Child THOMAS KELLEY & also that no Allowance be made him for the maintenance of sd Child for the Time During Time of his Keeping & Boarding sd Child & the Time of taking away the Child by the Court.

II:545. Orderd P Court that WILLIAM SPARKS Bee & is hereby Apptd Oversear of the Road Laid Out from JOHN HOWARDS Ferrey up the Forks in BOONES Roade & that all the Inhabatence within that District Worke under him. Orderd that ISAAC HOLDMAN be & is hereby Appd Over sear of the Road, Laid Out from JOHN HOWARD Ferry to the Moravian Roade & that all the Inhabatence within that Distt. Worke under him, & Repair the Same According to Law &c. Court adjourned until tomorrow at 8.

12 Oct. 1764. Justices: John Karr, Walter Carruth, Jno Oliphant, Esqrs. Lease & Release from MATHEW WOODS SR to MATTHEW WOODS Jr. for 300 acres 4-5 Oct. 1764 [6:26]. Same from JONATHAN HUNT to THOMAS MCCARTNEY for 230 acres 19-20 Jan 1764 [6:34] & another for 105 acres [6:35]. Deed from WILLIAM LYNN & HENRY HORAH to JOHN MITCHELL for lots #18, 26 in No. Sq. of Salisbury 7 Oct. 1764 prvd by DANIEL LITTLE [5:563].

II:546. JOHN TREVILLION vs WM McCONNELL Exr. of JAMES McCONNELL. Evidence: RICHD TREVILLION. Jury: JAS ERWIN, ALEXR DOBBINS, THOS FOSTER, JNO McCULLOH, MATH WOODS, MATIN ARMSTRONG, ANTHO HAMPTON, RUDOLPH MARCH, WM WILLIAMS, DANIEL LITTLE, HENRY WILLIAMS & JACOB FEAZOR. £4.0.0 &c

Deed From Jas Carter & Hugh Foster to THOMAS COOK for lot #7 in S. Sq. of Salisbury 25 July 1764. Bill of Seal from Hugh FORSTER to WILLIAM FORSTER for One Copper Still & Worm 6 Nov. 1762 [5:555]. Same for One Roan Mare & One Bay Mare 19 Dec. 1762 [5:555]. Deed from BENJN STARRETT to RALPH GORRELL 10 Feb. 1764 for personalty [5:552]. Deed from BENJN STARRETT to DAVID KERR for 684 acres 1 Mar. 1764 prvd by HUGH FORSTER [5:554].

JOHN ELLIS vs PETER STROSER. Trover. Jury: MATH LONG, THOS BRANDON, THOS CARSON, MOSES WHITE, JNO FORD, DANL LEWIS, JACOB ARON, JNO WILCOCKS, JAS GRAHAM, JACOB BROWN, MATH WOODS & JOSEPH WOLFSCALE.

II:547. Lease & Release from GEORGE CATHEY & wife to DANIEL HARE for 315 acres 10-11 Oct. 1764 prvd by JOHN BRALY [6:22]. Deed from GEORGE McGOWN to WILLIAM FORSTER for lots #6, 7, 14, 15 in Salisbury 6 Sept. 1764 [5:555]. Deed from WM MATHEWS to OLIVER MATHIS for 248 acres 10 Sept. 1763 prvd by JOSEPH RIDOCK [6:29]. Deed from WM WILLIAMS to WM NASSERY for ½ lot #9 in N Sq of Salisbury 9 Oct 1764 [5:561]. Deed from MOSES ANDREW to DAVID CRESWELL 16 May 1763 [6:27]. Deed from Carter & Forster to ROBERT PEARIS for lots #21, 22, 29, 30 in N Sq of Salisbury [5:562]. Same to WM LOCK for lot #17 in W Sq. of Salisbury 11 Oct. 1764. Deed to WM NASSERY for lots #35, 41-43, 50-52, 57, 58 in Oct. 1764 [5:560]. Deed to JAMES WILLIAMS for lot #72 in E Sq. 27 Sept. 1764 [5:562], to WILLIAM TEMPLE COLES for 10 lots in S. Sq. 10 Oct 1764 [5:558], to JOHN LEWIS BEARD for lot 312 in N Sq 24 July 1764 [5:556]; to BENJN ROBINSON for lots #1, 6, 13, 14 in W. Sq. 25 July 1764 [6:18] & lot #7 in W. Sq. 10 Oct. 1764 [6:18], to JAMES CRAIGE for lot #6 in E. Sq 10 Oct. 1764 [5:558], to JOHN LEWIS BEARD for lots #94, 95, 87, 88 Between Beards Street & Marsh St [5:557] & one lot Joining Beards Spring Running Down the Brah [5:558].

II:548. Lease & Release from HENRY HORAH & wife to GEORGE LOUTHER for lots #11, 12, 4 in W. Sq. 11-12 Apr 1763 prvd by BENJA ROBINSON [6:19]. Deed of gift from WM WOOD to JOHN WEYLIE for Sundry goods Sept. 1764 [6:30]. Deed from THOMAS FOSTER & wife to JOHN WILLSON for 318 acres 11 Oct. 1764 [6:29], from JOSEPH TATE TO HUGH MITCHELL for 564 acres 15 June 1764 [6:64], from Carter & Foster to JOHN LEWIS BEARD for lots #92, 93, 85, 86 between Third St & Beard St [5:558], from JOHN HALLUM to RICH BOURTON for 110 acres 30 Sept. 1764 prvd by JOHN HARRIS [6:31].

II:549. Deed from WM WILLIAMS to RICHARD SIMPSON for 100 acres 31 Aug. 1764 prvd by JOHN HARRIS [6:32]. Deed from GEORGE LOWTHER to BENJN ROBINSON for lots #4, 11, 12 in W. Sq. 17 July 1764 prvd by JAS CARTER [6:21 says SOUTHER].

II:555. 13 Oct. 1764 (cont.) & Possession of him the sd WM NASSERY for the Space of 8 Days: & the sd WM NASSERY further declareth, that the warrant afsd to gether with a Pocket Book, in which the same with many other Papers of Consequence well contained, Since the Execution of the Negro afsd, is stolen. & that he the sd WM NASSERY takes this Method, as he has no Other to secure his Fees from the Public for the Same. Minutes Red Over & Sign'd Andw Allison, Alexr Martin, Wm Spurgin.

II:556. This Day the Marks & Brands, of JOHN NATION is Recorded as followeth, to wit, his Brand on the near Shoulder Thus'..and his Mark is Swallow fork in the Offt Ear & Slit in the near Ear, this ninth Day of January 1765.

II:557. 8 Jan. 1765. Justices: Walter Carruth, Alexr Cathey, Alexr Martin. Grand Jury: ROBT LUCKEY (foreman), WM LUCKEY, ROBT BARKLEY, JAS McCULLOH, HUGH BRAWLEY, HENRY ROBINSON, ROBT RANKIN, JAS MCCOY, JAS SMITH, JOHN FORD, JNO NESBETT, JNO LUCKEY, ADAM ALLISON, WM NEAL, ROBT HARDIN. GEORGE CATHEY is Constable.

Will of NICHOLAS FEAZOR prvd by JOHN PARLOR & JACOB CRESS. PHILLIP JACOB FEASOR is sole Exr. Quallified. [A:56].

II:558. Inventory & account of sales of Estate of JAMES GAMWELL returned by EDWD JONES Admr. It amounts to £32.18.9 Pro money.

Deed from JOSEPH TATE to CHARLES MITCHELL for 100 acres 2 Jan. 1765 prvd by ALEX MARTIN [6:64].

Orderd JAMES ANDREW have Licence to keep Ordinary at his Dwilling House & Offers for Security THOMAS BILLS & THOS. CARSON..approved Off.

Orderd JOHN MILLER have Letters of Admn of all & Singular the goods & Chattles of JAMES MILLER Decd the Widdow having Relinquishd her right in Open Court & for Security gives JOHN MCCONNELL & JOHN SCOTT in the Sum of £400 Pro. & Quallified, according to Law &c

The Non Cupative Will of THOMAS BRAWLEY decsd Prooved Before ANDW ALLISON, ALEXR CATHEY & WLTR CARRUTH Esqrs Orderd tht MARGRETT BRAWLEY Widdow of sd Decsd & JOHN BRAWLEY, have Letters, of Admr. with a Coppy of the said Will Annaxed, & was Quallified according to Law, & Offers for Security ROBT RANKIN & GEO CATHEY.

Lease & Release from JOHN BLAIR to DAVID CALDWELL for 550 acres Jan. 1765 prvd by HUGH BRAWLEY &c a Presint to the Pastor [6:39]. Same from JAMES MILLER & wf ANN to DAVID MILLER for 407 acres 23-24 Nov. 1764 prvd by JOHN MILLER [6:89].

II:559. Deed from Granville to JAMES WILSON for 258 acres 22 Aug. 1762 prvd by JOHN FROHOCK [6:59]. Court adjourned until tomorrow at 8.

9 Jan. 1765. Justices: Alexr Martin, Jno Oliphant, Colo Jon. Hunt, Morgan Bryant. Orderd that, MARGRET FULLERTON have Letters of Admn of the Estate of DAVID FULLERTON Decd & gives WM GAUNT & ROBT LUCKEY Securitys in Sum of £300 Pro. money & Quallified according to Law &c

On Motion of J DUNN Esqr Orderd DANIEL LITTLE have Licence to keep Ordinary at his Dwelling House in Salisbury Secuty's JACOB ARANT & MICHAEL BROWN &c

JOHN & MARGRET BRAWLY returned an Inventory of THOMAS BRAWLEY's estate.

Deed from GEORGE REED & wf ABIGAIL to WILLIAM YOUNG for 207 acres 3 Jan. 1765

II:559. 9 Jan. 1765 (cont.) prvd by THOMAS FOSTER [6:56]. Lease & Release from MATHEW GILLISPIE & wife ANN to JAMES STUART for 136 acres 9-10 Jan. 1765 prvd by JOHN McCULLOH [6:95]. Same from JOHN SMITH to MALCOM BLUE for 320 acres prvd by JOHN McCULLOH [6:97].

An Article of Agreement made & Between HENRY FREALEY CATHERINE CHARLES COONROD KEARN & COONROD MICHAEL dated May 10th 1763 prooved by DANL LITTLE [6:45].

II:560. Lease & Release from ADAM SHERRELL to JAMES MCCLAIN for 202 acres 13-14 May 1764 prvd by JOHN McCULLOH [6:98]. Same from ADAM SHERRELL to JACOB SHERREL for 62 acres same day [6:100]. Same from JAMES TENNIN to THOMAS GREER for 326 acres 3-4 Jan. 1765 prvd by MOSES WHITE [6:71]. Same from JOHN MCCONNELL & MARY MCCONNELL to JOHN JOHNSTON, THOS JOHNSTON & ROBERT JOHNSTON for 611 acres 19-20 Oct. 1764 [6:61]. Deed from JAMES ROSBROUGH to JOHN ROSBROUGH for 300 acres prvd by JOHN ARCHIBALD [6:57]. Lease & Release from JOHN, ROBERT & THOMAS JOHNSTON to SIMON MCCORMOCK 4-5 Jan. 1765 prvd by THOMAS GRIER [6:62]. Same from JOHN LOPP to JOHN LOPP Jr. for 265 acres 11-12 Sept. 1764 prvd by HUGH MCCRARY [6:92]. Same from JOHN HANBY to HUGH MCCREERY for 467 acres 2-3 Nov. 1765 prvd by HANCE LYCAN [6:73]. Deed from HENRY BALINGER to JAMES BRITAIN for 60 acres 6 Jan. 1765 prvd by HUGH FOSTER [6:55]. Same to MOSES BALINGER for 198 acres 5 Jan. 1765 prvd by same [6:54].

II:561. Constable for 1765: GEORGE ROBINSON in Room of GEO CATHEY, HUGH PARKS in Room of WLL McKNIGHT, JOHN EDMUND in Room of JAMES NEIL, ROBERT LUCKEY in Room of JOHN COWIN, JACOB BRUMELL in Room of WM LITFORD, MOSES SHERRILL in Room of JOHN PERKINS, JOHN BRYAN in Room of JOHN BURCHAM, THOS STILLWELL in Room of SAML OSBORN, JOSEPH HUNTER in Room of CHRISTO BOOE, JOHN HOWARD, Hunter, for the upper District in forks of Yarkin, JOHN POOL for Mr. HUGHES District, PHILLIP SOWIR in Room of BARNET MICHAEL, FREDERICK FISHER in Room of JOHN SCOTT, JAMES ACOTT in Room of SAMUEL COCKRAN, MICHAEL RANKIN in Room of PETER HOOSIR, WM SIMINGTON in Room of WILL WATT, WILLIAM SPRUCE in Room of WILLIAM MEBANE, ALEXR MCCORKELL in Room of JAMES HEMPHILL, ABRAHAM BLETCHER for JAMES DORCHESTERS District Hollow, SIMON MCCORMACK for Capn DAVINSONS District, JOHN BONE in Capn. MICHAELS District.

II:562. Lease & release from JOHN MCKELWRATH to ROBERT STEAL for 100 acres 2-3 Mar. 1762 [6:81]. Same from JAMES MARLIN to ALEXR DOBBINS for 227 acres 30-31 Jan. 1764 [6:83]. Same from JOHN POTTS & GEALS POTTS to WM POTTS for 580 acres 18-19 Apr. 1764 prvd by ALLEXR OSBORN [6:74]. Same from ABRAHAM COLLET & wife to HENRY THOMPSON for 700 acres 6-7 Jan. 1765 [6:79]. Deed from WM HARRISON to JOHN FROHOCK for 2 lots in Salisbury 8 Dec. 1763. Deed from Foster & Carter to ROBERT PEARIS for lots #5, 6, 13, 14 in Salisbury 6 Jan. 1765 [6:40], also lots #21, 22 on 6 Mar. 1765 [6:41], and lots #7, 15 in S. Sq. 6 Jan. 1765 [6:42].

II:563. Deed from HENRY BALINGER to WILLIAM BRITAIN for 25 acres 5 Jan. 1765 prvd by HUGH FOSTER [6:54]. Lese & Release from WILLIAM NEEL & MARY NEIL for 566 acres to GILBREETH FALLS 1-2 Jan. 1765 prvd by JOHN CLAYTON [6:76]. Same from GILBREETH & ISABELLA FALLS to GEORGE CLAYTON for 283 acres 6-7 Jan. 1765 prvd by WILL NEIL [6:78]. Deed from Granville to THOMAS JOHNSTON for 480 acres 22 Sept. 1759 prvd by THOS GILLISPIE [6:58]. Deed from JONATHAN WHITE to JOHN HARRIS for 320 acres 22 Oct. 1761 prvd by RICHARD HENDERSON [6:53]. Lease & Release from WILLIAM WILLIAMS to HENRY SHOFE for 540 acres 9-10 Jan. 1765 [6:85 says SHOUF].

Orderd that HUGH FOSTER, THOMAS BAILS, ROBT SUMMERS, BOWATER BALES, PETER KING, WM ROBINSON, JOSEPH BROWN, ISAAC ARMFIELD, JAMES WILSON, JAMES GREEN Jr., WILL

ARMFIELD, JOHN BAILS JR. Do Lay out a Road as followeth, to wit, & it to begin on the Road Leading to the Court House near where DANE in ELWICKS[?] Store was formerly Kept & to Extend a, Course from thence most Suitable to fall into, some Road Leading to Cape Fear & that they make Return thereof to Our Next Court & GEORGE HYATT Over Seer from the Begining to the first Daughts of Hickory Creek & PETER DICKS to the Remaining Part &c.

II:564. 9 Jan. 1765. Over Seers of the Roads appointed for 1765:GEORGE HAMILTON in the Room of THOMAS McQUESTON from the County Line, to SUMNERS Branch; JACOB SINK from FROHOCKS Planta. to the Brushey fork, of Abbots Creek; JOHN MILLS in Room of THOS THORNBURY from SUMMERS Branch to SIMMONS; WM SIMMONS from his house to the Brushey fork; JOSEPH BOWEN in Room of JOHN FORD from FROHOCKS Planta. to Yadkin River; JOSEPH RIBINS from the Orange Line to Carway Creek; WM MERRILL from Carway Creek to the Painted Springs; ISRAEL COX from the Painted Springs to the forks of CARTERS Road by Mr. OANS; JACOB FEAZIR from the Forks of the Cape Fear Road to Huwarry; EDWARD WILLIAMS from Huwarry to the County Line; DAVID STUART from the Shallow ford to the Moravian Line; WALTER THORNBURY from the Moravian Line to MORDICAS Creek; MORDECAI MENDENHALL from there to the Trading Path down the Moravian Road to the Cape ffeear Road; JOHN DOWTHET from, the Shallow ford to Mudy Creek; HANCE LIKENS from Mudy Creek to Swearing Creek; CHARLES BARRINGER from Swearing Creek to the Capefear Road; II:565. ROBERT FORBUSH from ffreers Ferry ABRAHAM CRESONS District; WM BRYAN for ROGER TURNERS District; JACOB FELKER in Room of BARNET STAGNER; JOHN WILLCOX from, the South Yadkin to ISRAEL BOONS old Place; JOHN TEMPLETON from the Head of Davinsons Creek, to the Line of the County 7 from the Cataba to Mr. BREVARDS Creek; WM DOUGLAS from Third Creek, to the Head of Davinsons Creek on the Road Leading to JOHN OLIPHANTS Mill; WM BRISON from OLIPHANTS Mill to HENDERSONS Branch on the Road Leading to Salisbury; JOHN LAWRENCE Sr., from HENDERSONS Branch to CATHEYs Old Mill; JAMES McCLAIN, from JOHN OLIPHANTS Mill & Cataba River to Mecklenburg Line; FURGUS SLOAN from WILLIAM MORRISONS to Forth Creek; ANDREW REED from Fourth Creek to the South Yadkin near ROBERT JOHNSTONS; JOHN McCLATCHEY from the Cataba River to WILL WATTS, Bridge; CHRISTIPHOR ERWYN from WATTS Bridge to 3d Creek; HENRY HEWEY from 3d Crick to the forks of the Road to, GEORGE LOCKS; ROBERT HARDIN from Grants Creek Bridge to CATHEYs Old Mill; JOHN TODD from Frohock's Mill to 2d Creek, all below fort Dobbs Road to work under JOHN TODD; CLAUS THOMPSON from 2d Creek to the South River; II:566. JAMES ROBINSON from Brevards Creek to Mr. Carruth Creek; DAVID KERR from there to the Indian Path; JAMES McCULLOH from the Indian Path to JOHN GRAHAMs; MATHEW LOCK from JOHN GRAHAMs to Mecklenburg Line on the Road Leading to Capn PHIFERS; JACOB ARRONT from Yadkin River to Grants Creek Bridge the Town Land Excepted, the Inhabitants from the Bridge to JOHN GATCHEY, thence Direct to the Sp. fork of Crane Creek Down wards to work on the Road & from the Town to Grants Creek, at THOS CASTONS[?] & from, the Town to Frohocks Mill; MICHAEL BROWN from Salisbury to the Anson Line & all the inhabitants of 2d Creek & above Gatcheys to work under BROWN, in his District; MOSES PEARIS from Grants Creek to South Yadkin at JAMES ANDREWS; JOHN FROHOCK Oversear for Salisbury Town.

Orderd that, The ffollowing Freeholders is & are hereby appointed as a Jury to Lay out & mark a Road as follows (to wit) JOHN ROADS, WM WILLIAMS, ROBT THOMPSON, THOS McQUESTON, JOHN McQUESTON, GEO HAMILTON, EDWD HUNTER, JOSEPH TATE, CHARLES MITCHELL, MATHEW SIMS, JOHN NELSON, JAMES GATES From Dann River to Haw River Settlemt thence to the Cape Fear Road, the nearest & Best way & that they make due Return thereof to Our next Court. Court adjourned for 1 hr. Met with Justices Alexr Osborn, Walter Carruth, Alexr Cathey, Jonathan Hunt, Morgan Bryan & Jno Oliphant.

II:567. 9 Jan. 1765. Venire for Salisbury Superior Court for March term 1765: JACOB LASH, WALTER CARRUTH, JNO OLIPHANT, ALEXR CATHEY, JNO KERR, JAS DORCHESTER, WM SPURGIN, WM MILLICAN, JNO HUNTER, JOS. BRYANT, WALT. LINDSAY, ROBT BREVARD, MATH LOCK, JOHN FORD, JNO NESBETT, JACOB FULWIDER, EDWD HUNTER, ROBT SIMINGTON.

II:568. 10 Jan. 1765. Justices: Andw Allison, Jno Oliphant, Morgan Bryant, Wm Spurgin, Walter Lindsay.

Lease & Release from JOHN HOWARD & wife to NATHAN MAYNARD for 500 acres Oct. 31 & Nov. 1 1764 prvd by WM NASSERY [6:93]. Same from JOHN McGUIRE to JOHN COWDEN for 440 acres [6:70]. Same from GEORGE BRUNER & wife to CHRISTOPHER KNOTZER for 700 acres 10-11 Jan. 1765 prvd by JOHN LEWIS BEARD [6:48]. Same from RICHARD CRUNK to CHARLES GALLOWAY for 200 acres 10-11 Jan. 1765 [6:90]. Same from COONROD AARANT & wife to CHRISTOPHER KNOTZER 26-27 Oct. 1765 [6:46]. Same from JAMES JONES to JOHN McGUIRE for 440 acres 29-30 June 1762 prvd by SAMUEL YOUNG [6:67].

Orderd that a Road be Layd Out Leading from Whites ford, on Yadkin River to thev Shallow ford on Sd River and, that the following Persons Lay Out the Same (to wit) MORGAN BRYANT, ABRAHAM CRESON, JOHN HOWARD, SILIS ENYARD, HENRY SHEDMORE, FRANCIS REYNOLDS, EDMUND DENNY, JOHN VANOY, THOMAS BARTON, LUKE LEE, SAMUEL HAYS, SAML BRYAN. HENRY SHEDMOR Over Seer from Millers to the Shallow ford EDMUND DENNY from CHRISTION MILLERS to Whites fford. &c

JAMES ARMSTRONG appeard & Quallify his Capn. Commission &c. Court adjourned.

II:569. 11 Jan. 1765. Justices: Alexr Osborn, Jno Oliphant, Andw Allison Esqrs. Information being made in open Court upon the Oath of JOHN OLIPHANT Esq. that he has just cause to suspect that JOHN BRIDGES JR., RICHARD PERKINS JR. & ROBERT BIGGAM PERKINS have feloniously taken & kead away two Stone Horses & one Gelding of the price of £5 each of the property of Persons unknown supposed to belong to some of our Indian Allies the Cherokees it is therefore orderd on motion of EDMD FANNING Esq. Attorney for the King, that a Warrant be issued out signed by Colo. ALEXR OSBORNE Charman of the Court for the apprehending of the afsd JOHN BRIDGES, RICHARD PERKINS & ROBT BIGGAM PERKINS that they may be brought before him or some other of his Majestys Justices of the Peace for sd County & beldealt with.

II:570. Lease & Release from JAMES GRAHAM & wife JANE to JOHN GRAHAM for 320 acres 8-9 Jan. 1765 prvd by GRIFFITH RUTHERFORD [6:87].

Orderd HENRY BAKER Sell the Estate of BARNY BOWERS Decd & Return the Same to next Court. Minutes read & signed by Alexr Osborn, Alexr Cathey, Andw Allison & Walter Lindsey. [p. 571 is blank]

II:572. 9 Apr. 1765. Justices: Jno Oliphant, Andw Allison, Alexr Cathey Esqrs. On Petition of JOSEPH GOSS, Orderd that Two Acres of Land Lying on the So. Side of Yadkin River on a Creek Calld Sandy Crick & Butted & Bounded as follows, Begining at a Hickory Sapplin, on the Hill Side or Et Bank of Sandy Crick, about 200 Yards above DANNUL GARRETTs Line, and Runs Thence So. 75.2.25 P. to a Small Read Oak thence N.15W.13.P a B.O thence N.75.3.25.P. to a Dogwood, thence to the Begining Contg Two Acre's & Valued, to Twenty Shillings to the said JOSEPH GOSS to Build thereon a Grist Mill, & that he the sd JOSEPH GOSS to Buil the Same accord- ing to an Act of Assembly in Such Cases made & Provided.

Will of SAMUEL NELSON prvd by JAMES McADOW. ANDREW FINDLEY, WILLIAM WYLEY & DAVID NELSON appointed Exrs., but FINDLEY refused to Quallify. The others did. [A:133]

II:627 8 July 1766 (cont.) Deed from JAMES McCUISTON to ROBERT McCUISTON for 353 acres 20 Nov. 1764 prvd by THOMAS FLACK [6:257]. II:628. Deed from JAMES MATHEWS to JOHN KARR for 250 acres 5 July 1766 prvd by DAVID BROWN [6:270]. Deed from PETER DICK & ELIZABETH DICK to JOHN BALS for 195 acres 24 Oct. 1765 prvd by WM HAMILTON [6:272 says BEALS]. Deed from JAMES McCUISTON to JAMES McCUISTON JR. for 200 acres 3 Jan. 1765 [6:272]. Deed from OLIVER MATHEWS to SAMUEL CORRY for 247 acres 9 Jan. 1764 prvd by JAS McCUISTON JR. [6:271]. Court adjourned.

9 July 1766. Justices: Jno Dunn, Wm Millican, Alexr Martin.

Overseers Appointed &c Orderd P Cur that the Burough & Liberty of the Town of Salisbury be & is hereby Appointed in One District & that all Taxable Persons in the Liberty of sd Town are hereby Order & directed to Worke on & Repair the several roads within the Libertys thereof & all Persons living within the sd Libertys Are Hereby Exemptd from working on Any Other Roads What soever & that WM TEMPLE COLE is Appointd Oversear of the sd District & the Several Roads within the Same the West half of Grants Creek Bridge Excep' which is to be Supported by the District it formerly Belonged to.

Orderd P Cur that Part of a Road on the Trading Path as deep River Ford now Cleared Out to the Upper Ford by THOS DICKEY Shall be Deemed, the Publick Road & that the sd DICKEY Clear the Rocks Out of the sd Ford at his Own Expence & Build a Grist Mill on Deep River at the place where his Saw Mill was &c.

II:629. JAMES McCUISTON appointed Overseer of the Road in Room of GEORGE HAMILTON: ROBERT BARKLY in Room of JAMES McCULLOH; GEORGE . . . from Yarkin Road to Salisbury: WM COLES: GEORGE OLIVER: HUGH BLAIR: OBEDIAH LEDFORD: EDWD McGUIRE: GASPER SMITH in Room of JACOB FRAIZOR.

II:630. Constables appointed: JACOB BROWN in Room of FREDERICK FISHER; MOSES POTTS in Room of WILLIAM SIMONTON; EBENEZER FROST in Room of JOSEPH HUNTER; DAVID SMITH in Room of PHILLIP SOWERS; II:631. ROBERT CARUTH in Room of HUGH PARKS; JOHN McKNIGHT in room of WM SPRUCE; JOSEPH ROBINSON in Room of JOHN EDMUND; JOHN FLEMING in Room of MOSES SHERRELL; SAMUEL HAYES in Room of JOHN HOWARD; ISAAC WINS CUT in Room of BENJN PETTIT; WM LUCKEY for GEO ROBINSON; FERGUS GRAHAM for JAMES SCOTT; GEO SPRINKELL in Room of GIDEON WRIGHT; GEORGE COWAN for ROBERT LUCKEY.

Orderd P Cur that the same Justice be Appointed, to Take the List of Taxables as Ware Appointd last Year Except JNO BRANDON in the Room of ALEXR CATHEY decd for that District & that the Clk issue Sup' by the Sheriff to the Severall Justices that is hereby Appd to take in Taxes that they issue there Orders to the Sevrall Cons' within there Dist' to Summons the Taxes within the Same to Give in these Taxables to sd Justices Accg to Law that a Return thereof be made to next Cor'.

II:632. Rates of liquors &c to be Observed in the Several Ordinaries within this County [not copied]. Court adjourned for 1 howar. Met with Justices Jonathan Hunt, Jno Oliphant & Alexr Martin.

Power of attorney from WM MOORE to Capn. JOHN PECA 9 July 1766.

II:633. JOHN GARRETT, son of DANIEL GARROTT Decd, chose his Step Father JOSEPH GOSS his Guardian & GOSS entered into Bond with JACOB FEZER & GEO BRUNER his Securities in Sum of £20 for the faithful performance of his trust.

Deed from GEORGE BROONER to PETER SMITH for 693 acres 9 July 1766 [6:264]. Deed from JOHN HOWARD to WM TODD LIVINGSTON for 40 acres 12 Apr 1765 [6:266]. Deed from VINSON WILLIAMS to ANDERSON SMITH for 126 acres 10 July 1766 [6:266]. Lease

and Release from ELIJAH TEAGUE & wf ALIS to JAMES EVANS for 177 acres 1-2 July 1766 [6:281]. Deed from BENJN ELLIS & wf RACHAL to SOLOMON COX for 237½ acres 20 July 1765 prvd by WM MILLICAN [6:267]. Deed from BENJN ELLIS to THOMAS COX for 450 acres same date [6:268]. Deed from VINSON WILLIAMS to SAMUEL WILLIAMS for 80 acres 10 July 1766 [6:269]. Court adjourned until tomorrow at 9.

II:634. 10 July 1766. Justices: Jonathan Hunt, Jno Brandon, Wm Millican Esqrs. Will of NATHAN DICKS prvd by JOHN UNTHANS. Exrs: widow MARY DICKS & WM BALDWIN Quallified [A:29].

GIDEON WRIGHT Appeard & Quallified as a J.P. for sd County & took his Seat &c.

JOHN GWIN vs DANIEL CLOUD. Jury: ABRAHAM CRESOON, THOS CARSON, JAS CARSON, JAS STUART, JNO BUNTIN, THOS GILLISPY, WM McCONNELL, GEO MAGOUNE, JAS ERWIN, GEO. CH. KATTSEY, ROBT TATE, NATH. SPARKS.

JOHN SINGLETON vs HENRY HORAH. same jury but MARTIN ARMSTRON for WM McCONNELL.

II:6235. MARTIN ARMSTRONG vs WM McCONNELL. Evidence: HENRY HORAH. Same jury except SAMUEL WOODS for GEORGE MAGOUNE.

FRANCIS LOCK produced Commission from WILLIAM TRYAN appointing him High Sheriff & offered for Sec. GRIFFITH RUTHERFORD, JNO OLIPHANT, JACOB NICHOLS, JOHN FROHOCK, which was Approoved by the Court. Date of Commission 18 June 1766.

Power of Attorney from JOHN NASH to HUGH FOSTER 9 July 1766 Ackn.

Will of ROBERT WOODS prvd by GRIFFITH RUTHERFORD who relinquished His Right to a Legacy of a Hand saw And an Auger Devised to him in The Said Will. JAMES McCULLOH Relinquished his Right to the Executorship of the Will. SAML WOOD Quallified as Executor. [A:163]. Court readjourned after one howar with Justices Jno Brandon, Jonathan Hunt & Jno Ford Esqrs.

II:636. The King vs BRASN PURKETT. Larceny. Guilty. Judgd. that he Receive on his Barr Back 7 Lashes at the Publk Whiping Post Between the Hours of 5 & 6 of the Clock on the 11th Day of July 1766.

Deed from JOHN ROBINS & wf RACHEL to THOMAS LITTLE for 100 acres 28 Sept. 1766 prvd by WM MILLICAN Esqr [6:263]. Deed from THOMAS BEALS & wf to CHRISTR. HIETT for 11 acres 4 Mar. 1765 [6:258]. A Bond of Performance to make a Title to 400 acres of land & upwards from JOHN DUNCKLEY to PETER JOHNSON Apr. 1765 [6:259].

II:637. Lease & Release from ROBERT PEARUS & wf to WM NEALEY for lot #6 in S. Sq. of Salisbury 10 July 1766 [6:274]. Same from MATHIAS BEAVER & wf to ANDREW KILLIAN for 293 acres 26 June 1766 prvd by MARTIN FIFER [6:262]. Same from JACOB REACE to PETER SPRINKLE for 324 acres 9 June 1766 prvd by JONATHAN HUNT Esqr [6:279].

Venirey for Sept. Superior Court 1766: WM MILLICAN, GIDION WRIGHT, CHRIS NATION, JNO LEWIS, JAS SMITH, MARTIN ARMSTRONG, JNO HUNTER, THOS GILLISPY, ANDW ALLISON, WM SPURGIN. Pettit Jury: JAS FORBUSH, SAML CLARK, JAS McCAY, BENJN MERRELL, JNO McCONNELL, WM MERRELL, WM DRAPER, DAVID KARR. Court adjourned until tomorrow at 8.

II:638. 11 July 1766. Justices: Jonathan Hunt, Wm Millican, Jno Frohock Esqrs. THOMAS WILLIAMS vs HUGH McCRARY. Jury: DAVID BLACK, JAS ERWIN, WM MORGAN, MARTIN ARMSTRONG, MOSES PEARUS, ABRAHAM CRISON, THOS DICKEY, HENRY SLONE, JAS ALEXANDER, MATHEW SPARKS, JNO BUNTIN & GEO MAGOUNE.

II:638.11 July 1766(cont.) SAMUEL SPURGIN vs JOSEPH HALL. Same jury.
JACOB AARANT vs GEORGE MAGOUNE & wf Admr. &c. Same jury except WILL NEALEY instead of GEO MAGOUNE. PRESTON HAMPTON vs WILL CONNELL, nonsuit, same jury.

Deed from ABRAHAM WHITWORTH to WILLIAM COKER for 387 acres 9 Feb. 1766 prvd by ABSOLAM JORDON, Jr. [6:269].

II:639. Pearus Ass. of PEARUS vs ANDREW PITTS (Tay).
ADAM SAMUEL vs JOHN FOLEY & wife. Case for Words. £26.0.0
JAMES McCRAW vs ROBERT SHIPLEY. £9.12.0

Inventory of Sale of Estate of WM JOHNSTON Returned in Sum of £189.15.7.

Deed from WM ALEXANDER to LUKE DEAN for lot #5 in S.W. Square of Salisbury 11 Sept. 1756 prvd by JAMES ALEXANDER [6:253]. Court adjourned for an hour. Met with Justices Jonathan Hunt, Jno Dunn & Wm Millican.

II:640. The King vs JOS. THOMPSON. Assn. Jury: DAVID BLACK, JAS ERWYN, WM MORGAN, ROBT TATE, ABRAHAM CRISON, THOS DICKEY, HENRY SLONE, JAS ALEXANDER, JNO BUNTIN, JAS CARSON & THOS CARSON. Deft Guilty. 20/

HENRY BAKER vs JOHN PATTERSON. Jury: JNO GARDNER, HUMPHREY PAGE, ROBT WOODS, THOS BOILES, WM McCONNELL, CHAS PURVIANCE, JNO BURNET, JNO LOWRANCE, MICHAEL BROWN, JNO JOHNSON, WM WILLIAMS. Find for pltf.

SATTERWHITE & CO. vs JOHN HOWARD, (Hunter). Same jury except DAVID BLACK instead of PURVIANCE. £9.11.3.

Lease & Release from WILL TEM COLE & wf to JOHN STOGDON for lots #8-15-16 in W. Sq. of Salisbury 9-10 July 1766 Ackn. [6:276].

II:641. SATTERWHITE & CO. vs WILLIAM LINVILLE SR. Same jury. £9.13.2½.
MICHAEL LIGGOT vs SAMUEL BARTON. Same jury. £8.15.0.
GEORGE MAGOUNE vs JOSEPH PATTERSON. Same jury. £0.0.1.
PETER JOHNSON vs RICHARD NEALEY. Same jury except JOHN LEWIS BEARD instead of JOHN LOWRANCE. £8.13.4.

Orderd that SARAH NEAL have Letters of Admn of all & Singular the Goods of WM NEAL destd. Who Quallied According to Law &c the Securites ALEXR MARTIN & THOS NEAL Bound in the sum of £150. Court adjourned until tomorrow at 8.

II:642. 12 July 1766. Justices: Jno Brandon, Jno Dunn, Jno Frohock.
ROBERT PEARIN [?] vs JOSHUA HUSBAND. Evidence: WILL STEEL, WM McCONNELL, JOHN DUNN. Deft did not assume.
GEORGE MAGOUNE vs JOHN HAGGIN. Orig. Attm'. Same jury except PETER JOHNSTON for GEORGE MAGOUNE. £7.9.6.
ROBERT PEARIN vs JACOB ARANT. Same jury. £14.7.1.

II:643. ROBERT PEARIN vs PETER JOHNSTON. Same jury. £8.12.2.

Lease & Release from WM TEMPLE COLE & wife [SARAH] to GERMAN BAXTER for 10 lots in S. Sq. of Salisbury 11-12 July 1766 [6:277]. Deed from LUKE DEANE & wf [HESTER] to JOHN DUNN Power of atty to sell to JAMES CARSON lot #5 in S.W. Square 11 Jul 1766 [6:254]. JOHN HOLMES to JOSEPH ERWYN for 712 acres 25 Oct. 1765 prvd by JAMES ERWYN [6:274]. Court adjourned for an hour, met with same justices.

II:644. 12 July 1766. Will of ALEXR CATHEY prvd by JOHN FROHOCK & JNO BRANDON. Exrs: FRANCIS LOCK & JOHN CATHEY who Qualified. [A:39]. Minutes Red Over & Signd by Jno Brandon, Alexr. Martin, John Dunn.

Sept. 20th 1766 JOHN YOAKLEY Mark Two Craps one in Each Year & a Slit in Leff Year. [p. 645 is blank.]

II:646.14 Oct. 1766. Justices: Thos Donald, Jno Oliphant, James Dorchester.

JAMES FERSYTH Esqr: Appeared in Open Court & Produced A licence from His Exceellency the Gov' Authorizing him to Practice as an Attorney in the Several Inferior Courts of this Province The Sd JAMES Took the Oaths Appointd by Law &c.

Will of DAVID ROTHEROW prvd by MOSES SHORT. RICHARD SIMPSON & PETER KING Qualify as Exrs. [Rowan Co. Deed Book 6:303. See also p. 50 of these abstracts.]

Deed from JOHN STEWARD & wf SUSANNA to HENRY MANIDAY [MANADUE] for 200 acres 26 Oct. 1765 prvd by JAMES DORCHESTER Esqr. [6:302].

Exrs of Estate of DAVID ROTHEROW Returnd An Inventory of the Sale of the Estate Amounting to £57.7.1. Proc. fee 2/8

II:647. JENNET, THOS & JAMES McQUISTON Returnd An Inventory of Estate of JAMES McQUISTON Decd they being Exrs. of his Last Will & Testament. [A:126]

ANN & WALTER McQUISTON Returnd Inventory of ROBERT McQUISTON decd [A:112].

SARAH NEIL Adminstratrix of estate of WM NEIL Returnd Inventory.

SAML WOODS Admn. Returnd Inventory of Estate of ROBERT WOODS Decd. [A:163].

Lease & Release from RICHARD BERRY & ANN BERRY to MOSES POTTS for 320 acres no date prvd by JOHN POTTS [6:333 says BARRY]. Deed from Granville to WILLIAM NIAL for 630 acres 10 May 1762 [6:297 says NEIL]. Deed from Granville to JOHN McADOW for 640 acres, and another for 640, both dated 16 May 1759.

Orderd that a Road be Laid Out from the main Road Leading from the Shallow ford to Salisbury Oposit to JONATHAN HUNTS, from thence the Nerest & Best way to, Cross the main Yadkin between JAMES WILLIAMS, & PHILLIP WILLIAMS: & to Continue the Nerest & Best Way to the Trading Road Leading towards Capfair, & the Jury is as Followeth Towit: JOSEPH BRYAN, II:648. EDWD BOONE, ANDREW HUNT, CHRISTOPHER HOWARD, PHILIP WILLIAMS, ADAM BEFFELL, EDWD TURNER, GARSHAM HUNT, VINSTON WILLIAMS, JOSEPH GOSS, CHAS HUNT & JAMES BRYAN. Oversears JOHN HENLEY for the Upper Part EDWARD TURNER for the Lower part. Court adjourned until tomorrow at 9.

15 Oct. 1766. Justices: Jno Oliphant, Jno Hunter, James Dorchester.
ALEXR MARTIN Esqr. Appeard in Open Court Prodused a Commission from the Atty Gen. Apointg him Depu Kings Attorney for this County who Quallied According to Law

Orderd that RICHARD STANTON have Letters of Adm of the Estate of THOS STANTON Decd & Security ALEXR MARTIN, JOHN HUNTER in Sum of £200 with fee pd 24/

Orderd that FREDRICK GOSS, be Recommended to the Genl Assembly, of this Province to be Exemptd from Paymt of Publick Taxes he Being 65 & that he is so Very weak & infirm that He is Utterly unable to do the Least Labour, for the Suport him Self And that he is Extreemly helpless &c.

II:704. 14 July 1767. Dr. that WM SPURGIN be apointd OverSear of the Road, to Streighten & Amend the Same from his House to WM SIMMONS planta., that WM SIMMONS be appointed OverSear over to amend & Streighten the Road from his House to JAMES JOHNSTON & that HUGH FOSTER be apointd OverSear over the Road to Streighten & Amend the Same from JAMES JOHNSTONS to, SUMMERS, Branch & that the Adj. Inhabts to the Several Parts of the said Road Do Work on the Same.

II:705. Deed from GEORGE CLAYTON & Wf to NICHOLAS MASSEY for 310 acres 13 July 1767 prvd by JOHN BRAWLEY [6:447]. Lease & Release from JAMES HENDERSON to HUMPHREY BEST for 75 acres 22-23 Jun 1767 [6:471]. Deed from PHILLIP HOWARD to CORNELIUS HOWARD for 137 acres 17 July 1767 prvd by JOSEPH BRYAN [6:455]. Another from same for cattles, etc. 13 July 1767.

On Petition Orderd that JOHN ROBINSON W. DR. GEORGE NELSON, JOHN ENDSLEY, JOHN PYOATT, JAMES WRIGHT SR, MOSES BALLINGER, MOSES SHORT, DAVID PUSLEY, CHAS MITCHELL, JAS SANDERS & HENERY WHITE, be Appointd, to Lay of a road from Dann river Ford, at the Sorrow Town to DANIEL DILLINS Mill, from thence Into CORNELIUS COOKS Road, at the head of Deep river or on the Sand Ridge.

II:707. Dr CORNELIUS COOK, DAVID LINVILL, ASCHAL ROLLINGS, WM HOLBROOK, THOS LINVILL, JOHN ENDSLEY, THOS BROWN, JOHN PAYNE, JOS. UNTHANK, THOS BAILES, RICHD WILLIAMS, BOWATER BALES, Jury to Lay of a road from Capefare Road Near New Gardin Meeting house Leading a Direct Course to DANIEL DILLINS Mill & so Join the Town fork Road Near DAVID LINVILLS &c. Court adjourned until tomorrow. [no p. 708].

II:709. 15 July 1767. Justices: Andw Allison, Jno Oliphant, Wm Millican Esqrs. Lease & Release from JOHN WHITE & Wf to HENERY BARKLEY for 292 acres 20 Mar 1767 prvd by ARCHD HENERY [6:432]. Same from WM GILES & Wf to JOHN FORD for 167 acres 1-2 May 1767 [6:430]. Same from MORDICA MENDENHALL & wf to MOSES MENDENHALL for 200 acres 6-7 Jul 1767 prvd by WM MILLICAN [6:459], another to THOMAS MENDENHALL for 200 acres [6:457]. Same from GEORGE LAGLE & wf to GEORGE LAGLE JR. for 200 acres 16-17 Apr. 1767, another to MICHL LAGLE same acreage & date [6:463, 465]. Deed from JOHN FROHOCK to ANDREW PITTS Gunsmith for lots #65, 66 in Salisbury prvd by THOMAS FROHOCK [6:450].

Inventory of WM BARR decd retrnd by CATH. & WM BARR amounting to £373.3.0.

JAMES FORBUSH to be Oversear in Room of WM BRYANT & for his District.

Grand Jury: JAMES GRAHAM (foreman), HENRY HARMAN, NOBLE LAD, WM COCKER, MOSES MARTIN, ELIAS BROCK, FRANCIS METCALF, JOHN KIMBROUGH, ABRAHAM CRESON, WM BRYANT, JOS BRYANT, THOS ALLISON, CHAS McNEALLY, JOHN McCONNELL. SAML SMITH Constable.

II:710. JOHN MITCHELL & TEMPLE COLES Appointed Gardian to JANE BAILEY with Bond of £100.

Orderd that GEORGE HAGEY be recommended to the Genl Assembly, to be Exempted from paying his Public Dues & Other Public Service, Setting Forth, his Poverty & Age. Orderd that Xhristopher SPREACHER, be recommended &c Mutandus.

Dr JAMES HARRIS have licence to build a Public Grist Mill on Deep River, at the Mouth of Baldwins Branch: the Land on both sides sd River Belonging to sd HARRIS.

Inventory of Estate of ADAM McNEELY Amounting to Sum of £252.1.6 returned.

Dr. that JAMES HAMPTON & BENJA YOUNG be Appointd to Streighten the Road from

DAVID LINVILLS to the Old Moravian on the Town fork with ABRAHAM VANDERPOOLE Oversear of the Same.

This Day Came GRIFFETH RUTHERFORD & Protested against the Insofissiancy of the Goal.

Lease & Release from CALEB OSBORN & Wf to GEO ADMIRE for 200 acres 16-17 June 1766 prvd by JAMES OSBORN [6:474]. Court adjourned for an hour & met with Justices Jno Oliphant, Jno Brandon, Thomas Donnoll, Mathew Lock, Esqrs.

II:711. Deed from WM YOUNG & Wf to SAML FREEMAN for 52 acres 15 Jul 1767 [6:453]. Deed from HENRY CHAMBERS & Wf to ROBT CHAMBERS for 640 acres 6 Jan. 1767 prvd by ROBT STEEL [6:467]. Deed from JOHN COWAN & Wf to GEO COWAN for 320 acres 9 Mar 1767 prvd by DAVID JINKINS, and another like deed to WM COWAN 10 Mar 1767. Deed from JOHN McCRACKIN to JACOB LARKINS for 229 acres 23 Jan. 1767 prvd by EDWD TURNER [6:452].

Inventory of JAMES ROSBOROUGH returned. Additional inventory of JAMES ARMSTRONG returned by WILL. ARMSTRONG Admr. Amounting to £90.4.9.

MOSES PEARES Appointed Over Sear of the Road in Roome of THOMAS CARSON. PATRICK - HAMILTON Over Sear in roome of JAMES TEMPLETON.

II:712. This Day Came into Open Court GRIFFITH RUTHERFORD, & Prodused a Commission from his Exelency WM TRYON Esqr Dated 12 may 1767 thereby Constituing him Sheriff of Rowan County during his Pleasure with JAMES GRAHAM SR & SAML WOODS of Grants Creek JAMES McCULLOH & JOHN HAGGINS his Securities who Quallified.

Dr. the Estate of JOHN FARLOW Decd to MICH: FARLOW Admn &c Cr. To Sundry Debts Pd as by Acco. filed £69.11.1. Errors Excepted P MICHAEL FARLOW admn.

Sale from JAMES GRAHAM to JOHN McGEE for Sundry horses, cows &c 10 July 1767 prvd by JOHN HANNAH [6:444]. Court adjourned until tomorrow at 9.

16 July 1767. Justices: Andw Allison, Jno Brandon, Jno Oliphant Esqrs. Orderd that AN BASHFORD, have Letters of Admn of all & Singular the Estate of THOS. BASHFORD decd Securities JNO BRANDON & JNO FROHOCK who Quallified.

II:713. JONATHAN HUNT, & MORGAN BRYAN Esqrs, appeard & Quallified in as Justices, of the Peace of this county, by taking the Oaths by Law Appointed . . .

Deed from Granville to GEO MAGOUNE for 599 acres 17 Aug. 1762 [6:436]. Deed from GEO MAGOUNE to JOHN FROHOCK for 599 acres 14 Jul 1763 prvd by WM McCONNILL, p. 438. Lease & Release from THOS McCALL & Wf to JOHN FROHOCK for 656 acres 21-22 Dec. 1766 [6:442]. Deed from JAMES ANDREWS to JOHN FROHOCK for 350 acres 22 July 1763 prvd by WILL FROHOCK [6:438]. Deed from Carter & Foster to JOHN FROHOCK for lots #60, 65, 73, 74 In W. Sq. of Salisbury 10 Feb. 1766 prvd by THOS FROHOCK [6:441].

Will of JACOB LIKINS prvd by JOHN HUNT PRATER & EDWD TURNER [A:85]. RICHARD HENDERSON prayed for an appeal. Granted.

II:714. MARTIN ARMSTRONG vs WN HALL. Jury: PETER WHITACRE, ROBT PAYNE, RICHARD BRANDON, JAS McGAUGHEY, JNO HAGGINS, HANCE LICKENS, JNO BIGGERSTAFF, HUGH BOWMAN, CORNELIUS COOK, ROBT BARKLEY, EDWD ROBERTS, JOHN TREVILLION. £0.0.1.

JOHN BARNSIDES vs DAVID HALL. Same jury. £0.0.1 & ROBT TELLSON vs ROBT PEARES JACOB FEAZOR for JOHN TREVILLION on jury. £14.13.8 & Court adjourned for 1 hr. & met with Justices Jonathan Hunt, Morgan Bryan, Wm Spurgin Esqrs.

II:715.16 July 1767. Orderd by the Court that JOHN SAWYERS Orphant of WM SAWERS Decd be put an Apprentice to JOSHUA WHITACRE for & During the Term of 5 Years, he being Aged 16 & he to Larn him the Art of a Farmer, & to Give him at the Ex- peration of his sd Term a Young mare of f6 Prise & a Sadle & Bridle he is to Sarve to the Age of 21 & Otherwise Comply with Act of Assembly.

Orderd that RACHAL BURCH be put an Apprentice to JOHN CHURCH she being 14 years 5 mos. & to serve till she is 18 & the Master to give her a Suite of Freedom Cloath & a Colt & Calf & Spining Wheel & to Comply with Act of Assembly.

Orderd that SAML YOUNG be Appointed Gardun to SAMUEL, WILLIAM & JAMES STOREY Or- ohants of JAMES STOREY decd & that he Take into his Possession all Cattle Hogg & Horses & other Effects Which of Wright Belong to Them & Sell the Effects to Best Advantage & Make Due return thereof to Our Next Court.

Orderd that RICHD BURCH Orphant of BURCH Decd Be put an Apprentice to ENOCH TUCK for & During the Term of 21 Years he Being 9 & he is to Larn him the art & Mistry of Wicar[?] & to Give him a Suit of Freedom Cloath & Otherwise Comply with an Act of Assembly in Such Cases made & provided.

II:716. Orderd that JAMES ANDERSON be Put an Apprentice to JAMES McGAUGHEY for & During the Term of 21 Years he Being Aged 15 Years 9 Months & he is to Larn him the Art & Mystry of Shoemaker & Give him a Suite of Freedom Cloaths & other- wise to Comply with an Act of Assembly in Such Cases made & Provided.

Constables Appointed to Warn in the Taxables &c that a return there of may be made to Next Court & the Justices to Receive them &c they are issued. II:717

Justices	Constables	Districts
JOHN BRANDON Esqr	ALEXANDER PINEY	Cap: RUTHERFORDS
ANDREW ALLISON	JOHN LOWRANCE	DOBBIN
" "	JAMES STUART	"
MATHEW LOCK	SAMUEL SMITH	Cap: LITTLE
JOHN OLIPHANT	ABRAHAM ERWYN	Davisons Crk to Third Crk
JOHN BREVARD	JOHN McCOWN	Davisons Crk to County
" "	" "	Line & to Dividing Ridge
" "	" "	to Lower Settlement
ALEXR OSBORN	PETER LOWRANCE	West side Catawba River
JONATH. HUNT	JOHN JONES	Forks of the Yadkin
MORGAN BRYANT	ADAM HALL	Lower end of the Forks
GIDION WRIGHT		EDWARD HUGHES' Dist.
JAMES DORCHESTER		For the Hollow
JACOB LASH	CHRISTIAN FRY	Town Fork & Muddy Creek
" "	AMBROSE BLACKBURN	" "
JOHN HUNTER	JOHN LEOMAN	District on Dan River
WILLIAM SOURGIN	WILLIAM LEDFORD	Capn. HARMON's Dist.
THOMAS DONNOLL	JOHN COATS	Haw River District
WILLIAM MILLICAN		Poulcat, Deep R., Caraway
JOHN FORD	ARTER ONEAL	His Own Dist, the Yadkin,
" "	" "	Abbotts Crk & Uwwharry
WALTER LINDSEY	WILLIAM STINSON	Third, Fourth & Fifth Crks
" "	" "	& the South Yadkin

Recvd the Abov Orders GRIFFETH RUTHERFORD. Court adjourned until tomorrow at 9.

II:718. 17 July 1767. Justices:Morgan Bryant, Mathew Lock, William Spurgin Esqrs. Lease & Release from JOHN STOGDON & Wf to JOHN MITCHELL for lots #8,15,16 in W.

II:718. 17 July 1767(cont) Sq. of Salisbury 16-17 July 1767 prvd by JAS HANNAH [6:462].

PETER JOHNSON vs WM WILLIAMS. Jury: BENJN MERRELL, EDWD ROBERTS, PETER HEDRICK, JNO WILLSON, HENRY HORAH, PETER FEAGLEY, ANDW KARR, JAS JACK, ISAAC GARRISON JR. & SR, JNO BIGGERSTAFF, ADAM HALL.

JOHNSON vs RAMSEY. Same jury. £5.8.10

THOMAS COOK Charged in Custody as the Suites of ROBERT PEARIN, WM NASSERY & Others & Petition the Court to be Admitted To the Benefit of Act of Assembly he having made a Skeadual of all his Personal Estate which Petition was Granted & he the sd THOMAS COOK Took the Oath by Law Appoid for the Purpose &c &c

II:719. Jury for Salisbury Superior Court Sept. Term 1767: ALEXR OSBORN, JNO BRE- VARD, JNO BRANDON, ANDW ALLISON, THOS ALLISON, THOS DONNOL, JNO HUNTER, MARTIN ARMSTRONG, THOS DUGAN, JNO OLIPHANT, ADAM ALLISON, JNO McCONNELL, PATRICK GRACEY, WM NISBITT, HENRY CHAMBERS, JNO McCONNELL JR., ABRAHAM CRESON, JOSHUA TEAGUE.

The King vs HUGH MCCRAREY. Jury: BENJN MERRELL, WM NASSERY, EDWD ROBERTS, PETER HEDRICK, HENRY HORAH, ANDW KARR, ISAAC GARRISON JR & SR, JNO BIGGERSTAFF, COR- NELUS COOK SR., CALEB OSBORN, JOHN HUNT PRAETER. Not Guilty.

JAMES HEMPHILL vs JOSEPH PATTERSON. Jury: JNO WILLSON, HENRY HORAH, ANDW KARR, ISAAC GARRISON JR. & SR, ADAM HALL, CORNELUS COOK SR, JAS MARLIN, JOSHUA HALL, WM GARDENR, ROBT TATE, PETER JOHNSON. Court adjourned until tomorrow at 9.

II:720. 18 July 1767. Justices: Jno Brandon, Mathew Lock, Jno Brevard, Wm Spurgin. Deed from MICHAEL MORR to GEO LAENIGEN for 160 acres 2 June 1767 [6:448], another to JACOB ELLER for 160 acres [4:447]. Deed from JOSEPH LOVEWATER & Wf to GEORGE LANEGAN for 42 acres 2 June 1767 prvd by MICHAEL MORR [6:449]. Lease & Release from WM BRYANT & Wf to SAML MOSEBY for 310 acres 30 Jan 1767 prvd by PHILIP HOWARD JR. [6:466]. Bill of Sale from THOMAS GRIST to ANDW SIDES for an Improvement on Second Crk adj. SAML SHINN Also 1 Dark Horse, 1 Black Mare, 2 Cows & Calves, 2 Fether Beds one Weighing 45 Weight & the other 35 pounds & there Fernature, 1 Iron Pott & Copper Cattle, 1 Spinning Wheel, 1 Puter Dish & 2 Do Plates, 1 Broad Ax & 1 Narrow Ax, prvd by GEORGE HENRY BARRINGER.

II:721. Licence of JOHN LEWIS BEARD & DANL LITTLE Renewed for Insuing Year with Secu. GEORGE HENRY BARRIER & GASPER MILLER, on Motion of JOHN DUNN.

WM HITCHINSON vs JNO OLIPHANT. Case #1. Jury: BENJN HINSLEY, JASPER MILLER, HARMON BUTNER, JACOB NICHOLIS, JNO BIGGERSTAFF, DAVID JONES, JNO STOGDON, WM GARDNER, THOS TIDWELL, JAS HANNAH, ROBT JOHNSON, HUGH MCCRAREY. £14.5.4. Appeal granted.

Deed from FRANCIS LOCK to JOHN FROHOCK for 360 acres 15 July 1766 [6:439]. Deed from Carter & Foster to WM McCONNELL JR for 9 acres in Salisbury 12 Apr. 1765 prvd by WILL TEM: COLE [6:456].

Dr. The Estate of JOSEPH MILLICAN Decd to WM MILLICAN & ALEXR LOCKHART Adm. Cr. to Sundry debts Paid as by Acct. filed £85.13.9. To 2 Settlements £1.0.8. Allowd by the Court £1.15. Balance Due £4.12.5. By the Amt of the Sale as P Account filed £93.1.10. II:722. Minutes Red Over & Signd: Jno Brandon, Wm Spurgin, Oliphant.

II:723. 13 Oct. 1767. Justices: Jno Oliphant, Walter Lindsay, Andw Allison, Mathew Lock, Esqrs

but are to give up both now.

3:24. Deed from HUGH FOSTER to JOHN MITCHEL for lot #37 in the N Square for a Schoolhouse 30 Nov. 1767 prvd by WM TEMPLE COLE [6:550].

The King vs JOHN BONE & wf. Petty Larceny. Evidence for King: ROB. PEARIS, ELIZ. PEARIS, HEN HORAH; for plaintiff: CATH FOLEY, FRED LONG, HEN PAGE, JOHN L BEARD, JOHN HOLAND.

3:25. 22 Apr. 1768. Justices: Andw Allison, John Brandon, Gideon Wright, John Oliphant, Mathew Lock, John Brevard; they settle with FRANCIS LOCK hseriff for 1766.

Deed from Hugh Foster to MAXWELL CHAMBERS for lot #30 in W Sq 20 Jan. 1768 [6:547]. Deed from Hugh Foster to HENERY HORAH for lot #9 in E Sq. 20 Jan. 1768 [6:552]. Deed from FRANCIS LOCK to JOHN MITCHEL for 108½ acres 15 Jan 1768 [6:562]. Deed from WM McCONNELL Jr. to JOHN FROHOCK for 9 acres in Salisbury 18 Mar. 1768

JAMES CRAIGE to have license to keep a Tavern at the Forks of the roade where he now lives with WILLIAM LYNN & WM TEMPLE COLE Security in Sum of £50.

3:26. Road Oversears: MICHAEL FARLOW from the Orange Line to the Trading Roade; WM THORN BURROUGH from there to Mudy Creek; JOHN REDOCK from there to the Flinty Ridge; JARSTON JOHNSON from there to Abbotts Creek; WOLRECK RICHARDS from there to the Moravian Line.

The King vs WILLIAM ELDER, petty larceny, not guilty.
ISAAC MABURY vs FRANCIS MEDCALF.

The King vs JOHN HOWARD Heirs, GIDEON WRIGHT & WILLIAM TEMPLE COLE as bail surrendered the body of HOWARD HINK [?] and wishes him discharged.

3:27. THOMAS ALLISON settles Estate of MARY SIMINGTON decd in Sum of £121.1.11. 23 Apr. 1768. JOSEPH & EVE HARTMAN adm of HARMON HARTMON decd render statement amounting to £115.1.11.

The King vs ANN JOHNSON. Evidence for King: JOHN BONE, BAR REDCAP, ROB DERUMPLE.

3:28. ELIZABETH McBROOM adm of JAMES McBROOM decd renders statement £242.15.9.

Deeds from Hugh Foster: to HENRIETTA MARIA COLE lots #23-31 prvd by MARTIN WILLIAM alias WM MARTIN [6:551]; to JOHN BONE JR. for lot #36 in N Square [6:549]; to JOHN LEWIS BEARD for lot #83 in N Sq [6:555]; to JOHN BONE SR for lots #35, 43, 44 in N Sq [6:548]. Deed from ROBERT JOHNSON & wf MARY to HUGH FOSTER for lots #82, 83 in E Square of Salisbury prvd by WM TEMPLE COLE [6:554].

On Motion of Mr. HOOPER Orderd by the Court that MATHEW LOCK & WM NESBITT have Letters of Admn of All & Singular the Goods & Chattles &c of FRANCIS JOHNSON decd with JOHN MITCHEL & JOHN BRANDON Security in Sum of £500 & that they sell the Crop in the Ground, the Milch Cows, Waggon & Draught Horses &c.

3:29. JOHN MITCHELL vs PETER JOHNSON. Jury: HARMON BUTNER, JOS. HARTMON, JOHN HOLAND, JOHN WILLSON, JAMES McGAGHEY, JACOB CASTOR, THOS BILES, JOSEPH BOWIN, JONATH. PARKER, SAM. SMITH, JOHN CAMPLE, HENRY BARTLY.

Lease & release from JONATH. HUNT to EVAN SHELBY for 700 acres 22-23 Apr. 1768 [6:546].

TYREE GLENN Overseer from Shalow fork on W side river to ISAAC FRIES [?].

3:30. 19 July 1768. Lease & release from BENJAMIN STARRATT & wf to JOHN HALL for 484 acres 20 Sept. 1766 prvd by WM MATHEWS [6:580]. Deed from JOHN PAYNE & wf to THOMAS JASAP for 198 acres 26 Mar. 1768 [6:575] & another for 81 3/4 acres 5 May 1768 [6:576]. Deed from ZACHARIAH DICKS to THOMAS JASAP for 22 acres 16 July 1768 prvd by JOHN PAYNE [6:577]. Deed from JAMES BRITAIN to THOMAS JASAP for 200 acres 4 May 1768 prvd by JOHN PAYNE [6:577].

3:31. ROBERT WALKER to have License to Keep an Ordinary at his home in Rowan with WM TEMPLE COLE & THOMAS STWEL as Securites.

HENERY GRUP [Grees?] an orphan apprenticed to GASPER KINDER for 11 years from today, he being now 10, to become a hatter & to Receive £5 when finished.

Deed from DAVID KARR & wf to RALPH GORRELL for 300 acres 16 June 1768 prvd by JOHN KARR [6:592].

20 July 1768. Justices: Thomas Donnell, John Hunter, William Spurgin. WM RAPER apptd Oversear of Roade in Cap. HENERY HARMONS District.

3:32. Grand Jury: ANDERSON SMITH, PHILLIP WILLIAMS, JOSEPH ERWYN, ANDREW CARR, JAS STEWART, ROBT WOODS, WM SIMINGTON, JOHN BUNTIN, JOHN HOUSTON, JOSEPH HARTMAN, JAMES BYERS, WM ROBINS, HENERY SLOAN, JAS SMITH, HENERY McHENERY, EDWARD TURNER. JOHN DOBBINS appointed Constable for it.

Bill of Sale 25 June 1768 from JOHN WATKINS to JOHN McDOWELL for 440 acres on S branch Cataba R prvd by CHAS McPEETERS [6:595]. MARTIN WARLOCKS & wf to MICHAEL MYERS for 158 acres 15 May 1768 [6:578]; MARTIN WARLOCKS buys this back same date [6:595]. Deed from THOMAS FOSTER & wf MARY to MARY GILES for 25 acres 28 June 1768 prvd by GEO MAGOUNE [6:579]. Lease & release from ANDREW BAKER & wf to JAMES SHEPPARD for 450 acres 11-12 Mar. 1768 prvd by JARRET GROSS [6:582] 3:33. Same from JOHN ROBINS & wf to WM ROBINS for 202 acres 15-16 Feb. 1768 prvd by WM MILLICAN [6:586]. Deed from THOMAS HILL & wf to STEPHEN ALEXANDER for 100 acres 20 Feb. 1768 [6:594].

Orderd that MARTIN ARMSTRONG, JACOB LASH, JAMES BROWN, WM ROBINS, JAS FELKERSON, WLL: PRICE, WM DALTON, JOHN DUNAGAN, WM PORTER, HUGH PORTER, WM HALL & JAMES SHEPPART be Appointed a Jury to Lay out a Road the Nearest & Best Way from the Morav. Town Threw the Hollow [?] to the Va. Line where the Road Crosses the Mountains to CHEPPELLS Mines.

ANTHONY WHITE vs PETER JOHNSON. Wit: GEO MAGOUNE, WILL McCONNELL Sr. Jury: SAML SMITH, JAS McCULLOH, JAS BUNTIN, ANDW CATHEY, ISAAC ANDERSON, JACOB ROBINS, MANNING BROOKSHIRE, MATHIAS ROBINS, JOHN BRYANT, JNO ASPRY, MOSES THOMPSON, WM McCulloh.

JOHN MITCHELL vs JOHN PATTON. Same jury as above.

3:34. ANDREW ALLISON Esq. produced a Commission from his Exelency WILLIAM TRYAN dated 26 May 1768 Constituting him High Sheriff of Rowan & he Quallified.

Lease & release from WM McKNIGHT to ROBT LUCKEY for 680 acres 5-6 Feb. 1760 prvd by JOHN KARR Esq. [6:584]. Court adjourned one Hower.

WILLIAM SATTERWHITE & Comp. vs THOMAS BRYANT. Evidence: W: NASERY. Jury: HUGH JINKINS, SAM SMITH, GEORGE COWAN, JAS BUNTIN, ANDW CATHEY, ISAAC ANDERSON, JACOB ROBINS, MANNING BROOKSHIRR, MATHIAS ROBINS, JOHN BRYANT, JNO ASPEY, SAM NICHOLSON.

3:35. 21 July 1768. Deed from FELIX LONG to THOMAS & JACOB LONG for 740 acres
2 Feb. 1768 [6:592]. Deed from OBEDIAH HARRISS & wf to WILL MORGAN for 200 acres
17 Aug. 1767 prvd by WM SPURGIN [6:593].

MAREY DICKS & WILLIAM BALDWIN, exrs. of NATHANIEL DICKS decd give account of
estate at £31.4.2. [A:29].

3:36. WM CALLAHAN, DAVID DUNKEN & wf ELIZABETH are to be Executors for JOHN CAL-
LAHAN decd.

Will of PETER LARRANCE prvd by JOHN KNAVE. Exrs MARY LARRANCE & ANDREW KELLION
to sell perishable estate & make return to next Court. [A:82].

JOHN MITCHELL vs ROBERT PEARIS. Trespass. Evidences: HEN: HORAH, DAN: LITTLE,
ANN BASHFORD. Jury: CHAS McPEETERS, JNO BUNTIN, GEO MORRIS, MATHIS & JACOB ROBINS,
VALL VANHOUSER, ABLE ARMSTRONG, GEO MARSHALL, WM CALLAHAN, THOS LODINGTON, JAS
GILLESPIE, ISAAC ANDERSON.

MATHEW LOCK Esq. vs HUGH SMITH. Debt. Jury: HUGH JINKINS, JNO HOUSTON, WM LEO-
PARD, JOHN LANTS, JNO BULLIN, ELIAS BROCK, WM DELANEY, GASPER MILLER, JAS BUN-
TIN, PETER LOWRANCE, JOHN BICKERSTAFF, HENERY SLOAN.

3:37. WILLIAM NASERY vs ANTHONY BLEDZOE. Same jury as Lock-Smith above.

WILLIAM DORTON vs JOHN BLEVINS. Same jury.

WILLIAM LYNN vs GEORGE MAGOUNE, JOHN LEWIS BEARD, WM NASERY. Same jury.

3:38. ANDW ALLISON High Sheriff Came into Open Court & Protested against the in-
sufficiency of the Publick Goal and prayed it to be Recorded.

ISHAM BROWDER apptd oversear of the road from the Orange line on N side Dan R.
crossing the Lower Sorow Town ford & from there to JOHN WALKER's.

22 July 1768. Justices: Jno Brandon, John Hunter, Wm Millican Esq.
Deed from WM SIMPSON to GRIFFITH RUTHERFORD for 220 acres 23 Sep 1767 [6:574].

WILLIAM FARMER vs JOHN BULLIN. Evidence: G MAGOUNE, V BEFFELL. Jury: JAS MORGAN,
JAS WYAT, JACOB NICHOLS, WM McDOWELL, BENJ ROBINSON, WM JOHNSON, JAS & THOS
BRANDON, WM HADIN, WM LEOPARD, CHAS McPEETERS, GEO MARSHALL.

3:39. Constables to collect taxes:

Constable	Place	Justice
JOHN SIMMON	Dan River	JOHN HUNTER
W. JAS, AB: VANDERPOOL	Town Fork & Blews Crk	JACOB LASH
HENERY ROSS	Capt. HARMON'S Dist	WILL SPURGIN
W. PATTON, PH VERBLE	RUTHERFORD & LITTLE Dist.	JOHN BRANDON
SAM MILLER, JAS PATTERSON	DOBBINS & KNOX Districts	MATTHEW LOCK
JOHN IRELAND, JOHN DOBBINS	Capt. MORRISON's Dist.	WALTER LINDSEY
	Davidson Crk to Third Crk	JOHN OLIPHANT
PAT HAMILTON	Davidson's Crk to Co. Line	JOHN BREVARD
PAT HAMILTON	West side Cataba River	ALEXR OSBORN
	Yadkin River District	JONATHAN HUNT
	Lower end of the Forks	MORGAN BRYAN
	EDWARD HUGH's District	GIDEON WRIGHT
	the Hollow	JAMES DORCHESTER
	Haw River	THO DONNELL
	Polecat, Deep R., Carraway	WILL MILLICAN

ART ONEAL, JOHN DAVIS, CHAS BARRIER for the Yadkin, Abbotts Creek and Hugh-

wary Settlement with JOHN FORD as Justice.

Venirey aptd for Salisbury Superior Court 1768: MARTIN ARMSTRONG, WM ROBINSON,
JOHN HUNTER, THOS DONNEL, HUGH JENKINS, JOHN FORD, JAMES SMITH, JONATH HUNT, MOR-
GAN BRYANT, WM SPURGIN, JAS ROBINS, ALEXR OSBORN, ROBT BREVARD, SAML YOUNG, JNO
OLIPHANT, JOHN BRANDON, JOSEPH TATE, WILLIS ELLIS, JAMES WILBORN, JOHN KARR,
WALTER CARRUTH, ADAM ALLISON.

3:40 22 Jul 1768. Justices: Alex Osborn, John Brandon, Math Lock, John Ford Esqrs.
HENRY SHOAF made oversear instead of HANCE LICKENS.

JOHN BARTLETT, 1 yr. old orphan, bound to ARTHUR ONEAL for 20 yrs to lean Shoe-
making.

GEORGE MAGOUNE to JOHN HAM 2 negroes 26 Jan 1768 prvd by WM McCONNELL.

GEORGE MAGOUNE vs EBENEAZ: FROST.) Jury: JAS MORGAN, JAS WATT, WM McDOWELL, BENJ
3:41. ROBERT TATE vs. JOHN BONN.) ROBINSON, WM JOHNSON, JAS BRANDON, WM HADDIN,
WILL. DOBINS, JOHN HANN, JOHN TODD, JOHN BUNTIN, WILL NASERY.

23 July 1768. Lease & release from JOHN MITCHELL TO MICHAEL MOUR for 170 acres
21-23 July prvd by JOHN BRALEY [6:589]. Deed from WM TEMPLE COLE to MICHAEL MORR
for lot #68 in W Sq. of Salisbury 5 May 1768 [6:590]. Lease & release from JACOB
AARANT to JOHN MITCHEL for 629 acres 8-9 Feb 1765 [6:578]. Deed of gift from
THOMAS FOSTER to JOHN & MARGRET ZEVILEY for sundries 23 July 1768.

3:42. ANN BASHFORD gives account for estate of THOMAS BASHFORD decd in Sum of
£68.6.11, debts being £120.15.6 & sale amounting to £52.8.7.

JAMES McCOY proves will of ANDREW McMAHON decd., JAMES McMAHON exr. [A:109].

THOMAS ALLISON vs JOHN BURNET & JOSHUA HALL. Evidence: ADAM ALLISON. Jury: JAS
BUNTIN, BENJ ROBINSON, JOHN TODD, PETER LOWRANCE, JOSEPH LUCKEY, WM BALDWIN, JAS
McGAUGHEY, PETER BEAM, ROBT WOODS, JOHN LOWRANCE, JAMES ERWYN, WM DELANEY.

3:43. OLIVER WALLIS granted license for Ordinary in his Salisbury home, JOHN
HOUSTON & THOMAS BILES his security.

Deed from ROBERT PEARIS to JACOB GUYER for lot #99 in E Sq. of Salisbury 14 Jun
1768.

MATHEW LOCK & WILL NESBETT admin. of [blank] & are to sell estate.

3:44. Deed from Hugh Foster to DANL LITTLE for lots #18, 27, 45 in E Sq. prvd by
JOHN GRAHAM [6:602], for lots #37, 39, 46, 47 25 Apr. 1768 [6:600], for lots #73,
74 23 Feb. 1768 [6:601], all in E Square of Salisbury.

JOHN WYNN's Mark a Swallow fork in Left Ear & Slitt & Under Keel in Right Eare.

3:45. 19 Oct. 1768. Justices: John Oliphant, Jacob Lash, Thomas Donnell, Esqrs.
Inventory of est. of WM SIMMONS decd returned by ROBT SIMMONS in Sum of £96.4.6.

3:46. Lease & Release from JOSEPH LUCKEY & JANE LUCKEY to THOMAS DICKEY for 135
acres 1 Oct. 1768 prvd by ROBERT JOHNSON [7:28].

Will of WILLIAM OZBUN produced in Open Court by WM REYNOLDS JR. & SAML OZBUN Exr
& prvd by Affirmation of JOHN POWELL. Letters Testamentary issue to Exrs with
Copy of the Will annexed as they qualified. [A:135].

3:46. 18 Oct. 1768 (cont.) Grand Jury: JOHN LOWRANCE (foreman), THOS NISBETT, THOS BRANDON, SAML WOODS, RICHD BRANDON, HENRY BARKLEY, JOHN TODD, DAVID McDOWELL, WM SIMPSON, JOHN KILPATRICK, GEO NIBLOCK, JAS HEMPHILL, WM LYNN, JOHN McCLATCHY, JOHN SLOAN JR. SAMUEL MILLER is Constable for it. Petit jury: JAMES MCCOY, MICHAEL BROWN, JOHN JOSEY, ROBERT TATE.

3:47. JOHN DUNN Esq. appointed attorney for the King.
Deed from THOMAS POWELL & wf to JOHN POWELL for 151 acres 7 Oct. 1768 prvd by WM REYNOLD [7:20]. Deed from WLATER LINDSAY Esqr. to WM BROWN for 305 acres 10 Mar. 1767 prvd by FERGUS SLOAN [7:12]. Deed from Granville to THOS TURNER for 383 acres 20 Dec. 1760 [7:27]. Deed from Granville to ROGER TURNER for 575 acres 26 Jan. 1761 [7:25].

JOHN MURDOCK appointed guardian to MOSES MITCHELL, to take his estate into his hands, bond of £100 with HUGH HALL security. SAMUEL MITCHELL appointed guardian of JOHN MITCHELL with ANDREW MITCHELL as security.

3:48. Lease & release from JACOB LASH to JACOB MILNER for 454 acres 11-12 Feb. 1765 [7:31]. Same to VALLINTINE FRY for 700 acres 1-2 Sept. [7:32]. Same from JACOB WAGGONER to ADAM HARMON for 360 acres 26-28 1766 prvd by JACOB LASH [7:35]. Deed from CHRISTOPHER RENGLEMAN & wf to JOHN RENGLEMAN for 150 acres 16 Oct. 1767 prvd by WM TEMPLE COLE [7:15 says RENDLEMAN].

Estate of PETER LOWRANCE valued at £86.2.7.

JOHN DUNN vs JOHN MCKLEWRATH. Case #1. Jury: JOHN MURDOCK, JOHN JOHNSON, HARMON BUTNER, SAML WILLIAMS, DANL LEWIS, WM WILLIAMS, WM McDOWELL, JACOB BROWN, HUGH HALL, WM ROBERTS, ALEXR HARDIN, HUGH STEVENSON.

3:49. Estate of ANDREW McMAHON decd appraised at £212.12.10 by WILLIAM LYNN & JOHN WILLSON appraisors and JAMES McMACHON executor.

Deed from ANN LETSLER to JACOB CARSTER for 375 acres 1 June 1768 prvd by DANL LITTLE [7:17]. Deed from RUBIN SIMPSON & wf SARAH to GRIFFITH RUTHERFORD for 72 acres 19 Oct. 1768 [7:16].

3:50. JACOB MYARS granted license to keep Ordinary at Bathabara with JOHN FROHOCK & JACOB LASH Securities in the amount of £50 proclamation money.

MICHAEL HOAKE Jr. Recommended to the General Assembly to be Exempted from payment of Publick Taxes as he hath Ben a Cripple from his Infancy Aged to 19 Years.

Fined for nonappearance as jurymen: ALEX McCULLOH, JAS GRAHAM, JOHN ELLIS, WM McCLELLAND, PETER HEADRICK, JOSEPH GOSS, MALCOM HAMELTON, JAS DAVISON, ROBERT WOODS (wever), JACOB AGNER, HUGH McCREARY, WM ERWYN, or show why. 20 Oct. 1768 Justices: Alex Osborn, Will Millican, Wm Spurgin, Math Lock Esqrs.

Power of Attorney from JOHN MURDOCK & wf ELIZABETH, CHRISTOPHER HOUSTON & wf & ANDREW MITCHELL to SAML MITCHELL to authorize him to sell land in Pa. 18 Oct. 1768. Deed from ROBERT PEARIS to HENRY SLOAN for lots #67, 68, 75, 76 in N Square of Salisbury 21 July 1768 prvd by WM MARTIN [7:24].

WILLIAM ALLIN, a mullatto boy, to serve JAMES HEMPHILL 4½ months exclusive of his indenture for the time he was absent from his master's service.

3:51. THOS GILLESPIE & JOHN McCONNELL exrs of THOMAS JOHNSON decd make return

showing debts = £28.4.4; Widow's third = £17.11.2; Balance due children = £35.2.4; Money from sale of estate etc. = £80.17.10.

3:52. JAMES FOSTER vs THOS FOSTER. Case #20. Jury: JAMES McCAY, JOHN PATTON, JAS FLEMING, JOSEPH HAYSE, HUGH STEPHENSON, WM McDOWELL, ROBT BELL, BENJN MERRELL, ABRAHAM CRESON, JAS McKNIGHT, JAS McGAUGHEY, JOHN MILLER.

ALEXR OSBORN & GEO DAVIDSON to lay out & alter the road that leads through MOSES WINSLOW's plantation to the public road to best advantage.

JANE McCULLOH, Orphant of JOHN McCULLOH decd apprenticed to ELIZABETH CATHEY widow until she attain the age of 18 agreeable to Act of Assembly.

3:53. JOHN REDLE aged 5 Came into Court & Intodused JAMES WILSON an Evidence at the Instance of ther Father STEPHAN REDLE Who declares that the Blemish or Dep-ri-vation of Some part of the Right Ear of the said JOHN REDLE Came by a Mortifi-cation & not from any infamous Punishment from aney Court What soever.

Crawford & Co. vs JOHN WILKINSON
ROBERT PEARIS vs PETER JOHNSON. Evidence: FRANCIS LOCK.

3:54. Deed from Hugh Foster to JOHN HOWARD for lot #8 in N Sq 23 Apr. 1768 [7:23]. Two deeds from Hugh Foster to JAMES CRAIGE for lots #6, 7, 8, 14, 16 in N Square of Salisbury, all proved by WM TEMPLE COLE [7:22, 23]. 21 Oct. 1768.

WM REESE appointed overseer in Room of PATRICK HAMILTON.
RUDOLPH MARCH's Year Marke a Swallow Forke in the Right Year & a Crap in the Lefft Recorded and his Brand is thus R M &c

Bill of sale from GEO MAGOUNE to DAVID CRAIGE for a certain Negroe Woman Sew.

3:55. Deed from WM McCONNELL & wf JANE to JOHN MITCHELL for half lot #1 in So. Square 10 Aug. 1768 prvd by MATH LOCK. Deed from JOHN HOWARD to CATH: HOWARD Sr, GIDEON HOWARD, JOHN HOWARD & BENJN HOWARD for 160 acres 9 July 1768 prvd by JASON FREZELL [7:19]. Sale from JOHN HOWARD to DAVID CRAIGE of negro boy SIBPIO 3 Oct. 1768.

JAS WHITACRE renews his ordinary license on £50 bond with DANL LITTLE & JOHN LEWIS BEARD as securities. He registers his Year mark in Cattle & Hogs Towit a Crap & a Hole in the Left Year & a Swallow fork in the Right.

3:56. NATHANIEL JOHNSON, orphan son of FRANCIS JOHNSON decd, aged 13, is appren-ticed to ARTHUR ERWYN until 21 to learn the art & mystery of a Taylor, to be given £8 or a Hors Bridle & Sadle at the end of his term.

Deed from JOHN LEWIS BEARD to JAMES KARR for ½ lot #9 in N Square 9 Aug. 1768 prvd by JOHN BRALEY [7:14]. Another to PETER REAP for lots #65 & 66 in E Square 16 Dec. 1766 prvd by WM TEMPLE COLES [7:36].

3:57. 22 Oct. 1768. DANIEL LITTLE renews his Ordinary license with MICHAEL MORR & BENJAMIN ROBINSON as securities. JOHN LEWIS BEARD also renews his.

The King vs WM SMITH. Petty larceny. Evidence: PRUDENCE HALL, HUGH HALL. The prisoner is guilty & the Sheriff is to give him 20 lashes on his bare back at the public whipping post. Jury: ABRAHAM CRESON, JOHN BUNTIN, JAS TOWNSLEY, SAML LOWRY, VALLINTINE VANHOUSER, ROBT BELL, JAS SHEPPARD, HARMON BUTNER, JAMES WHIT-

ACRE, JAMES BLAIR, JAMES BLACK, DANIEL WILSON.

3:58. 22 Oct. 1768. Deed from JOHN LEWIS BEARD to MICHAEL BROWN, MICHAEL MORE, CASPER GUNTHER & PETER REEB as Trustees of the German Lutheran Church for lot #67 in the East Square 9 Sept. 1768 [7:13]. Deed from PETER JOHNSON to JANE ERWYN for lots #29,37,30 in N Sq. 22 Oct. 1768 [7:15].

WILLIAM FROHOCK, administrator of RICHARD CRUNK decd, returns sale at £195.4.7.

Notice is given that persons wishing to keep ordinaries must appear 1 Jan. each year or no license will be granted.

PETER JOHN in suits with JOHN MITCHELL, JOHN BUNTIN, ANTHONY FIFER, JOHN FROHOCK, ISAAC EDWARDS & JAMES THOMPSON on 8 Oct. 1768 says he will deliver schedule of his estate real and personal.

3:59. Deed of gift from JAMES SHEPPARD to his son WILLIAM SHEPPARD of a negro girl Luce 17 Oct. 1768 [7:73]. Deed from ROBERT PEARIS to GEORGE PEARIS for ¼ lot #5 in N Sq., lots #5,13,6,14,7,15 in S Sq, and personalty 20 Apr. 1767 prvd by WM TEMPLE COLE [7:19].

3:60. 25 Oct. 1768. Justices: Alex Osborn, Wm Spurgin, John Brandon, Esqrs. Jury to lay out road from SHOAR's a little below the little Yadkin to Mitchell's River along BRASHERS Tract: JOHN DENEY?, RICHARD GENTRY, JAS SHEPPARD, JOHN HAMMONS, WM LANFIELD, PETER AVANT, JOSEPH AVENT, GIDEON & HEZEKIAH WRIGHT, JOHN SHOARS, RYSE BOWING, JAMES BOHANNA.

FRANCES LOCK Esq Late Sheriff of Rowan Came into Court Five Justices being present to wit ALEX OSBORN, JOHN BRANDON, MATHEW LOCK, WM SPURGIN, WM MILLICAN Esq & Made Oaths that as Sheriff for the Year 1766 he hath Only Collected One Thousand Taxes from the persons Mentioned in the List of Taxables for the Year aforesaid - and also made Oath that the remaining Number 2,042 Taxables mentioned in the Sd List, he used particular Endavours to Collect the Said Tax from, but was Violently Opposed in the Execution of the Said Office particularly by those Who have lately Styled them Selves Regulators, by which Means he Declares he is rendered an cupable of Making a further Settlement he Further declares on Oath that he hath Collected & Received Fifty Supernumerarys Taxes for the Year aforesaid.

3:61. Account of Claims for the year 1767 [Amounts omitted: these are usually for court appearances as witness or juror]: JAMES SMITH, ALEXR McKNIGHT: JOSEPH TATE, ANDW ALLISON, WM MILLICAN, CHARLES GALWAY, JOHN McCONNELL, THOS GILLESPIE, ADAM ALLISON, THOS ALLISON, ADAM SHERRELL, JOHN OLIPHANT, JOHN KARR, THOS DONNOLL, WM SPURGIN, JOSEPH TATE, EDWARD HUNTER, JOHN HUNTER, JOHN FORD, WALTER CARUTH, ROBT BREVARD, JOHN McCONNELL JR, JOSHUA TEAGUE, MARTIN ARMSTRONG, JNO BRANDON, WILLIS ELLIS 3:62 GRIFFITH RUTHERFORD, WM MILLICAN, ANDREW ALLISON's acct with OLIVER WALLICE, also for two locks, for sweeping the courthouse, finding candles for bridge over Grants Creek £12 - to be let out by FRANCIS LOCK & HUGH JINKINS to lowest bidder; £4 extra to ANDW ALLISON for extra service as Sheriff; £6 to JOHN FROHOCK to extraordinary service; ROBERT GORDON; GFFTH RUTHERFORD for sundry service done by OLIVER WALLIS. Total of £85.1.1. Ordered that a sixpence proclamation money from each taxable of 4060 be levied for 1768 to discharge and the surplus to be given to claimants for the past years.

3:63. 14 Jan. 1769. Gov WM TRYON appoints as Justices of the Peace WM MILLICAN, HUGH JINKINS SR, WM TEMPLE COLE, CHARLES McANALY, JOHN FORD, GEORGE HENRY BARGER, JACOB LASH & GIDEON WRIGHT.

3:63. 14 Jan. 1769 (cont.). WILLIAM McCLALLAND records his Year Mark, a Crop on the Left Year & a peac out of the Upper Edge of the Same Year &c.

CONROD SHOUSE renews license for Tavern with JOHN FROHOCK his security £50.

3:64. NICHOLAS TUTRICK renews his tavern license. WILLIAM COLE registers his Year Marck for cattle & hogs.

JOHN RYLE JR qualifies as administrator for JOHN RYLE SR. with DANL LITTLE & MICHAEL BROWN as securities in bond of £500.

GEO MAGOUNE renews tavern license with JOHN DOBINS & COL. PURVIANS sec. in £50. 15 Jan. 1769. Justices: Wm Millican, Wm Temple Cole, Hugh Jinkins Sr. Esqrs. Deed from URIAH WOOLMAN of Philadelphia to JOSEPH MILLER for 340 acres 12 Oct. 1767 prvd by MOSES MENDENHALL [7:52].

3:65. Inventory of Estate of WILLIAM OZBURN returned in Open Court.

JAMES GRAHAM, JOHN ELLIOT, JAMES DAVIS, MALCOM HAMELTON must show why they were absent as jurors last term.

Grand Jury: JAS GRAHAM (foreman), ALEXR McCORKLE, ALEX REED, SAML HILLIS, JOHN MURDOCK, HENRY ROBINSON, WILL McKNIGHT, JACOB HUNTER, RICHARD GRAHAM, THOS HILL, JAS HALL, WILL ARCHABALD, WILL ROBERTS, WM WHITE, DAVID MILLER. JOHN DOBBINS Constable for it.

The King vs JOHN ALEXANDER. Recognizance. GEORGE ALEXR & THOS STILLWELL go on his bail for £500. Prosecutor WM MEANS is bound on £100 bond with WILL WILLSON & HENRY LITTLE as securities.

3:66. WM McCONNELL renews his tavern license with MATHEW WOODS Sec. in £50. JOHN DUNN Esq. is attorney for the King in this court.

Deed from Hon. HENRY EUSTACE McCULLOH to JOHN KEARNS for 270 acres 6 Feb. 1767 prvd by JOHN FROHOCK, JOHN DUNN, ALEXR MARTIN. Another to HARMON BUTNER for 220 acres 31 May 1765 [7:81]. Another to MATHIAS CARRN for 186 acres 29 Mar. 1765 [7:80]. Another to HENRY SLOAN for 208 acres 21 May 1765 [7:79]. Deed from WM BROWN to ALEXANDER NOOBERRY for 305 acres 10 Feb. 1769 [7:77] prvd by NICHOLAS McCLELLAND. Deed from JAMES DAVIDSON to CORNELIUS CLARK for 107 acres 6 Sept. 1768 prvd by JOHN McCONNELL [7:78].

The Year Marck of AARON SHARTS Hoggs & Cattle &c is a Crop in the right Year & a Nick in the Underside of the Same Year & a Slit in the Left Year & Brands C on the Near Butack.

3:67. Year Marck of ISAAC ANDERSONS Hoggs & Cattle &c a Swallow fork in Left Year & an Over Slops in the Wright & brand I A on Near Shoulder. The marks of THOMAS KNIGHT & THOMAS STILLWELL are also recorded.

ANDREW FERGUSON vs ROBERT BOWMAN. Jury: MATH WOODS, JAS FORBUSH, DAVID JONES, GEO MABURY, ISAAC MABURY, JOHN ASBELL, JOHN HOUSTON, JOHN TEMPLETON, ROBERT HUGGINS, STEPHEN POTTS, ALLEN ALEXR. & DAVID SMITH.

JOHN DUNN Esq. vs HUGH SMITH. Case #1. Same jury.
ALEXANDER JARVIS vs ROBERT PEARISS. Case #2. Same jury.

3:105. 13 May 1769. The King vs ANTHO: FLANNAGAN. Petty larceny. Evidence: JOHN BRANDON, ARCH WASSON, GASPER KINDAR & WILL FROHOCK for the King. Jury: PETER SMITH, SAML HARRISS, HENERY BOYER, WM PREES, ROBT WOODS, ROBT LUCKEY, WM ROBERTS, ROBT TATE, ELIAS BROCK, THOS ALLISON, JOHN HOUSTON, HENERY BARKLEY.

ROBERT PEARIS & WM McCONNELL vs JOSEPH ROBINSON. Case #113. Evidence: WM TEMPLE COLES. Jury: FREDK LONG, WM PREES, WM BROWN, JOHN BAR STAGNER, HENERY HUNTER, JOSEPH & JOHN HUNTER, ROBT WOODS, WM ROBERTS, ROBT TATE, STOPHLE BOOE, WM HUDGINS.

Deed from H. E. McCULLOH to JOHN DANCEY for 200 acres 31 May 1767 "and it appearing to the Court that there was & an Imposability to Git Either of Subscg Wit thos To it admitd to Recor on Oath of JOHN FROHOCK that Saw the Same Delivrd for that Use [7:115].

3:106. MATHEW LOCK & WM NISBITT as adms of FRANCES JOHNSON decd file settlement 12 May 1769 in amount of £312.17.6. GRIFFITH RUTHERFORD as sheriff gets £2; ANDW ALLISON as sheriff for selling gets £3; adms get £25.

3:107. JAMES CRAIGE is adm for JOHN RODGERS decd with bond of £100. SAML HARRISS Marke is a Crop & Slit in the Wright Year an a Slit in the Left Year. Brand: S on the Left Sholder and on the Butock. WM TEMPLE COLES as Stray Masters Brand is thus on the Neck by Which all Strays taken Up in the Wastes by the ranger are to be distinguished in the County.

Orderd that a Roade be Laid Out from the forke of Silver Creek Roade over the Norse ford & up to the Midle Crk & the Jury is as follows Towit: JOHN MORGAN, JAS BLAYLOR, WM SCHOOLE, WM BALDWIN, MOSES PERKINS, AVINGTON PERKINS, HENERY PEARSON, VEAZY HUSBANDS, THOS WILLSON, JOHN CONNALY, JOSEPH WILLSON, GEORGE REEVES.

3:108. The King vs SARAH MARTIN. Petty Larceny. Evidence: JOHN RINTLEMAN, JOHN BARRIER, PHILL VERBLE, MAR: SNAP, GEO HEN BARAGER, all of whom are for the King except the last. Jury: PETER SMITH, HENERY BOYER, JAS SMITH, WM SMART, RICH D GRAHAM, ELIAS BROCK, HARMON BUTNER, DANL CLAREY, JOHN HOUSTON, WM WILLIAMS, JAS CRAIGE, HUGH FOSTER.

Deed from WM NEELY to HUGH MAGOUNE Minor for lot #7 in W Sq of Salisbury 22 Apr. 1769 prvd by WM TEMPLE COLE Esq [7:110]. Deed from GEORGE PEARES to ALEXR MARTIN Esq. for ½ of lot #7 in S Sq 14 Sept. 1768 prvd by GEO MAGOUNE [7:111]. Another 13 Sept. 1768 for lots #21, 22 [7:110]. Bill of Sale from JOHN WHEELER to HUGH MONTGOMERY for sundry things 5 Apr. 1769 prvd by JAMES WESHART [7:114]. 3:109. Bill of Sale from BENJAMIN MILLER to HUGH MONTGOMERY for sundry things 9 May 1768 [7:113]. Another from WM HARRINGTON 29 Aug. 1769 [7:114].

A bridge is to be built over Grants Creek with the same trustees but they must decide if a frame on pillows or cribs of stone. Minute signed by Wm Temple Cole, Waltr Lindsay, John Ford.

3:110. 3 Aug. 1769. JOHN HAYS Records his Mark as follows Towit Two Craps and Two halfpeneys One out of the under side of Each Ear & a Crap of Each Ear.

3:111. 8 Aug. 1769. Justices: John Hunter, Wm Spurgin, John Duncan Jr. Justices of the Peace appointed: WM SPURGIN, THOS DONNOLL, JOHN OLIPHANT, JOHN HUNTER, HUGH JINKINS SR., CHAS McANNALLY, JOHN DUNCAN JR., WM TEMPLE COLE, JOHN FORD, GEORGE HENRY BARAGER.

Lease & release from ALEXR REED Jr. to WM BONE for 385 acres 1-2 Aug. 1769 [7:149].

Deed from ANTHO: HAMPTON to GEO OLIVER for 280 acres 5 Aug. 1769 ackn [7:133].

3:112. 8 Aug. 1769. SYLAS ENYART adm of THOMAS BRININGER decd 1759, & CATHERINE ENYART adm. returned account in sum of £45.11.6. Widows thirds deducted leaving £22.17.8. Pd BARBRA BRININGER £1.19.6; SAML BRYAN assist £0.13.6; GEORGE HOOSER £0.2.6; JOHN HICKEY 28/6 Va. money. Other items. [SYLAS ENYART appears decd]. 3:113. CATHERINE ENYART adm. of SYLAS ENYART decd returns inventory of £119.2.10.

Deed from ANTHO: HAMPTON to JOHN REAGAN for 200 acres 5 Aug. 1769 [7:134]. Deed from JAMES GATES to PHILLIP GATES for 30 acres 5 July 1769 prvd by GEO OLIVER [7:132]. Lease & release from GEORGE HAGEY & wf to JOHN FORD for 22½ acres 19-20 June 1769 prvd by DAVID SMITH [7:147]. Same from ROGER TURNER to ELIAS TURNER for 333 acres 7-8 Apr. 1769 prvd by JAS FORBUSH [7:136]. Same from FREDK SHORE to SIMON GROSS for 238 acres 3-4 Aug. 1769 [7:146].

Will of HANUEL EDWARDS prvd by WM STANLEY. JOSHIA & ISAA EDWARDS exrs. [A:23].

3:114. Deed from THOMAS TURNER & wf to MARMADUKE KIMBROUGH for 383 acres 4 Mar. 1768 prvd by ELIAS TURNER [7:131]. Bill of sale from MARMADUKE KIMBROUGH & JOHN KIMBROUGH to ROGER TURNER for one Female Molatto Slave Named CHARITY 2 May 1768 [7:130]. Another to ... for male slave named GEORGE same date prvd by CHARLES BURTON. Deed from GEORGE DRY to CONROD GRUBB for 100 acres Aug. 1769 prvd by FREDK FISHER [7:119]. Another for sundry articles 2 Aug. 1769 prvd by JAMES BRANDON [7:117]. Power of attorney from JOHN SANDERS to GEORGE HIATT 8 Aug. 1769. Deed from SAMUEL HARGRAVE to THOMAS JESAP for 246 acres 29 May 1769 prvd by ZACH DICKS [7:116]. 3:115. Deed from THOS THORNBUROUGH to THOS THORNBURY JR. for 100 acres 7 Aug. 1769 [7:129]. Deed from JOHN PAYNE to THOMAS JESSAP for 1 acre 6 day of 3 mo. 1769 prvd by DAVID BROOKS [7:116]. Deed from THOMAS BRYANT & wf to JOHN KIMBROUGH for 510 acres 10 Feb. 1769 prvd by JONATHAN HUNT [7:129].

Orderd that ROBERT LINDSAY have a Licens to Keep a Tavern at his Own dwelling house in this County, THOM: DONNOLD & WM DENNEY Security. Same for ROBERT WALKER with securities CHARLES McANALLY & WM TEM. COLE.

Deed from MAR. DUKE KIMBROUGH & wf to JOHN KIMBROUGH for 325 acres 10 Feb. 1769 [7:130].

3:116. Grand Jury: ANTH: HAMPTON (foreman), THOS FOSTER, JOHN COWAN, SAML LUCKEY, WM NASERY, HUGH DUNKAM, THOS BLAIR, JAS TEMPLETON, JAS CATHEY, THOS PORTER, JAS GILLISPY, FREDK FISHER, ROBT JOHNSON, JOHN MILLER & ROBT RAMSEY. NICHOLAS McCLELLAND is Constable for it.

Deed from JOHN JOHNSON & wf to JOHN SAUNDERS for 250 acres 2 Oct. 1767 [7:128].

Will of GEORGE FORBUS prvd by Oath of DAVID CRAWFORD. ROBERT & JAMES FORBUS are exrs, and JAMES qualified [A:58].

Inventory of GEORGE McDONNELL returnd in amt of £241.19.8.

3:117. Will of MARMADUKE KIMBROUGH prvd by Oath of SAMUEL MOSBY. ROGER TURNER JR & ELIAS TURNER are exrs. [B:159].

9 Aug. 1769. Justices: Thos. Donnoll, Wm Spurgin, John Hunter, John Oliphant, Wm Tem. Cole, Chas McNally, John Dungan, Esqrs.

Inventory of JOHN JONES returnd in amt of £78.16.11.

Four at the Whiping Post Four at JOHN LEWIS BEARDS 4 at the Court house & 4 at th Goal on his Return & Sheriff Excute this Sentans at 5 OClock this Afternoon, then Stands Committed Till ffees be paid. Jury: JAS STEVENSON, JOSEPH ROSS, ROBT BUNTIN, PETER SPRINKLE, JACOB FELKER, ADAM LASH, ALEXR DOBBINS, EDWD McGUIRE, JOHN HAGGINS, JAMES STEWART, CHRISTIAN ELLER, JOHN HOUSTON.

3:129. 10 Aug. 1769. Deed from RICHARD BRANDON to WILL ALEXANDER for 120 acres exclusive of 30 acres sold to GEORGE SAVITZ, 11 Aug. 1769 [7:123].

Jury to lay out road from Catheys Meeting House in Catheys Settlement through Carruths Settlement to Bettay Ford on the Cataba River. JAMES BETTIE, JAMES CARUTH & ADAM TARRANCE appointed Oversears.

11 Aug. 1762. Justices:Walter Lindsey, Hugh Jinkins, Wm Temple Coles, Charles McAnnaly.

FRANCIS HARTLY vs THOMAS JESSAP. Wit: HUGH FOSTER. Jury:WILL STEVENSON, JOHN ROSS, ROBT BUNTIN, PETER SPRINKLE, JACOB FELKER, THOS McCARTNEY, WM FRIES, JOHN PLYLE, JAMES STEWART, SAML WOODS, HARMON BUTNER, ROBERT WOODS.

3:130. The King vs PAUL CROSBY. Petty larceny. Evidence: ANN LOCK, FRANCIS LOCK, JOHN LOCK, JAMES DOBBINS. Not Guilty. Jury as above.

Deed from GEORGE MAGOUNE & wf to PAUL BAREGER for ½ upper part of lot #1 in SE Sq of Salisbury 1 July 1769 prvd by GEO HENRY BARGER [7:120].

Additional inventory of PETER DILL returned by JACOB BRUMWELL at £29.19.0.

EDWARD RIGGS & WM POTTER appounted oversears on the road from Shallow Ford on Yadkin River to Elkin Ford on the Yadkin River.

GEORGE McKNIGHT appointed guardian of JEREMIAH ELROD's orphans:ADAM & JEREMIAH ELROD with £200 bond, THOS BUTNER & ADAM LASH securities.

3:131. Settlement of estate of ROBERT WOODS decd by Exr. SAMUEL WOODS 10 Aug. 1769. Amounts to £204.1.8. [Samuel Woods may also be deceased].

3:132. Rates of liquors [not copied].

3:133. 12 Aug. 1769. Justices: Walter Lindsey, Hugh Jinkins, George Henry Barager, William Temple Coles.

Estate of PETER DILL decd with JACOB BRUMWELL Adm. in amt of £186.18.0. Widow's third=£58.0.4. Six orphans receive remaining £116.10.8. Filed 11 Aug. 1769.

3:134. Estate of JEREMIAH ELROD decd with widow CATHERINE admin. 11 Aug. 1769 files settlement in amt of £59.14.1. Widow's third=£17.1.11. Three orphans to get £34.14.10.

3:135. GEORGE DAVISON vs JAMES TORRINS. ANDREW ENDSWORTH vs WILLIAM HIDE. Jury: WM STEVENSON, JOSEPH ROSS, ROBT BUNTIN, PETER SPRINKLE, JACOB FELKER, STOPLE BOOE, ADAM SHOUSE, THOMAS MILLER, JOHN HOUSTON, WM ROBERTS, JACOB BRUMMELL, GEO. BROONER. In second case ISAAC MARTIN & ROBT WOODS replace STEVENSON & SPRINKLE on jury.

BRYON OWNALY apptd Oversear Ten Mile Along the Road from Silver Creek Road Over the Norse fork on the Cataba River to Johns River near the Mountains WM BALDWIN Ten Mile Farther & VEAZIRY HUSBANDS Ten Miles Farther &c.

3:136. 12 Aug. 1769. JOHN HAMPTON, WINDLE MILLER, WM TEM COLES, SAML SMITH, ARTHUR ERWYN, ABRAM BARRAGER, LAWRENCE LINGELL, JOHN JOSEF, THOMAS HILL, MICHAL BROWN, WM HAMPTON, DAVID MILLER a Jury to Lay of a Road from the Court house in Salisbury to the Earl Granvills Line at GEORGE REELS Fence to Meet Buffaloe Creek Road. MANASSA LAMB & LODEWICK SEFERD Appointed Oversears.

WM STEEL's ordinary license renewed for 1 yr, FRANCIS LOCK, JAS McCAY security.

Deed from Carter & Foster to WM TEM COLE for sundry lots in Salisbury 4 Jan. 1765 [7:160]. Deed from GEORGE PEARIS & ROBERT PEARIS to DANIEL LITTLE & JOHN LEWIS BEARD for lots #14, 15 in S Sq. of Salisbury & ½ of lot #7 Apr. 3, 1769 prvd by GEORGE FELTON [7:153].

Power of attorney from GEORGE PEARIS to ROBERT PEARIS 16 Sept. 1768 [7:152].

Inventory of estate of JOHN RODGERS amounting to £13.0.6.

3:137. Bill of sale from CONROD SHOUSE to JOHN MITCHELL for sundry things 28 June 1769 prvd by MAXWELL CHAMBERS [7:150]. Another to Nisbit & Chambers[7:151].

Orderd that PAUL CROSBY Serve 4 yrs from 26 July 1770 for Absenting himself 2 yrs. from his sd Master FRANCIS LOCK.

3:138. Appointment of Constables to Warn in the Taxables within the Severall Districts & the Justices to Receive them:

CONSTABLE	DISTRICT	JUSTICE
JOHN LEOMAN	Dan River to Buffalo Creek	JOHN HUNTER
THOMAS NEAL	Upper part of Dan River	JOHN DUNKAM
JAMES BILLINGSLY	Capt. HARMON's District	WM SPURGIN
	Cpts. MERRELL, SAPENFIELD	JOHN FORD
NICHOLAS McCLALLAND	Fort Dobbs	WALTER LINDSEY
PATRICK DUFFEY	"	"
JOHN HOLLAND)	Up Hunting Crk & the forks as	(WM TEM. COLE
HENERY HORAH)	high as MORGAN BRYANTS & Co.	(HUGH MONTGOMERY
DANL LEWIS)	HUNTS betw S & N Yadkin	(GRIFF. RUTHERFORD
PHILLIP VERBLE	Barager's & Little's Dist	GEO HEN BARAGER
ABRAM VANDERPOOL)		
GRAY BYNUM)	Wachovia Tract, Town Fork &	CHAS McNALLY
JAMES GLENN)	Blews Crk	
THOMAS FLETCHER)		
JAMES BLYTH)	Capt Dobins, Knoxes Dist	HUGH JINKINS
JOHN PATTON)		
3:139. JOHN THOMPSON)	Capt. Davidsons & Sherrills	JOHN OLIPHANT
THOMAS HUFF)	Dist.	
ARCH FLEMING)		

ADAM ALLISON apptd. sheriff by Gov. Tryon. "The Said ADAM ALLISON did at the Same Time Sign to this Court his Readiness and Earnest Desire to Except of the Said Office of Sheriff for the sd Caounty & Shew this Court that he was Willing to Take the Oaths Perscribed by Act of Assembly for a Sheriff and then in Open Court Sayeth he Used his Utmost Endeavor to Procure Such Securities for his faithful Execution of said Office According to Law but that his Friends Absolutely Refused for this Reason (towit), that they Doubted Not Either of his Integrity or honesty but the Confused State & Present Disturbances Together with the Scarcity of Circulating Money in this County Each of his friends

Doubted it would be a Means Both to Involve him & them in to Intricate Lawsuits & Troubles."

Inventory of the estate of JOHN MITCHELL returned by adm.
BENJAMIN MILLER's license renewed for 1 yr, THOS MILLER, JOHN ARMSTRONG security.
Minutes signed by Walter Lindsey, Hugh Jenkins, Wm Temple Coles.

3:141. 14 Nov. 1769. Justices: Wm Spurgin, Hugh Jenkins, William Tem Coles.
JOHN GILBERT's Mark: a Swallow fork in Wright Year & W Nicks one in Upper Side & one in Under Side & Crap & Slit in Left Year.

Bill of Sale from LEWIS HUTTON to WM FIELDS for sundries 1 Mar. 1769 ackn.

WILLIAM COOK, 2-yr-old orphan, apprenticed to SAML LUCKEY of Hunting Creek for 18 yrs, 9 mos. to Larn him the Art & Mistry of a Tanner & give him £5 in Plan-tation Tools over & Above what the Law directs.

3:142. The King vs EAUSA BOSHEARS. Recognizances, for the Peace Towards WM KIRK-PATRICK for a yr & day. Bond of £200 with ROBT BOSHEAR, JOHN GILBERT, BENJA WALKER & ISAAC GARRISON JR.

"This is to Certify to All persons to Whom it may concern that we GEORGE WIN-BERYER, CATH: WINBARYER & ROSANA WINBARYER, the Daughter of the Afsd have Raised a scandalous Report on MICHAEL BEAM it being said that he Acted with the afsd ROSENA in a Way of Carnal Copulation & We the Above named do Own & acknoeledg that it is a Faules Report without Grounds for the same Givin under Our hands & Seals this 4th day of October" 1769. Each makes his mark. Wit: SAM. LUCKEY, ALEX NEELY, JOHN DIMKEY, PETER BEAM, JOHN BAR STAGNER [BK sideways, his mark].

3:143. Grand Jury: HUGH PARKS (foreman), THOS McQUOUN, WM McNIGHT, JOHN BRALEY, DAVID KARR, JAS McNIGHT, JAS CARUTH, WILL LYNN, VALL: ALLIN, JOEL WALKER, JAS ARCHER, PHILLIP WILLIAMS, MOSES WHITE, JOHN DENEEN. JOHN HOLLAND Constable.

Inventory of HANUEL EDWARDS decd returnd by exr.
Deed from JAS McCUISTON to JOHN McCUISTON for 20 acres 5 Oct. 1769 [7:171]. Deed from JOHN HUNTER to WIM HUNT ALLIN for 200 acres 7 Oct. 1769 prvd by VALL ALLIN [7:164]. Another for 410 acres same date [7:165].

3:144. 15 Nov. 1769. Justices: Hugh Jenkins, Wm Spurgin, Thos Donnoll.
WM DENNEY's Mark is a Crap of the Wright Year & a Half Peney Out of the Upper Side of the Left Year. JAMES DENNEY'S Mark is 2 Swallow forks.

Inventory of MARMA. KIMBROUGH returnd by Exr & sale granted.

Lease from ROGER TURNER to ROBERT TURNER for 242 acres 7-8 Apr. 1769 prvd by ELIAS TURNER [7:173].

JACOB MYERS granted license to keep Tavern in Moravian Town Bethabara with sec. JACOB BONN & WM TEM COLE in amt of £30. HENRY HARMON granted license by note to keep a Tavern in his home in Rowan County.

3:145. JOHN OLIPHANT, WM SPURGIN, HUGH JINKINS, JACOB BONN, WM TEM COLES Esqrs apptd Committey to meet at COLE's Lower Roome to settle with FRANCIS LOCK Former Sheriff who Quallifd in Open Court Accordingly.

JACOB BYARS gets license to keep Ordinary in his home, HENRY HORAH & THOS STILWELL securities at £30.

3:145. 15 Nov. 1769 (cont.) WM FROHOCK's Mark is Halfpeney Out of the Under & Upper Sides of the Left Year & a Crap & Halfpeny in the Under Side of the Wright Year & Brand thus WF in the Near Sholder & Butock.

Deed from Hugh Foster to ROBERT PEARIS for 4 lots in N Sq of Salisbury, #67, 68, 75, 76, 25 Apr. 1768 [7:163]. Deeds of gift from JAMES GATES to BENJAMIN GATES for sundry things 10 July 1769 and for 70 acres 5 July 1769 [7:166,167].

3:146. Report of FRANCIS LOCK High Sheriff of the County, for the year 1765, given on Nov. 15, 1769" To 2800 Taxables at 1/6 = £210.35. Supernumerary at 1/6 = £2.12.6. By 292 Persons Sum twice listed and sum run Away at 1/6 = £21.18. By 838 delinquents viz: Insolvents, Mob, and others Who in general Refuses to pay There Tax and Refuse on Distress £62.17. Bu his Commiss on £125.5 Collected from 1670 Taxabs: les a 1/6 p Ch ... £7.10.9 by his Own Clame for Extra Ser-vises & repairing Goal & £19.14. Total = £111.18.3. By further payments of Cou. Clames for Which the County is debtor to Sd FRANCIS LOCK £49.16.10. By Cash in full of the Ballance due County of Rowan £89.0.9. Total = £210. By Cash for supernum. Tax £2.12.6.

Rowan Inferior Court of Pleas & Quarter Sessions Novr. 1769 FRANCIS LOCK Esqr. Sheriff for the County afsd for the Year 1765, came into Open Court five Jus-tices being Present & Produced a Settlement for the sd County Taxes for the Year afsd last Mentioned & Made Oath as the Law directs that the 292 Persons first mentioned in the above account were such as were either listed twice or who have since Runaway & that the 838 delinquents as Second Mentioned were either Insol-vents, or Insurgents, Mob, or Such who Refuse to pay there Taxes & who are in Distress, & that he hath Received thirty Five Super numerary Taxes for Said Year Which Sd Account as Above Stated was allowed to be a just & full Settlement of the Sd High Sheriff for the County Taxes for the year 1765 Certified by JOHN OLIPHANT, WM SPURGIN, WM TEMPLE COLES, HIGH JENKINS, JACOB BONN.

3:147. FRANCIS LOCK High Sheriff to the County Tax for the Year 1766. 3059 taxes at 1 sh ea = £159.19.0. For 66 supernumerary Taxes recd £3.6.0. Total £156.45.0. For 1833 delinquents, Insolvents, insurgents, mob & those who refuse to pay on reason & distress, at 1 sh = £91.13.0. For his commiss. on £61.6.0 from 1226 taxes at 8 per C=£4.17.7. For claim of extra services=£10. For cash in full on balance due the County=£48.8.5. By cash for supernumerary taxes recd £0.3.6. Total £156.5.2. By further payments of County claims for which the county is debtor to sd FRANCIS LOCK £37.18.10. Rowan Inferior Court of Pleas & Quarter Sessions Nov. Term 1769 FRANCIS LOCK Esqr. late High Sheriff of the County of Rowan for the Year 1766 came into Open Court five Justices being present and Produced a Settlement of Taxes for Sd County & Made Oath that the 1833 Persons mentioned in the Above Acct were Delinquents, Insolvents, Insurgents, Mob or Such Who generally refuse to Pay there Taxes & Resins(?) on Distress, that he hath recd 66 Supernumerary Taxis for the Year afsd which sd Amt as it Stands above stated was Allowd to be Just & Full Settlement for the Sd High Sheriff for 1766. Certified as above.

3:148. 16 Nov. 1769. Justices: John Oliphant, Wm Spurgon, Hugh Jenkins, Jacob Bonn, Wm Temple Coles.

Inventory of estate of GEORGE FORBUS returnd by adm in amt of £83.10.4 proc.

Last will of ARCHIBALD MORRISON decd produced in court by MARY & ALEXANDER MORR-ISON who quallified as executors. JACOB NICHOLS, JOHN BROWN wit. [A:97].

March

4th.—Being asked to dine at y^e Captains I excused myself being indisposed. Snowed some this morning.

6th.—Very cold; I keep close at the house but cannot keep warm enough.

7th.—Very Cold; as I dined today, y^e Doctor called & took a share.

8th.—Some of Geo: Clark's company that had been at Pittsburgh with goods & liquors, called here today, they say they suffered much from y^e Cold.

13th.—One of my old scholars being a soldier came & made me a pot-pie of part of half a quarter of Venison I bought & some of my beef.

14th.—My friend Samuel Lightfoot came this evening; he left y^e pack-horses at Sidling Hill, of which I am very glad.

15th.—Employed Adam McCarty, an old trader, & Jn^o Slater to help pack y^e goods & one Campbell helped me to bend y^e lead.

16th.—It rained almost all this day, but we packed y^e goods in y^e house, y^e packhorses lie about 4 miles down y^e river on y^e far side, at a place called y^e Swan ponds, where there is pasture.

17th.—We sent a lad two days since after a man who had engaged to Samuel to come with 12 packhorses but y^e lad has brought a letter from his Son, that y^e father was gone to Winchester & he knew nothing more concerning y^e affair—y^e river so high that y^e packhorses cannot get over.

18th.—We cross'd y^e river in a little canoe (that y^e Maryland soldiers had made to desert in but were stop'd) & Samuel went down to see how they fared,

26th.—We went up Wills's Creek along Braddocks old road to where it comes through y^e mountain but could see nothing of y^e horse tracks. McCarty & y^e other man returned with their load of skins, but have no account of their own horses nor ours; they say that y^e snow that fell on y^e 24th is very deep out about y^e Little Meadows & the mountains.

27th.—I engaged Adam McCarty to go back with Joseph Wright tomorrow to hunt our horses, but as it rained much in y^e night & this morning, they judged y^e creeks to be too high.

28th.—We took a walk near two miles up y^e river & it beginning to rain, turned up y^e mountains above y^e river & went across into y^e road that goes to Pittsburgh & so returned, but no sign of y^e horse tracks coming this way; it thunderd & is exceeding warm, y^e creeks too high.

29th.—It has continued to rain all y^e night & this day & night to about 12 of y^e clock it also snowed some. The river rose from about dark until midnight y^e matter of 4 feet. I was under some concern of mind relating to y^e goods that are on their way coming from Frederick & the people out toward Pittsburgh, their being so much rain & y^e river very high so that y^e most of y^e bridges on Wills' creek is swept off. I could not sleep until near 12 of y^e clock, when I heard Adam McCarty, Jn^o Trotter & Slater and their wives talking & busy out of doors, they moving into an out house higher up on y^e bank, y^e river having overflowed into their houses, but not having y^e good nature to acquaint their neighbours. I being suspicious got up & opening y^e door, saw y^e water coming in at y^e gate before y^e door, made haste & got my clothes on, & my boots, & aroused y^e young man that came back after y^e horses, who was asleep, lighted a candle & got all y^e goods that lay on y^e lower floor, upon y^e loft, only some lead & y^e cask of biscuit, which we put on y^e top of an empty cask; put my bed & blankets up stairs & laid our chest on y^e bed-steds with some other things. By this time y^e water came in at y^e door of y^e house, we waded out about middle leg deep and went to y^e house where was about half of our powder that was left. I went in & set y^e kegs on y^e top of some coal that lay high up, & so we got to a house where y^e water did not reach & tarried until morning with several others that I called up.

30th.—The river rose suddenly & fell as quickly; about ten today y^e water abated out of y^e house, doing us no damage save carring off some firewood out of y^e yard.

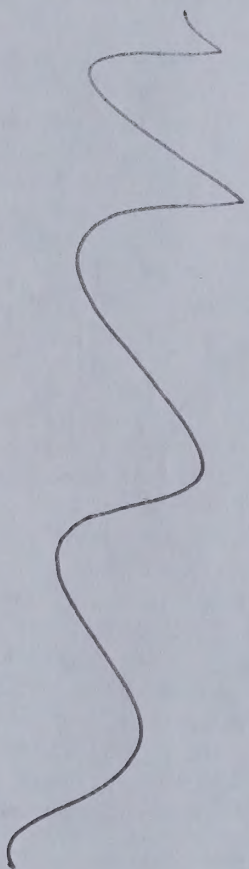
31st.—Being informed by Cap^t Paris that y^e goods was to come to day, such as were saved with y^e canoe, I tarried at home & cut up a hide into ropes, having another cut & drying, in order to have these goods made into loads against y^e packhorses return & sent McCarty & Joseph Wright up Wills's creek about six miles, to look y^e two horses as y^e other four that we found made that way, but they brought no intelligence of them. Y^e Canoe came before they return'd & had found all y^e goods only 1 of y^e 4 small bales, y^e 2 casks of Tobacco & a large cask with sundries, 1 keg of Pipes, my saddle & 3 Pounds of Tobacco, 1 Shirt &c.; y^e saddles being y^e most damaged of any y^e rest I took them into my care, letting them have a receipt according as they seemed to deserve.

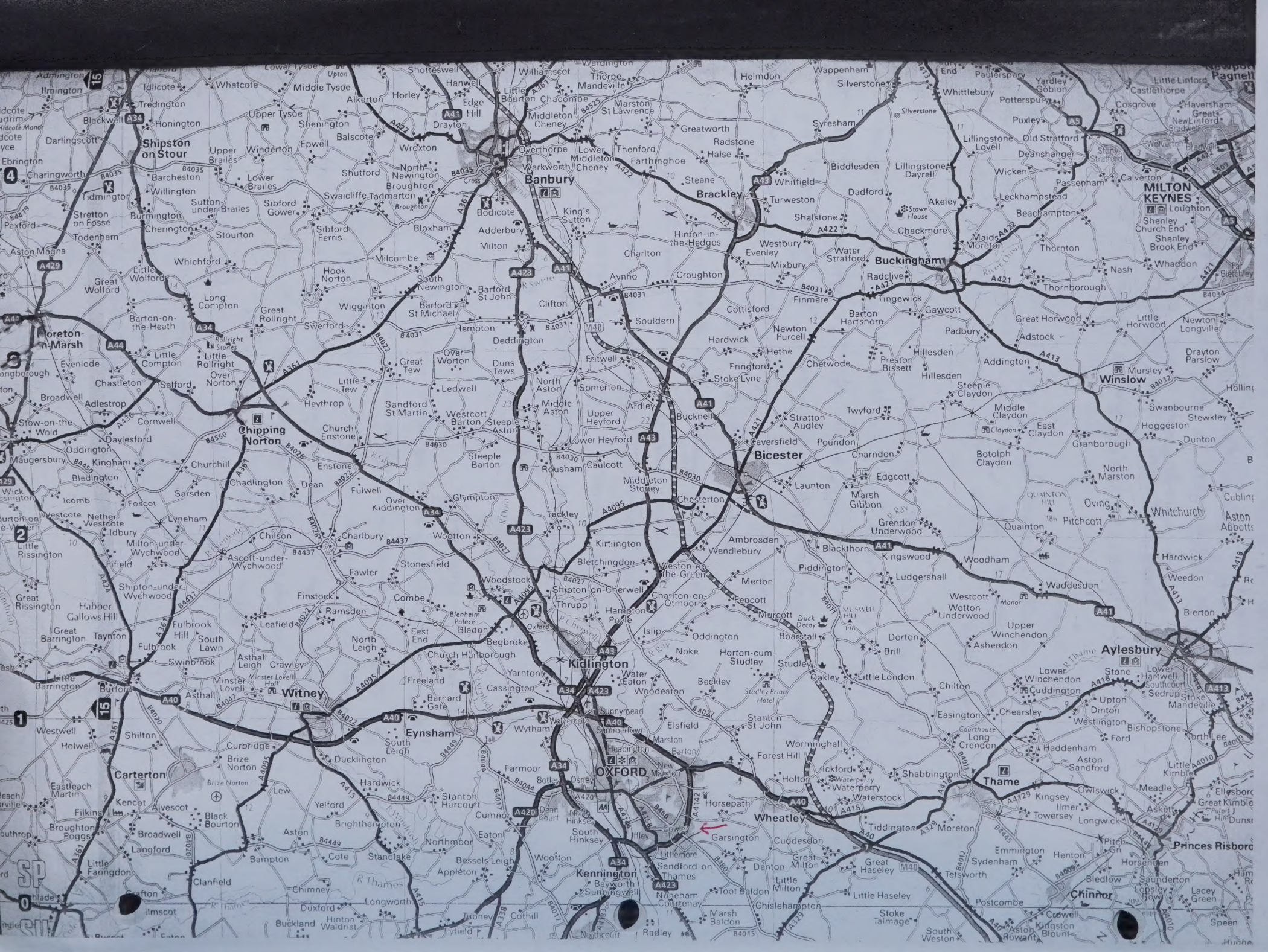
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P2XNI.941 (use on celly ball)

(Mama's computer)





This info sent to Sylvia Dec 2003
reworded

- ① Captain William Hutton (d. 1734, will probated in Charleston) died owning copyhold land in Cowley (now a SE suburb of Oxford, England). His first wife had died. Two known all-white children - Sophia and John (who was born & lived in Indian country all his life).

William was in South Carolina before 17 Dec 1716 when he was appointed asst. factor to the Cherokee Indian trade. Promoted to chief factor 17 June 1717 to replace Col Theophilus Hastings who switched over to the Creek Indian trade. After wife died he took a Cherokee wife or mistress (who seems to have been daughter of a leading warrior, name not yet discovered). Daughter (half-breed Cherokee)

- ② Rhoda Hutton lived in Tague Village near Chota "capital city" of the Overhill Cherokee (present SE Tennessee) as a teenager married (Indian country) Richard Peairs a Virginia trader, about 18 or 19 years old. Oldest son was named George Peairs for his father. Oldest daughter named Sarah for his mother, born in Tague Village. Several other children later. (Margaret, Susan, Richard, Robert & probably 1 other daughter). Richard was made ^{Virginia} Captain of Cherokee Troops during French/Indian War, later (soon) Maryland Captain stationed at Fort Cumberland, MD. As was common in that war, officials' families lived at the fort. We have a few anecdotes about Rhoda & also George Tater, who was also there for a time.

- ③ Sarah Peairs married Sgt George Tater Spring 1762 after his discharge from (now VA) regiment. He was later an ensign in Washington Co VA. To Madison Co Ky 1774/80. Their daughter,

- ④ Sarah Tater (c1775-c1840) 1/8 Cherokee married 12 June 1791 in Ky Samuel Griffith born c1768 in South Carolina, Methodist minister, died c1840 Jennings Creek, Jackson Co TN. They had
- ⑤ John W. Griffith b. fall 1795, at mouth of Sugar Creek, Garrard Co Ky m. c1820 Mary Ann Dick, dau. of David Dick born in South Carolina. Their daughter
- ⑥ Susan Griffith m. Rev Barron White b. NY - my Great Great Grandfather.

Corpus Christi area alone since March. Kinney asked that a garrison be stationed at Corpus Christi. Taylor, whose policy was one of noninterference with the commander on the scene, did not alter the dispositions made by Brigadier General George M. Brooke. Although he disbelieved Kinney's claims, Brooke subsequently federalized three companies of Texas Rangers. They pacified the frontier.²⁷

More serious was the outbreak of cholera in New York and New Orleans during December 1848. By May it extended as far north as Kenosha, Wisconsin, having killed 10 percent of the population in St. Louis and nearly as many in Cincinnati. Before it died out in New York City during August, 5,017 people died. Early in July Taylor proclaimed Friday, August 3, as a day of fasting and prayer over the cholera victims. It was one of the earliest, if not the first, national days of thanksgiving proclaimed in the country. In Taylor's mind the celebration undoubtedly held little religious significance. He was not a churchman, either formally or privately, insofar as surviving evidence allows us to judge. He never formally joined a church and seems not to have attended services with any regularity. Nevertheless, the day of thanksgiving drew attacks from free thinkers as "political religious canting" not sanctioned by the Constitution or law. Most Americans supported the plan. Throughout the country businesses closed for the day and churches held prayer sessions. Non-churchgoers joined in celebration with a day of relaxation and drinking.²⁸

Despite the danger from cholera the president decided to leave the oppressive heat and humidity of Washington. Traditionally, most federal officials took vacations during the summer months, leaving only a skeleton force to operate the government. Taylor needed a vacation. By mid-summer he was, one visitor recorded, "put down considerable."²⁹ Moreover, a sojourn away from Washington served as a mechanism for a president to reinforce his political standing. The trip, nominally to add to his knowledge of the North, was planned as a leisurely jaunt westward through central Pennsylvania to Erie and then a swing east through Buffalo, central New York, and Albany before crossing into New England to visit Boston before returning south via New York City and Philadelphia.³⁰ The journey started on August 9 when the presidential party went by special train to Baltimore and York. As the train entered Pennsylvania, Governor

27. Hamilton, *Taylor*, II, 185; Kinney to ZT, August 25, 1849, in ZT(LC), ser 2, r 1. The numbers were undoubtedly exaggerated.

28. Charles E. Rosenberg, *The Cholera Years* (Chicago, 1962), 101-24.

29. W. A. T. Brooks to DeLorma Brooks, July 20, 1849, in William T. H. Brooks Papers, Military History Institute, Army War College.

30. See the extensive correspondence, mostly invitations, preceding the trip in ZT(LC), ser 2, r 1.

William R. Johnston boarded it to escort the travelers through his state.

Throughout Pennsylvania, Taylor was greeted by enthusiastic crowds and feted by local dignitaries. The travels and the festivities fatigued the old warrior, who suffered from the midday heat and found little relief at night. By the time he left Harrisburg on the thirteenth, Taylor was visibly weak. Complications soon followed. Diarrhea and vomiting struck him at Carlisle on the thirteenth. Dr. Wood, who accompanied him, put Taylor to bed and prescribed medicines which seemed to cure the illness by the next morning. The president, however, concluded that his affliction was caused by the hard local water and suggested that they hurry out of the limestone district. The trek carried the little party westward to Pittsburgh. There on the eighteenth Taylor made a long speech during which he proclaimed his support for specific duties, a clear signal of his embrace of protectionism. The statement followed advice which he had received from Andrew Stewart and drew applause from Clayton, who predicted it "will produce a great effect in Pennsylvania."³¹

From the iron center the party turned north to Mercer, where the president met with a delegation of Whigs from across the border in Warren, the center of Ohio's free-soil area. During the discussion, he assured the Buckeyes that: "The people of the North need have no apprehension of the further expansion of Slavery," implying that the Whigs would henceforth be the major antislavery party. While it is quite possible that Taylor was considering the formation of a new party drawing its support from nationalists, protectionist Whigs, fiscal conservatives, and slavery nonexpansionists, there is little evidence to support the argument that it had yet occurred. It is more likely that Taylor still thought in terms of altering the alignment of the Whig party.³²

At Waterford, south of Erie, during the night of Friday, the twenty-fourth, vomiting and diarrhea again hit Taylor. He continued on to Erie, where Dr. Wood put him to bed with the "shakes." The president spent a sleepless night and missed a torchlight parade in his honor. The next day he worsened and ran a fever. Dr. Wood called in Navy Surgeon William Maxwell Wood, stationed in Erie, for consultation. When Taylor showed no improvement on the twenty-eighth they moved him into Surgeon Wood's house and sent for Mrs. Taylor. The president began to throw off his ailment the next day, having conquered both his fever and his shakes. This so relieved Mrs. Taylor, and Mrs. Wood who accompanied her

31. Stewart to ZT, August 8, Clayton to ZT, August 13, 1849, *ibid.*; C. B. Penrose to Meredith, August 1849, in Meredith Family Papers, HSPa.

32. Troy, N.Y., *Daily Whig*, September 8, 1849. The argument that Taylor's objective was the creation of a new party is best set forth in Michael F. Holt, *Conflict, Consensus, and the Coming of the Civil War* (New York, 1978).

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RECORDS**

1516 — 1732

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A HISTORY OF THE COUNTY OF OXFORD

EDITED BY ALAN CROSSLEY

VOLUME IV

THE CITY OF OXFORD

See Hutton Clives

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CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST
OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS

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A HISTORY OF OXFORDSHIRE

ture on buildings. The object of the benefaction as stated in the deed of trust is to enable the University to widen the scope of its Medical School, including the Nuffield Institute for Medical Research, and to provide special facilities in it for those engaged in research. Lord Nuffield expressed his conviction that the scheme to be carried out under the Trust must inevitably increase and facilitate the clinical investigation and treatment of patients and lead to the provision of more ample hospital accommodation in or near Oxford, and that the University would be able to secure the ready co-operation of the hospitals in the neighbourhood. In accordance with the scheme, professorships of Clinical Medicine, of Surgery, of Obstetrics and Gynaecology, and of Anaesthetics were to be established.⁴⁷ Finally, in Oct. 1937, Lord Nuffield gave a further sum of £300,000 in trust to the Radcliffe Infirmary and other hospitals associated with the Joint Hospitals Board as an endowment fund to provide for the increased hospital services as a result of the creation of the Nuffield Trust.

The culmination of Lord Nuffield's benefactions came in Oct. 1937, when he gave the University the sum of £1,000,000 to erect and endow a college worthy of the highest traditions of Oxford architecture and to erect and equip a laboratory of Physical Chemistry. The object of the college is 'to bridge the separation between the theoretical students of contemporary civilization and the men responsible for carrying it on' and to 'produce a flow of recruits to industry for whom the gulf . . . had been bridged'. The college and its endowments are to be under the control of the Hebdomadal Council, and part of the endowment is to be devoted to the establishment of University fellowships tenable at the college.⁴⁸

The *Government of Oxford* contains a pronouncement made by Oxford graduates in the following terms: 'There is no person or body in Oxford competent to declare what the functions of the university are. . . . Oxford has never felt the necessity of declaring its purpose because it has always found that purpose in its own traditions, moulded slowly by the pressure of economic and social revolutions.'⁴⁹ Nevertheless, from the earliest times a purpose has been sought and variously expressed. To the student of the Middle Ages the University of Oxford was the field of scholastic learning wherein he sought the pearl of knowledge, to Wyclif it was the vineyard of the Lord. The Elizabethans valued it for the maintenance of good and godly literature and the virtuous education of youth, and a later generation looked upon the University as a body existing for the preservation and transmission of all useful knowledge. On the other hand, the University has been in bondage both to Church and State, as well as to its own oligarchies; its activities have at times been diverted to causes other than those of learning; it has known 'the dull forgetfulness of aimless years', and for some centuries its own identity was almost lost in the splendour of its Colleges. During the last hundred years a recognizable outline of the University has gradually emerged. Now, in creating a School of Medicine richly endowed, and associating Oxford with one of the greatest, most honoured, and beneficial of the sciences and founding a College which is to bear his name, Lord Nuffield has perhaps shown the way in which the University of Oxford may attain its full development and find in the science of life and industry a new inspiration and yet wider fame.

CHANCELLORS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD⁵⁰

- 1221. ROBERT GROSSETESTE.
- 1231. RALF DE MAIDSTONE.
- 1234. RALF COLE.
- 1235/8. RICHARD DE WYCHE.
- 1239-41. JOHN DE REYGATE.
- 1241/2. RALF DE HEYHAM.
- 1244. SEWALE DE BOVILL.
- 1244. JOHN DE TAUNTON.
- 1245. WILLIAM DE LIMESIL.
- c. 1243/6. JOHN ROFF.
- 1246/7. GILBERT DE BIHAM.
- 1249. RALPH DE SEMPINGHAM.
- c. 1250. G. DE LUCY.
- c. 1251. EUSTACE DE NORMANVILLE.
- 1255. WILLIAM DE LODELAW.
- 1261-. THOMAS DE CANTELUPO.
- 1263/4. JOHN DE WYNTON.
- 1264/5. HENRY DE CICESTRIA.
- 1267-8. NICHOLAS DE EWELME.
- 1269/70. THOMAS BEK.
- 1273-4. THOMAS DE CANTELUPO.
- 1275. WILLIAM DE BRIDLINGTON.
- 1279-81. HENRY DE STAUNTON.
- 1282. WILLIAM DE MONTEFORTI.
- 1284. ROGER DE ROTHWELL.

- 1285. WILLIAM PICKEREL.
- 1286. HERVEUS DE SAHAM.
- 1288. ROBERT DE WYNCHELSE.
- 1289. WILLIAM DE KINGSCOTE.
- 1290. JOHN DE MONEMUTA.
- 1291 Dec.-1293. SIMON DE GANDAVO.
- 1293 Nov.-1295. ROGER DE MARTIVALL.
- 1295 Feb.-1297. ROGER DE WESENHAM.
- 1297 Nov.-1300. RICHARD DE CLIVE.
- 1300 May-1302. JAMES DE COBHAM.
- 1302 Nov.-1304. WALTER DE WETHERINGSETE.
- 1304 Jan.-1306. SIMON DE FAVERSHAM.
- 1306 Feb.-1308. WALTER BURDUN.
- 1308 Apr.-1309. WILLIAM DE BOSCO.
- 1309 Oct.-1312. HENRY DE MAMESFELD.
- 1312 Dec.-1317. HENRY DE HARKELE.
- 1317 Oct.-1322. JOHN LUTTEREL.
- 1322 Oct.-1325. HENRY DE GOWER.
- 1325 Nov.-1327. WILLIAM DE ALBERWYK.
- 1327 Jan.-1328. THOMAS DE HOTHOM.
- 1328/9. RALPH DE SALOPIA.
- 1329 Nov.-1330. ROGER DE STRETTON.
- 1330 Dec.-1332. NIGEL DE WAVERE.
- 1332 May-1334. RICHARD FITZ-RALPH.
- 1334 May-1335. HUGH DE WILLUGHBY.

⁴⁷ *Stat. Univ. Oxon.* (1937), 702 sqq.

⁴⁸ *Oxf. Univ. Gazette* lxxviii, 71-4, 161-4.

⁴⁹ p. 63. Published in 1931 by the University Press.

⁵⁰ This list of Chancellors has been compiled mainly from Dr. Salter's *Snappe's Formulary* (318-35) and his *Registrum Cancellarii Oxon.* i (xxxv-xxxix), Wood's *Fasti*, and the Registers of Convocation

(Univ. Archives). The month following the first date up to the 14th century, is that of election or admission. In the later period it is that of election.

THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

- 1335 May-1338. ROBERT DE STRETFORD.
 1338 Nov.-1339. JOHN DE LECHE.
 1339 Dec.-1341. WILLIAM DE SKELTON.
 1341 June-1345. WILLIAM DE BERGEVENY.
 1345 May-1348 or 1349. JOHN DE NORTHWODE.
 1349. WILLIAM DE HAWKESWORTH.
 1349-50. JOHN WILLOT.
 1350- . WILLIAM DE POLMORVA.
 1354-5. THOMAS BROUWEON.
 1355-7. HUMFREY DE CHERLETON.
 1357-9. JOHN DE HOTHOM.
 1360-1. NICHOLAS DE ASTON.
 1362-3. JOHN DE RENHAM.
 1363 June-1365. JOHN DE ECHYNGHAM.
 1365-7. ADAM DE TONWORTH.
 1367 June-1369? WILLIAM COURTENAY.
 1369-70 or 1371. ADAM DE TONWORTH.
 ? 1370-2. WILLIAM DE HEIGHTESBURY.
 1372-3. WILLIAM DE RYMINGTON.
 1374-6. WILLIAM DE WILTON.
 1376. JOHN TURK.
 1377. ADAM DE TONWORTH.
 1378. JOHN GILBERT.
 1379. ROBERT DE AYLESHAM.
 1380-1. WILLIAM DE BERTON.
 1381-8 May. ROBERT RIGGE (RUGGE).
 1388-90. THOMAS BRYGHTWELL.
 1390-1. THOMAS CRAULEY.
 1391-3. RALPH REDRUTH.
 1393. THOMAS DE SCHERUSBURY.
 1393-5. ROBERT ALYNGTON.
 1395-7. THOMAS HENDEMAN.
 1397-8. HENRY BEAUFORT.
 ? 1399-1400. THOMAS HENDEMAN.
 1400-3. PHILIP REPINGDON (REPYNGTON).
 1403-6. ROBERT HALLUM.
 1406-8. RICHARD COURTENAY.
 1409. WILLIAM CLYNT.
 1410-11. THOMAS PRESTBURY.
 1411 ? July. RICHARD COURTENAY.
 1411 Oct. JOHN BANARD.
 1411-13 Nov. RICHARD COURTENAY.
 ? 1413 WILLIAM SULBURY.
 1414-18. WILLIAM BAROW.
 1419-21. WALTER TRENGOF.
 1421-5. JOHN CASTELL.
 1426-31. THOMAS CHACE.
 1431-4. GILBERT KYMER.
 1434-37. THOMAS BOURCHIER.
 1438-9. JOHN CARPENTER.
 1439 Feb.-Oct. JOHN NORTON.
 1439-40. RICHARD ROTHERAM.
 1441-2. WILLIAM GREY.
 ? 1442. THOMAS GASCOIGNE.
 1442. JOHN KEXBY.
 1442-4. HENRY SEVER.
 1444 Mar.-1445. THOMAS GASCOIGNE.
 1446-7. ROBERT THWAYTES.
 1447 Feb.-1453. GILBERT KYMER.
 1453 June-1457. GEORGE NEVILLE.
 1457 July-1461. THOMAS CHAUNDLER.
 1461 May-1472. GEORGE NEVILLE, Bishop of Exeter.
 1472 June-1479. THOMAS CHAUNDLER.
 1479-83. LIONEL WYDVILL.
 1483. WILLIAM DUDLEY, Bishop of Durham.
 1483 ?-94 (d. Dec.). JOHN RUSSELL, Bishop of Lincoln.
 1494-1500 (d. Sept.). JOHN MORTON, Archbishop of Canterbury.
 1500 Nov.-1502. WILLIAM SMYTH, Bishop of Lincoln.
 1503 Dec.-1506. RICHARD MAYEW, Bishop of Hereford.
 1506 May 28-1532 (d. Aug.). WILLIAM WARHAM, Archbishop of Canterbury.
- 1532 Oct. 10-1547 (d. May). JOHN LONGLAND, Bishop of Lincoln.
 1547 May 21-1552 Nov. RICHARD COXE, Dean of Christ Church.
 1552 Nov. 18-1556 Oct. SIR JOHN MASON.
 1556 Oct. 26-1558 (d. Nov.). REGINALD POLE, Cardinal.
 1559 Jan.-June. HENRY FITZALAN, Earl of Arundel.
 1559 June 21-1564 Dec. SIR JOHN MASON.
 1564 Dec. 30-1588 (d. Sept.). ROBERT DUDLEY, Earl of Leicester.
 1585-6. SIR THOMAS BROMLEY, deputy Chancellor.
 1588 Sept. 20-1591 (d. Nov.). SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON. ✓
 1591 Dec. 17-1608 (d. Apr.). THOMAS SACKVILLE, Baron Buckhurst.
 1608 Apr. 22-1610 (d. Nov.). RICHARD BANCROFT, Archbishop of Canterbury.
 1610 Nov. 3-1617 Jan. THOMAS EGERTON, Baron Ellesmere.
 1617 Jan. 29-1630 (d. Apr.). WILLIAM HERBERT, Earl of Pembroke.
 1630 Apr. 12-1641 June. WILLIAM LAUD, Bishop of London.
 1641 July 1-1643 Oct. PHILIP HERBERT, Earl of Pembroke.
 1643 Oct. 24-1648. WILLIAM SEYMOUR, Marquis of Hertford.
 1648 Mar.-1650 (d. Jan.). PHILIP HERBERT, Earl of Pembroke.
 1651 Jan. 1-1657 July. OLIVER CROMWELL.
 1657 July 18-1660 May. RICHARD CROMWELL.
 1660 May 26 (d. Oct.). WILLIAM SEYMOUR, Marquis of Hertford.
 1660 Oct. 27-1667 Dec. SIR EDWARD HYDE, Lord Chancellor.
 1667 Dec. 20-1669 July. GILBERT SHELDON, Archbishop of Canterbury.
 1669 Aug. 4-1688 (d. July). JAMES BUTLER, Duke of Ormonde.
 1688 July 23-1715. JAMES BUTLER, 2nd Duke of Ormonde.
 1715 Sept. 10-1758 (d. Dec.). CHARLES BUTLER, Earl of Arran.
 1759 Jan. 4-1762 (d. Aug.). JOHN FANE, Earl of Westmorland.
 1762 Sept. 23-1772 (d. Sept.). GEORGE HENRY LEE, Earl of Lichfield.
 1772 Oct. 3-1792 (d. Aug.). FREDERICK NORTH, Lord North.
 1792 Sept. 27-1809 (d. Oct.). WILLIAM HENRY CAVENDISH BENTINCK, Duke of Portland.
 1809 Dec. 13-1834 (d. Jan.). WILLIAM WYNDHAM GRENVILLE, Baron Grenville.
 1834 Jan. 29-1852 (d. Sept.). ARTHUR WELLESLEY, Duke of Wellington.
 1852 Oct. 13-1869 (d. Oct.). EDWARD GEOFFREY SMITH-STANLEY, Earl of Derby.
 1869 Nov. 12-1903 (d. Aug.). ROBERT ARTHUR TALBOT GASCOYNE-CECIL, Marquis of Salisbury.
 1903 Oct. 31-1907 (d. Feb.). GEORGE JOACHIM GOSCHEN, Viscount Goschen.
 1907 Mar. 14-1925 (d. Mar.). GEORGE NATHANIEL CURZON, Marquis Curzon of Kedleston.
 1925 May. ALFRED MILNER, Viscount Milner.
 1925 July 2-1928 (d. Mar.). GEORGE CAVE, Viscount Cave.
 1928 June 16-1933 (d. Sept.). EDWARD GREY, Viscount Grey of Fallodon.
 1933 Nov. 25. EDWARD FREDERICK LINDLEY WOOD, Viscount Halifax.

THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

Oxford. A foundation which helped the advancement of science was the Ashmolean Museum, built in 1683 by Elias Ashmole to house a collection of natural and artificial curiosities formed by the Tradescant family. It also received Ashmole's collection of manuscripts and printed books, and later the libraries of Anthony Wood and Dr. Martin Lister, as well as the collections of Sir William Dugdale and John Aubrey.⁷⁷ The building also provided a place where experimental science could be pursued, and it was there that the Oxford Philosophical Society was founded in 1683.⁷⁸

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dulled conscience of the University is illustrated by the career of a dissolute head of a college who, having misappropriated £3,000 of University money for which he had his living sequestered, yet was afterwards elected Lady Margaret Reader in Divinity.⁸⁵

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⁷⁷ These collections were transferred to the Bodleian in 1860 (Macray, *Annals*, 364-7); *Oxf. Hist. Reg. Suppl.* 94.

⁷⁸ Wood, *Life*, iii, 75-6; R. T. Gunther, *The Old Ashmolean* (1933).

⁷⁹ Macray, *Annals*, 137 sqq.

⁸⁰ Wood, *Life*, iii, 291.

⁸¹ Wood, *Life*, iii, 301.

⁸² Gibson, *Great Charter of Charles I*

(*Bodl. Quart. Rec.* vii, 127).

⁸³ Ch. Ch. MS. 248.

⁸⁴ Hearne, *Diaries*, passim.

⁸⁵ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* (art. William Delaune).

⁸⁶ *Leviathan* (ed. Pogson-Smith), 522-4.

⁸⁷ O.H.S. *Collect.* i, 285.

⁸⁸ Rennie, *Oriel College*, 125.

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⁹¹ *Oxf. Hist. Reg. Suppl.* 37-9.

vice-chancellor, attempting to negotiate, was arrested, and the parliamentary forces entered Oxford on 13 and 14 September.⁶⁶ Some townsmen offered their services as guards and soldiers.⁶⁷ The royalist fortifications were demolished, college plate confiscated (though later returned), university men disarmed, and recusant houses searched. In October the council agreed to chain the gates against a feared attack by Prince Rupert and to purchase a little gunpowder and match.⁶⁸

Parliamentary troops moved in and out of Oxford until mid October, not always peacefully: some mutinied at a muster in the Parks and drunken rival factions fought at Carfax. A company of London dragoons went armed to church because of the enmity of the town and scholars, and when the mayoral elections were held on 19 September the city rejected Lord Say's candidate, John Nixon, because of his earlier flight to Abingdon, and elected Thomas Dennis.⁶⁹

No resistance was offered when Charles I and his army reached Oxford on 29 October after the battle of Edgehill. The king was welcomed in the traditional manner at Penniless Bench and given £250.⁷⁰ The city and the county were soon disarmed, however,⁷¹ and in December the city's M.P., John Whistler, was arrested for supporting parliament and urging the citizens not to take up arms or fortify the town for the king.⁷² Work on new fortifications began late in November and continued throughout the royalist occupation, but the townsmen usually worked reluctantly.⁷³ When the queen reached Oxford in July 1643 flowers were strewn before her and the mayor presented her at Penniless Bench with a purse of gold.⁷⁴ About the same time the mayor, on the king's orders, raised a regiment of townsmen for the city's defence, and in October, despite the mayor's protests, Sir Nicholas Selwyn, one of the king's gentlemen pensioners, was appointed colonel.⁷⁵ The appointment of the cruel and overbearing Sir Arthur Aston to be governor of the town was even less popular,⁷⁶ but he remained governor until incapacitated in December 1644.

In April 1644, presumably in anticipation of a parliamentary attack, the city regiment of 600 or 700 men was ordered to be increased to 6 companies, a total of c. 800 men, and two auxiliary regiments were formed from scholars and 'strangers' in the city.⁷⁷ At the end of May the parliamentary forces began a determined effort to trap the king in Oxford; an army under the earl of Essex crossed the Thames at Sandford and marched through Cowley and Bullingdon Green to Islip, while another army under Waller forced a crossing of the Thames at Newbridge and marched towards Eynsham. Essex then crossed the Cherwell at Gosford and advanced as far as Woodstock.⁷⁸ The king escaped on the night of 3 June by an all-night march through Wolvercote and Yarnton to Burford and so to Worcester. The parliamentary armies abandoned their encirclement of Oxford to pursue the king,⁷⁹ and made no further serious attempt that year to take the town.⁸⁰ On 6 October 1644 much of the western part of the city was burnt in a fire.⁸¹

⁶⁶ Wood's Univ. ii (1), 448-9.

⁶⁷ Wood's Life, i. 66; O.C.A. 1626-65, 107, 425.

⁶⁸ O.C.A. 1626-65, 110-11; Wood's Univ. ii (1), 454.

⁶⁹ True Relation of Proceedings of Lond. dragoons sent down to Oxf.: copy in Bodl. 4° P 1 Art. BS; Wood's Univ. ii (1), 450-2; Wood's Life, i. 67.

⁷⁰ Wood's Univ. ii (1), 454-5; O.C.A. 1626-65, 111, 425-6; cf. O.C.A. 1626-65, 378-9 where the sum is said to have been £520.

⁷¹ O.C.A. 1626-65, 369; Wood's Univ. ii (1), 456.

⁷² Wood's Univ. ii (1), 451.

⁷³ See below, Walls, Gates, and Posterns.

⁷⁴ O.C.A. 1626-65, 113, 425; Wood's Univ. ii (1), 466.

⁷⁵ O.C.A. 1626-65, 117, 377-8, 380-2; Margaret Toynbee and P. Young, Strangers in Oxf., 27.

⁷⁶ Jnl. of Sir Sam. Luke (O.R.S. xxix, xxxi, xxxiii), 161, 221, 224, 237, 243.

⁷⁷ Ogle, Royal Letters, 365-6; Jnl. of Sir Sam. Luke, 267; Toynbee and Young, Strangers, 27.

⁷⁸ Clarendon's Hist. Rebellion, ed. W. D. Macray, iii. 353.

⁷⁹ Diary of Ric. Symonds (Camden Soc. [1st ser.] lxxiv), 8; Cal. S.P. Dom. 1644, 212.

⁸⁰ Acts and Ordinances of Interregnum, i. 445-6; E. J. S. Parsons, 'Proclamations of Charles I 1642-6' (Oxf. Univ. B. Litt. thesis 1935), f. 192: copy in Bodl. MS. Top. Oxon. d. 329; Cal. S.P. Dom. 1644-5, 142.

⁸¹ See below, p. 95.

ants had risen the congregation as a whole had decreased since 1878.⁷ Both congregation and communicants remained fairly steady until 1893 when difficulties in the incumbent's household disrupted church work.⁸ The vicar's 'sloth and ill health' had further reduced the congregation by 1896, but matters improved under a new incumbent and congregations increased steadily until the First World War.⁹ In 1914 the vicar resigned and was received into the Roman Catholic church after a dispute with the bishop over his introduction of a tabernacle for the reserved sacrament.¹⁰ The war was blamed for producing great religious indifference, and the situation did not really improve until the mid 1930s.¹¹

The church, on the Botley Road, was designed by S. S. Teulon in Norman style; it comprises an aisleless nave with an apsidal chancel, small north and south transepts, and an octagonal central tower. It is of local stone with freestone dressings. The transepts were added in 1888 to the designs of H. G. W. Drinkwater.¹²

✓ St. James's, Cowley.¹³ St. James's and its chapels of ease, St. Francis of Assisi and St. Luke's, have continued the tradition of high churchmanship established in the 19th century. Since 1960 one of the curates has been a worker priest at the Cowley works.¹⁴ In 1959 the vicarage-house was sold and St. Luke's House, built that year as a residence for the curate of St. Luke's, became the vicarage-house: as a result of the change the vicar came to serve St. Luke's while a curate served the parish church.¹⁵

A hall, designed by T. Lawrence Dale as a temporary church was built in 1930-1 in Hollow Way, Cowley, on a site given by Morris Motors. In 1962 it was converted into a permanent church, dedicated to St. Francis. It is a rectangular building without aisles or tower; the altar stands at the east end of the nave, in front of the small chancel, and behind it is a striking modern hanging cross designed by A. Hawkesley; the roof beams are painted with scenes from the life of St. Francis.¹⁶

The church of St. Luke in Oxford Road, Cowley, given by William, Lord Nuffield, and designed by H. S. Rogers, was built in 1937-8;¹⁷ the expenditure of so much money on the church at a time when wages were low caused considerable discontent at the Cowley works.¹⁸ The church is a large 'vaguely Gothic' building of yellow brick,¹⁹ comprising chancel, aisled nave, north-east and south-east chapels, north-west tower, and south-west porch.

St. John the Baptist (later St. Michael and All Angels), SUMMERTOWN. The church was built in 1832 to serve the new population in the northern part of St. Giles's parish,²⁰ and became the church of a new ecclesiastical parish in 1834. St. John's College was patron and provided an endowment.²¹ The living was augmented from Queen Anne's Bounty in 1836 with £200 and in 1855 was worth c. £61, including £20 pew rents.²² Further augmentations in 1862, 1865, 1880, and 1881 raised its value to £200 in 1898.²³ A vicarage-house was built in 1879 on the corner of Banbury Road and South Parade. It was sold in 1924, and a new one built on a site adjoining the new church of St. Michael.²⁴

In 1854 there were two services each Sunday and a monthly Communion service. The congregation averaged 300, an improvement over the 200 in the morning and 150 in the afternoon reported in 1851, and there were 50 or 60 communicants at festivals.²⁵ The poverty of the living caused difficulties; in 1875 the vicar was still largely dependent on pew rents.²⁶ By 1866 there were daily prayers and weekly communion services; the number of Easter communicants had increased to 132, but the congregation was only c. 240, a fact which the vicar attributed to the depraved condition of the poor.²⁷ The congregation was increasing again by 1869, although in 1872 half the adults in the parish never came to church.²⁸ By 1878 a week-day Communion service had been introduced, and by the end of the century the form of the services was more High Church, although a daily Eucharist was not introduced until c. 1918 and the sacrament was not reserved until c. 1928.²⁹ By 1904 the existing church was too small, and a new one dedicated to St. Michael and All Angels was built in 1908-9.³⁰ Congregations continued to increase until the First World War, after which they remained fairly steady; the congregation in 1928 was said to be very good, but the high turnover of population in the parish had a bad effect on church life.³¹

Miss A. W. Philpot (d. 1930) left a house in Lonsdale Road as a curate's house for the parish; as it was not required for that purpose it was sold and the money invested. A mission hall built in Cutteslow in 1935 on land leased from the corporation was sold back to the city in 1953.³²

The church of St. John the Baptist, in Rogers Street (formerly Church Street), designed by H. J. Underwood in the Early English style comprised an aisleless nave, a shallow chancel, north and south transepts, and an octagonal bell-turret on the western gable.³³ In 1857 under G. E. Street, the chancel was extended

⁷ Ibid. c 347, f. 311v.

⁸ Ibid. c 359, f. 317v.

⁹ Ibid. c 362, f. 317v.; c 365, f. 299v.; c 374, f. 273v.

¹⁰ Par. Mag. Aug.-Oct. 1973: copy in Westgate Libr.

¹¹ Bodl. MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 380, ff. 300-1; c 382, ff. 189v.-190; c 397, ff. 226-7.

¹² Ibid. c 2208, no. 40; Bodl. G.A. Oxon. b 153(R), f. 72.

¹³ For the church's history before 1928 see V.C.H. Oxon. v. 91-3.

¹⁴ Ex inf. the Revd. J. P. E. Parry Okeden.

¹⁵ Bodl. MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1955; c 1956/2.

¹⁶ Ex inf. the Revd. J. P. E. Parry Okeden.

¹⁷ Bodl. MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1956/1.

¹⁸ M. Thomas, *Out on a Wing*, 188.

¹⁹ Pevsner, *Oxon.* 341.

²⁰ Bodl. MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 456, f. 56.

²¹ Ibid. c 436, pp. 224-35; c 1973; *Lond. Gaz.* 15 July

1834, p. 1332.

²² C. Hodgson, *Account of Queen Anne's Bounty*, p. ccxxiv; Bodl. MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 2202, no. 51.

²³ *Lond. Gaz.* 22 July 1862, p. 3652; 7 July 1865, p. 3414; 21 May 1880, p. 3135; 12 Aug. 1881, p. 4194; Clayton, *Spiritual Needs of Oxf.* App.

²⁴ Bodl. MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1974.

²⁵ *Wilb. Visit.* 143; H.O. 129/157.

²⁶ Bodl. MSS. Oxf. Dioc. c 341, f. 423; d 550, f. 371b.

²⁷ Ibid. c 332, f. 352v.

²⁸ Ibid. c 335, f. 281v.; c 338, f. 399v.

²⁹ Ibid. c 344, f. 399v.; c 380, f. 389v.; c 388, f. 321; Bodl. G.A. Oxon. 4° 394a.

³⁰ Bodl. MS. Oxf. Dioc. c 1974.

³¹ Ibid. c 388, ff. 321-2; c 397, ff. 263-4.

³² Ibid. c 1974.

³³ Ibid. c 2172, no. 13; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1883), 620.

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VICTORIA HISTORY OF THE COUNTY OF OXFORD

EDITED BY

THE LATE REV. H. E. SALTER, M.A., D.LITT., F.B.A.

AND

MARY D. LOBEL, B.A., F.S.A.

VOLUME THREE

THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY
OF THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST
OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS

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Notes: Queen Elizabeth was very fond of superhandsome young Christopher Hatton, a court favorite. If not this man, he certainly was a close relative. Though much richer than our land-owning Hattons of Cowley, they were probably at least distantly related.

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⁹¹ *Oxf. Hist. Reg. Suppl.* 37-9.

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Hartland (The Oaklands, co. Devon). Add:
Hartland (co. Gloucester). Same arms.

Hartop (Buckminster, co. Leicester). Insert—
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chev. for diff. *Harl. MS. 6095. fo. 39.*

Hartopp (Co. Leicester). Sa. a chev. erm. betw. 3
otters pass. arg. *W.* Granted 18 May 1596.

Harl. MS. 1359. fo. 32. Sir Wm. Hartopp,
Rotherby, Leicester 1660. *L.N.*

Hartop. Sa. a chev. erm. betw. three tigers arg.
Crest: . . . Add: *V.**

Hartshorne. Az. a chev. betw. 3 bucks heads.
C. H. Hartshorne, cabossed arg. **Book Plate.**

Harvell. Add: *V.*

Harvey (Co. Suffolk). Gu. on a bend arg. 3
trefoils slipped vert. in chief a fleur-de-lis erm.

Cady.

Harvey. Insert—Chigwell (co. Essex and Lon-
don). Add: *C.L.* Add: Harvey, co. Stafford. *V.*

Sir James Hervy, Alderman of London. *V.*
William Harvey, Clarenceux King of Arms

1560.

Bateson-Harvey (Langley Park Baronetcy
1868). Gu. on a bend engr. arg. 3 trefoils

slipped vert. within a bordure wavy or.

Thursby-Harvey (Abington, Northants). Or a
chev. betw. 3 leopards faces gu. for Harvey,

quartering: arg. a chev. betw. 3 lions ramp. sa.
for Thursby.

Harvey (London). Az. on a chev. embattled or
3 leopards heads sa. Crest: Out of a mural

crown chequy or and az. a leopards head gu.
Vis. Lon. 1633.

Harvey (Middlesex). Or on a chev. betw. 3
leopards faces gu. as many trefoils slipped arg.

Crest: A leopard pass. . . . Add: *Vis. Lon. 1633.*

Harvey (London). Gu. on a bend arg. 3 trefoils
slipped vert. On a canton or a rose gu.—'rose'.

underlined, query a leopards head. *Vis. Lon.*
1633.

Harware (Stoke, co. Warwick). Az. a bend wavy
betw. 2 bucks heads coupé or. *C.W.*

Haselerton (Great Grimsby, co. Derby). Add:
Haselerton, co. York. temp. Edw. j. *V.*

Haselfoot (Boreham Manor, co. Essex). Add:
Haselfoot (London). Same arms and Crest.

Vis. Lon. 1633.

Haselwood (Maidwell, co. Northants, Wickwar-
ren, co. Worcester and co. Oxford). . . . three

hazel branches—insert—'with nuts' . . . Add:
V.

Hashlard. Or a chev. and over all a lion ramp. gu.
*V.**

Haslarton. Arg. on a chev. gu. 3 lions pass. guard
or. Thomas Haslarton. *X.*

Haslewood. Arg. a chev. sa. betw. 3 blackbirds on
a chief az. 3 bur stalks slipped with each 3 burs

or. Haslewood of Maydwell who married the
heiress of Lazencroft. *L.N. p. 226.*

Haselwood (Co. Northampton). Arg. on a chev.
gu. betw. 3 owls heads front faced erased sa.

as many lozenges erm. a chief az. charged with
3 hazel branches or. *V.*

Hassett (Pockthorpe, Norwich). Gu. a chev. erm.
betw. 3 dolphins embowed arg. *Cady.*

Hastang (Co. Stafford). Add: Sir Robert de
Hastang. *G.J.L.N.* and with a label arg. Sir
Johan de Hastang. *N.* Sir Thomas de Hastang.

O. Az. a chief gu. over all a lion ramp. or and a
bendlet arg. Sir Richard Hastang, co. Stafford

temp. Edw. iii. *V.* But a dexter baston arg. Sir
Richard de Hastang. *N.* Sir Nichol de Hastang.

L.

Hasted (Sunnings, co. Berks.). . . . Add: Hasted
of Canterbury the historian of Kent.

Hasthorpe. Arg. on a bend sa. 3 martlets or. Sire
Johan de Hasthorpe. *O.*

Hastings (Elford, co. Oxford and London). Or a
maunch gu. a crescent for diff. Crest: A bull's

head coupé gu. horned or. *Vis. Lon. 1633.*

Hastings. Per fesse vert. and or a bull—insert—
'saliant', counter-changed. Add: Sir Drew de

Hasting. *V.*

Hatch or Hacche (Hatch, co. Devon). Add: *V.D.*
1620.

Hatcliff. Az. two bars or over all a lion ramp. gu.
Crest: . . . Add: *V.*

Hatfield. Erm. a chev. engr. betw. 3 cinquefoils
sa. *V.V.**

Hatfield. Erm. a chev. sa. *V.* Thomas Hatfield,
Bishop of Durham. 1345–81. *Q.*

Hatfield (Hatfield, co. York 1665). Erm. on a
chev. engr. sa. 3 cinquefoils . . . a canton gu.

Dugdale. p. 270.

Hatfield (Newton Kyme and Laughton). Co.
York. Same arms but canton sa.

Hatfield (Willoughby, co. Notts.). Thomas
Hatfield . . . Add: *V.*

Hatfield. Paly of six gu. and arg. . . . Add: *Randle*
Holme.

Hatfield. Sa. on a chev. or betw. three lions
ramp. arg. a mullet of the field. Add: Thomas

Hatfield. *Y.*

Hatfield (Alexander Hatfield, Esq., of Twicken-
ham, co. Middlesex). Add: Hatfield (Laughton

in le Morthing, co. York 1665). Same arms and
crest. *Dugdale. p. 185.*

Hatherley (London and Bristol 1442). Arg. on a
bend gu. . . . Add: Sir John Hatherley, Lord

Mayor of London. 1442. *Harl. MS. 6860.*

Hathey (Co. Devon). Sa. three birds arg. mem-
bered gu. Add: *V.*

Hathye. Sa. a chev. erm. betw. 3 birds arg. beaked
and legged gu. in the dexter chief a crescent for

diff.

Hathorpe. Sa. a chev. engr. arg. (another, or).
Add: *V.*

Hatley (Aylesbury, co. Buckingham &c.). Add:
Vis. Lon. 1633.

Hatt (Co. Berks, Orsett, co. Essex and London).
. . . . Add: *Vis. Lon. 1633.*

Hatter, Merchants (Company of, London). Erm.
on a chev. betw. 3 felt hats with strings sa. as

many escallops arg.

Hatton (Viscount Hatton). . . . betw. three garbs
—delete—gu., substitute 'or'. Crest: . . .

Hatton (Long Stanton, co. Cambridge, bart.).
Insert—1641 . . .

Hatton. Arg. a bend gu. charged with three
bars indented—insert—or dancetty. *V.** . . .

indented or. Add: *V.*

Hatworth. Arg. three hats sa.—insert—(or 3 caps
of maintenance). *V.* Crest: . . .

Hauberk. Arg. on a bend sa. three 5-foils or. Sire
John Hauberk. *S.*

Haule or Hale (Co. Devon). Arg. an arrow or
feathered gu. betw. three bugle horns stringed

sa. and interlacing the lower one. *V.*

Haulsey, See Halsey.

Haunsart. . . . a chief . . . over all a bend . . .
Seal of Gilbert Haunsart, 14th cent.

Journal of the

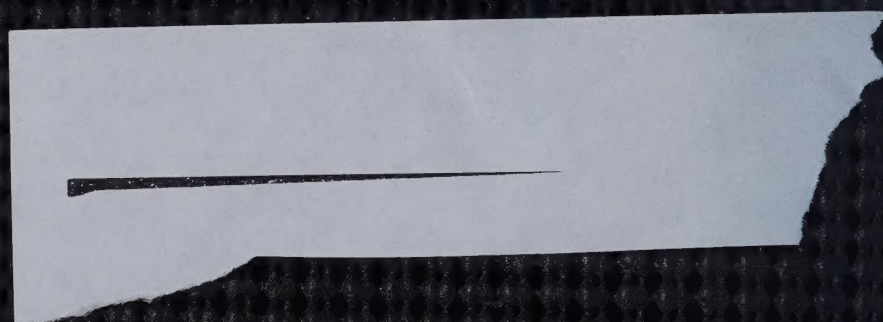
The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been elected to the office of the President of the United States, from the year 1789 to the present time. The names are arranged in alphabetical order, and the year of election is given in parentheses.

George Washington (1789)
John Adams (1797)
Thomas Jefferson (1801)
James Madison (1809)
James Monroe (1817)
John Quincy Adams (1825)
Andrew Jackson (1829)
Martin Van Buren (1837)
Franklin Pierce (1853)
Abraham Lincoln (1861)
Andrew Johnson (1865)
Ulysses S. Grant (1869)
Rutherford B. Hayes (1877)
James A. Garfield (1881)
Chester A. Arthur (1881)
Grover Cleveland (1885)
Benjamin Harrison (1889)
William McKinley (1897)
Theodore Roosevelt (1901)
Woodrow Wilson (1913)
Calvin Coolidge (1925)
Herbert Hoover (1929)
Franklin D. Roosevelt (1933)
Dwight D. Eisenhower (1953)
John F. Kennedy (1961)
Lyndon B. Johnson (1963)
Richard M. Nixon (1969)
Jimmy Carter (1977)
Ronald Reagan (1981)
George H. W. Bush (1989)
Bill Clinton (1993)
George W. Bush (2001)
Barack Obama (2009)
Donald Trump (2017)

Pearis

were better copies made?

If so
pica



With Pearis cashiered and a ban put upon their Pennsylvania trip, the Indians' behavior altered. When Atkin assembled them to receive the presents Dinwiddie had sent, Wawhatchee was unhappy. The goods, "by no means contemptible," according to Atkin, were to be shared with the absent Swallow Warrior's party. Disdainfully glancing at the heaped presents, Wawhatchee grunted that they were not worth dividing: Swallow Warrior could have them all. As he moodily walked away, the worried Atkin hastened after him and told him he could take them all if his conscience would permit. Whereupon Wawhatchee, whose conscience was not tender, turned back, and took all the presents, "without remorse."

Oblivious to the Indian's contempt, the Superintendent then developed the subject of the Pennsylvania visit by reading an invitation from Croghan. The Cherokees listened coldly to Atkin's promise that if they would go to war, he would send to Croghan to learn what sort of reward could be had. Wawhatchee, perceiving that Atkin wished to prevent present-collecting on the scale to which he aspired, disdainfully left Croghan's wampum dangling in the Superintendent's hand. Nevertheless, the conference broke up with intimations that the Indians might be more tractable the next day.

The morrow came, but no Indians waited upon His Majesty's Superintendent. Youghtanno, after an all-night debauch, had early in the morning reeled off toward the nation, followed by thirteen of his men.

When finally a penitent Wawhatchee came to Atkin to take formal leave, he repudiated Pearis, blaming his own conduct upon his benefactor, who, he said, had claimed sole authority over the Cherokees. Already prejudiced against the adventurer, the Superintendent believed the headman's statements, assuming that Wawhatchee's denunciation of Pearis represented a heartfelt conversion.

Shortly after the Mankiller of Estatoe came to Winchester, George Croghan brought in the Pennsylvania gift for Wawhatchee's party. Atkin decided that it was excessive and gave the lingering Wawhatchee but a part. The remainder he turned over

to the Mankiller of Estatoe for accompanying Croghan to Pennsylvania to help Colonel Stanwix.

Led by Croghan and accompanied by Richard Smith to keep an eye on Johnson's deputy for Atkin, the party reached Carlisle on June 29. Now on Pennsylvania soil Croghan took advantage of Atkin, who had forbidden Johnson's deputy to speak to the Cherokees. Convincing himself that the northern and southern Indian districts were geographical rather than tribal units, Croghan decided that Cherokees in Pennsylvania were outside the southern Superintendent's jurisdiction.²³ He approached the Mankiller with presents and the promise that if he remained in Pennsylvania there would be further reward. The Cherokees agreed to stay twenty days.

The Cherokee sojourn in Pennsylvania ended inauspiciously. On July 21 a Cherokee runner arrived from the south with such disturbing news that Colonel Stanwix had difficulty holding the Indians to receive their presents.²⁴ All fifty-five Cherokees surged from the fort down the road toward Winchester.

Winchester had been very quiet after Croghan left for Carlisle with the Estatoes. Late in June, Osteneco passed through on his way to the frontier after having delivered a message in Williamsburg from Old Hop and the Little Carpenter. Then in July what appears to have been a backdoor deputation of Overhills, accompanied by Mingo warriors, bound for upper New York to confer with the neutral Onondaga council, arrived. Atkin, at the moment without a skilled linguist, gained the impression that enemy spies were in his midst and threw the deputies into Winchester jail.²⁵ Horrified, convalescent Cherokees lingering at the base dispatched a runner to Chota and sent for help to the nearest war party, the Mankiller's Estatoes at Carlisle. The Estatoes, boiling into Winchester, effected a jail delivery before young Washington could convince them that a mistake had been made. Only after the deputies' wounded pride had been assuaged with presents did the Estatoe Mankiller send a runner to counteract the story already proceeding toward the nation.²⁶

With Pearis cashiered and a ban put upon their Pennsylvania trip, the Indians' behavior altered. When Atkin assembled them to receive the presents Dinwiddie had sent, Wawhatchee was unhappy. The goods, "by no means contemptible," according to Atkin, were to be shared with the absent Swallow Warrior's party. Disdainfully glancing at the heaped presents, Wawhatchee grunted that they were not worth dividing: Swallow Warrior could have them all. As he moodily walked away, the worried Atkin hastened after him and told him he could take them all if his conscience would permit. Whereupon Wawhatchee, whose conscience was not tender, turned back, and took all the presents, "without remorse."

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Clayton

H-227: John Welton Jr. of Augusta Co. 400 A. surveyed for Andrew Nowland on S. Fork of Patterson Cr. by Mr. David Vance in Augusta Co. 18 Nov. 1752

H-228: Jesse Welton of Augusta Co. 400 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. David Vance. Adj. John Scott, on Looney's Creek. 18 Nov. 1752

H-229: David Welton of Augusta Co. 373 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. David Vance. On Looney's Creek. 18 Nov. 1752

H-230: Thomas Hughs of Frederick Co. 419 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. George Washington. On Great Cacapehon. 18 Nov. 1752

H-231: Aron Jenkins of Frederick Co. 400 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. On both sides of Elk Lick Branch. 18 Nov. 1752

H-232: Capt. James Pendleton of Culpeper Co. 385 A. in Great Fork of Rappahannock R. in said Co. Surv. Mr. Philip Clayton. Adj. Pendleton's tract near S. Fork of Gourd Vine R., Capt. Yancy, Col. Robert Eastham, Andrew Burns. 20 Nov. 1752

H-233: Martin Hardin of Pr. William Co. 501 A. in Culpeper Co. Surv. Mr. John Baylis. On E. part of Pignut Ridge, S. Br. of Rush R., adj. John Botts, Thornton, John Lacy. 20 Nov. 1752

H-234: Joseph Norman of Culpeper Co. 238 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. William Green. Adj. James Compton, in little Fork of Rappahannock R., Hickman's Mt., Francis Browning. 21 Nov. 1752

H-235: Isaac Smith of Culpeper Co. 306 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. George Hume. Adj. Isaac Smith, Mark Stower?, Garth's Spring. 21 Nov. 1752

H-236: Nicholas Cabler of Culpeper Co. 162 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. Phil Clayton. On Mount Poney, adj. Christopher Cabler, Minor Winn, Thomas Brown. 22 Nov. 1752

H-237: James Dillard, son of Thomas Dillard of Culpeper Co. 664 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. Philip Clayton. In Great Fork of Rappahannock R., near Stonehouse Mt., adj. Capt. William Green, Messrs. George & Thomas Fairfax, John Weatherall formerly Thomas Covington, Kirtley, Richard Tutt, near Fork of Mountain Run. 22 Nov. 1752

H-238: Isaac Smith of Culpeper Co. 480 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. George Hume. On Stanton R., adj. Benjamin Smith. 23 Nov. 1752

H-239: Robert Keys of Caroline Co. 370 A. in Brs. of Stanton R. in Culpeper Co. Surv. Mr. George Hume. Adj. another of Key's tracts, John Powell, Thomas Buckner. 23 Nov. 1752

H-240: John Oldham of Pr. William Co. 400 A. in Augusta Co. Surv. Mr. George Hume. Adj. John Leynburger, Jacob Rodecap. 24 Nov. 1752

H-241: Thomas Covington of Culpeper Co. 510 A. in Gourd Vine Fork in said Co. Surv. Mr. Philip Clayton. Adj. Capt. William Green, Martin Nalle, Caleb Price, Blackwater Run, William Fairfax Esq. 25 Nov. 1752

H-242: John Wood of Stafford Co. 300 A. in Augusta Co. Surv. Mr. George Hume. Adj. Ralph Hughs, Wid. Koffman. 1 Jan. 1753

H-243: James Hogg of Frederick Co. 235 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzey. Adj. Robert Parris, Stephen Elmour, Thomas Wood, Richard Highland, William Hogg. 1 Jan. 1753

H-244: Solomon Hogg of Frederick Co. 233 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzey. Adj. William Hogg, crossing Hogg's Cr., Peter Julian. 1 Jan. 1753

Shows James Hogg adj. 64 what Dennis in Frederick Jan 1753 + Mr. Philip Clayton as surveyor Nov 1752 in Culpeper

H-245: Hazell Hardwick of Frederick Co. 407 A. in Frederick Co. Surv. Mr. John Baylis. Adj. John Evans, John Patterson, George (G.W.) Fairfax Esq. On Main Road to Watkins Ferry, John Mendenhall. 2 Jan. 1753

H-246: Mr. Thomas Sweringen & Charles Buck, churchwardens of Parish of Frederick in Frederick Co. 400 A. for use of sd. parish & minsters thereof as a glebe in Frederick Co. Surv. Mr. John Baylis. Adj. John Neil dec'd, Opeckon, Messrs Carters, Lewis Neil Jr. 2 Mar. 1753 (Mr. Wm. Helm purchased above land of Frederick Par. by Virtue of an Act of Assembly.)

H-247: Mr. Charles Buck of Frederick Co. 150 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. R. Rutherford. Adj. Thomas Chester, George Bounds, Christian Plank, said Buck's land purchased of Thos. Chester, on W. side of Shannondoah. 2 Mar. 1753

H-248: John Chenoth of Frederick Co. 248 A. in said Co. adj. John Park Sr., Richard Arnold Sr., on Great Cacapehon. Surv. Mr. George Washington. 3 Mar. 1753

H-249: William Frost of Frederick Co. 400 A. in Frederick Co. on both sides of Back Cr. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. 3 Mar. 1753

H-250: Christopher Yewell of Culpeper Co. 80 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. George Hume. In Great Fork of Rappahannock R. adj. John Thomas, Yewell's other tract. 1752

H-251: Henry, Joseph & Mary Holtzclaw, sons & dau. of John Holtzclaw of Orange Co. now called Culpeper Co. dec'd, 987 A. in Culpeper Co. Surv. Mr. William Green. Adj. Henry Tyler, Middle prong of Rush R., Fork Mt., John Rogers, John Jones, Kennersley's R., Mr Francis Tyler. 5 Mar. 1753

H-252: Mr. Stephen Onion of Province of Maryland 1200 A. in Frederick Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. On Back Cr. of Potomack R., to include James Woods former survey, E. side Hogg's Creek. 6 Mar. 1753

H-253: Isaac Smith of Orange Co. 400 A. in Culpeper Co. Surv. Mr. George Hume. On Stanton R. in Great Fork of Rappahannock R., adj. Jane Stanton & Thomas Stanton, Wm. McDonough. 6 Mar. 1753

H-254: Isaac Smith of Culpeper Co. 408 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. George Hume. 6 Mar. 1752

H-255: Maj. George Washington of King George Co. 240 A. in Frederick Co. on Potomack R. between mouths of Great & Little Cacapehon adj. David Osborne. Surv. Mr. John Baylis. 8 Mar. 1753

H-256: John Paul of Frederick Co. 365 A. in said Co. on N. Mt. in Open Barrens. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. Adj. 3170 A. surv'd for the Hon. Lewis Burrell Esq., Stephen Harlan. 9 Mar. 1753

H-257: Daniel Osborne of Frederick Co. 270 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. George Washington. On Potomack R., adj. Daniel Pursley. 10 Mar. 1753

H-258: Samuel Blackburn of Frederick Co. 300 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Baylis. On S. Fork of Mulberry Run, William Stephenson. 12 Mar. 1753

H-259: William Paul of Frederick Co. 340 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Mauzy. On S. side of N. Mt., adj. John Paul, Stephen Harlan. 13 Mar. 1753

H-260: William Evans of Frederick Co. 400 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. John Baylis. On Br. of Cedar Cr., adj. James Vance & Sarah Campbell, James Brown, Hite's Original line now David Logan's. 14 Mar. 1753

H-261: Charles Taylor of Pr. William Co. 200 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. George Hume. On Goose Cr., adj. Filman Weaver, Charles Burgess. 15 Mar. 1753

H-262: Joseph Edwards of Frederick Co. 400 A. in said Co. Surv. Mr. William

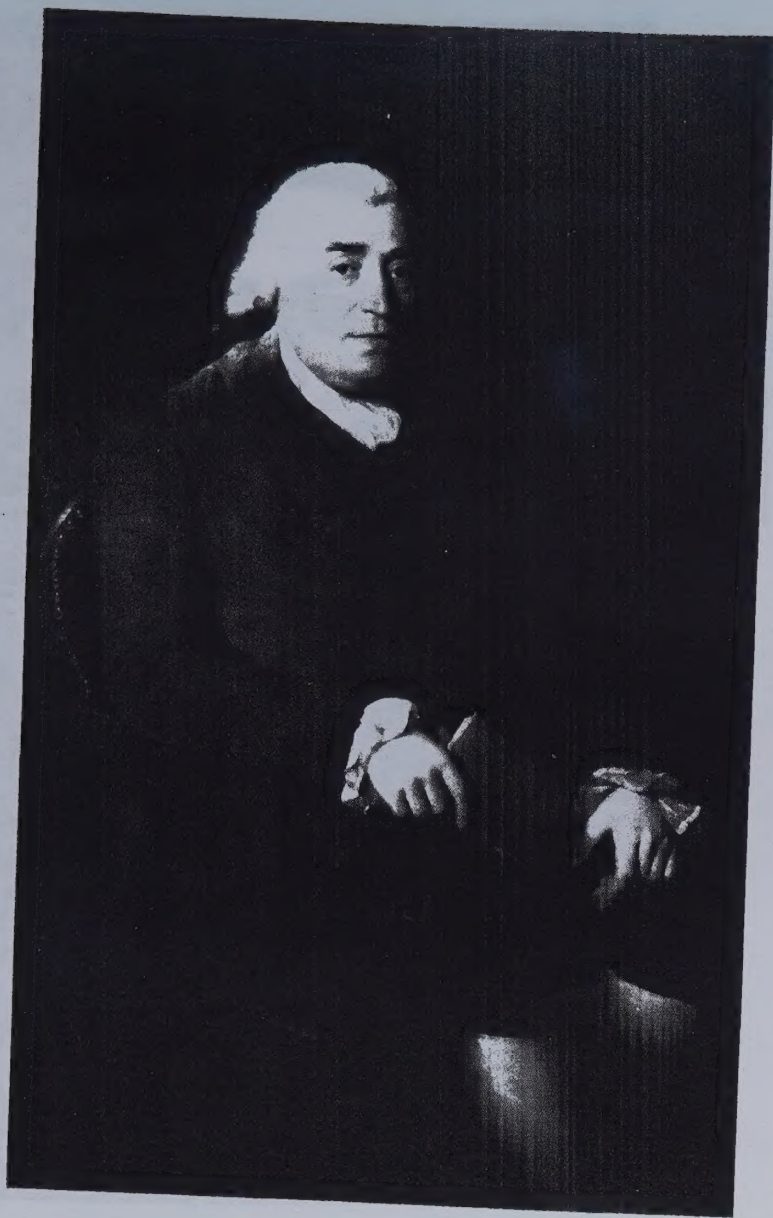
*Virginia Northern Neck land grants Vol II 1742-1775 by Kenneth E. May
This Philip Clayton was a brother of same settler at close to same
F-28 NAC 673 (1987)
ND*

Northern Neck



36. Thomas, sixth Lord Fairfax. His claim to 5,282,000 acres in Virginia was upheld by the Privy Council in 1745.





THOMAS 6TH LORD FAIRFAX

VIRGINIA BARON

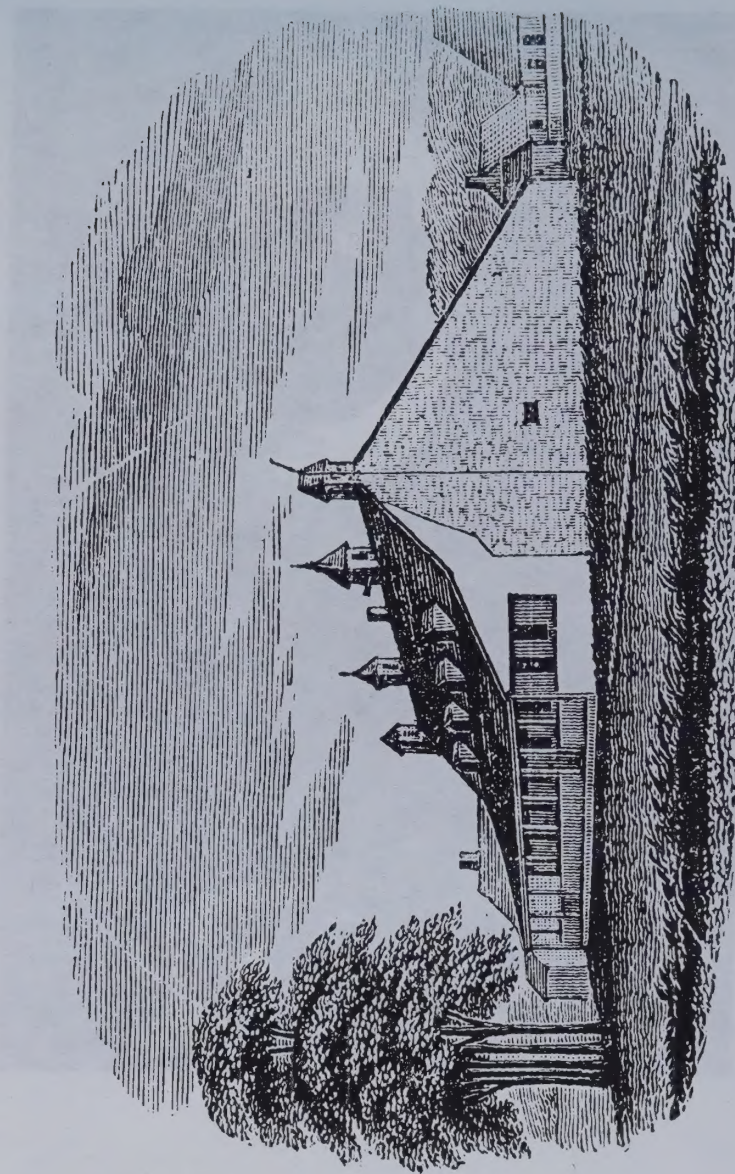
The Story
of
Thomas 6th Lord Fairfax

★

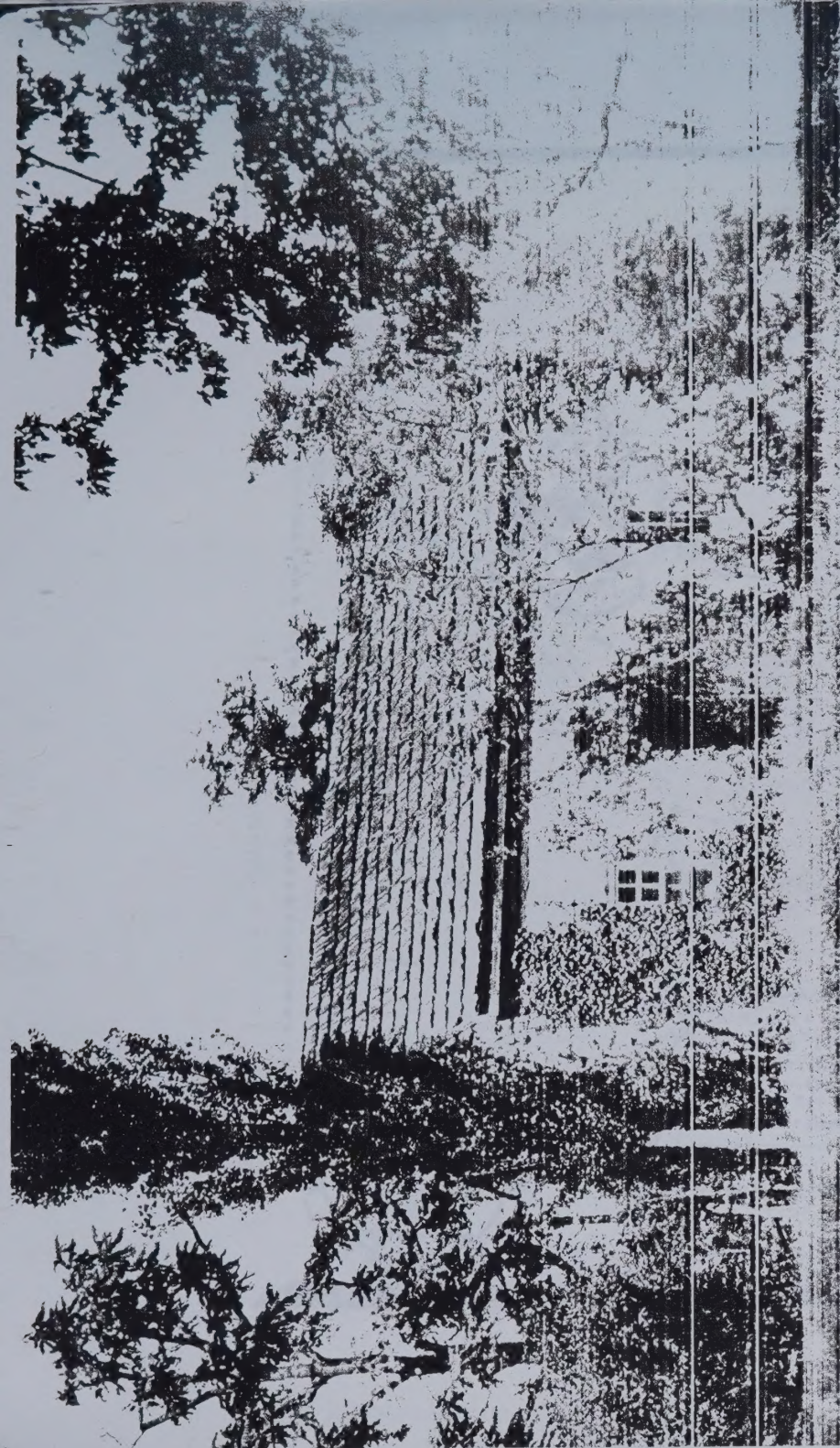
By STUART E. BROWN JR.



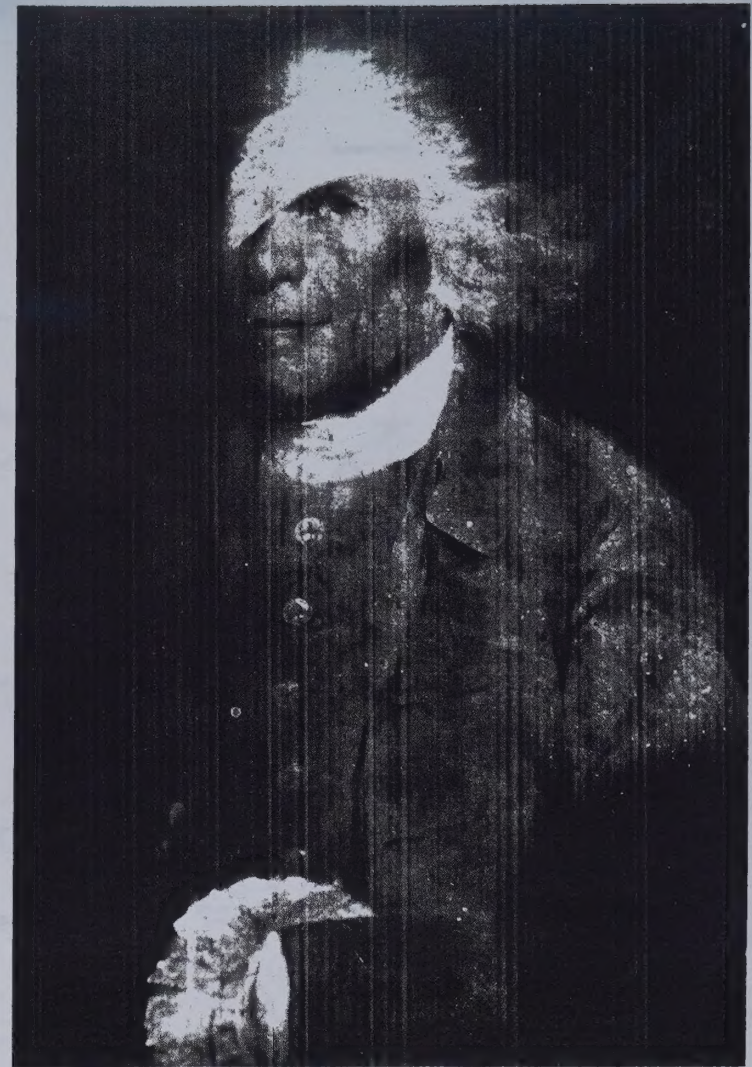
ROBERT FAIRFAX
(LATER THE 7TH LORD FAIRFAX)



Greenway Court, the seat of Lord Fairfax.



LAND OFFICE AT GREENWAY COURT



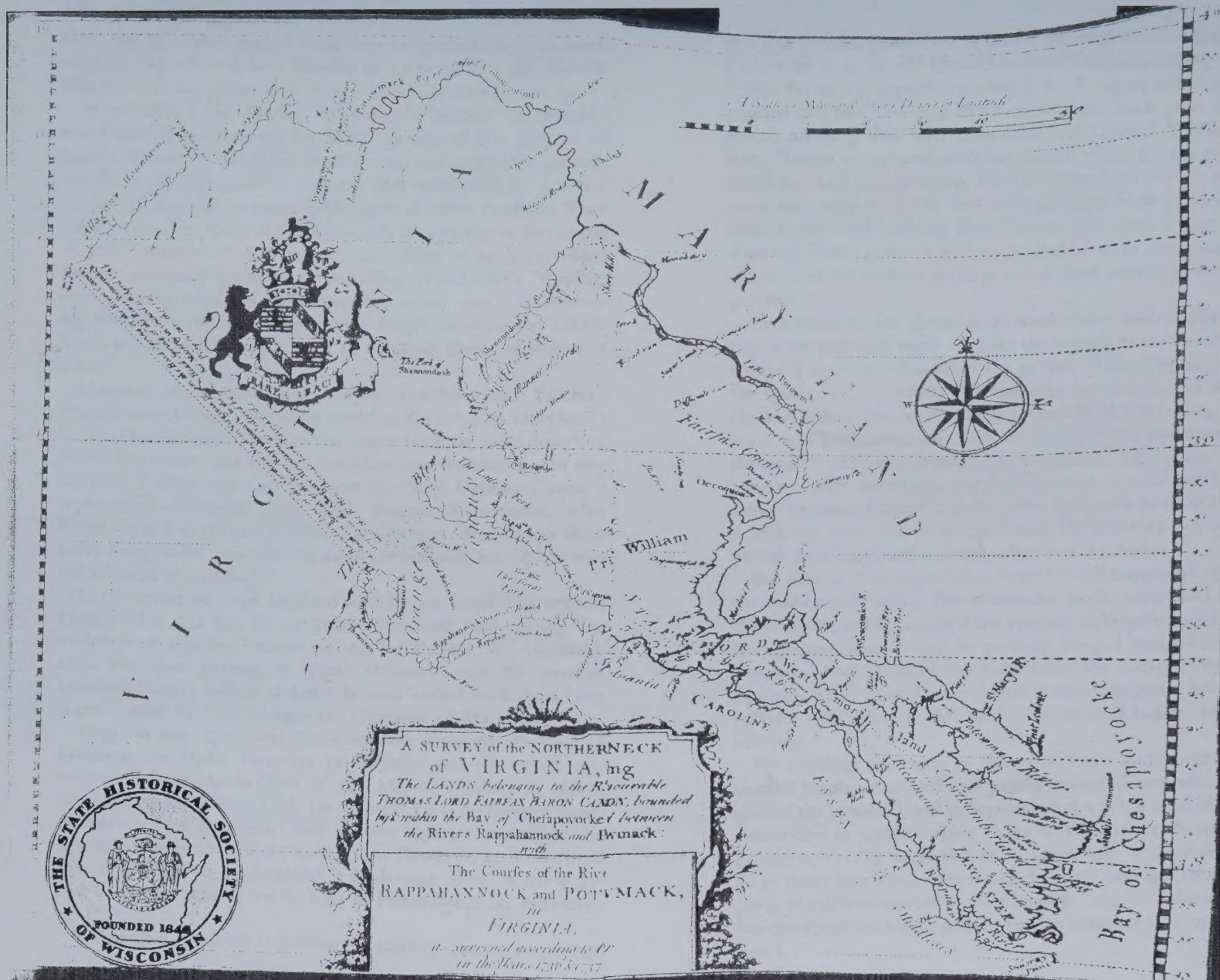
GABRIEL JONES



A SURVEY of the NORTHERNECK
of VIRGINIA, by
The LANDS belonging to the Honourable
THOMAS LORD FAIRFAX BARON CLAYDON, bounded
by & within the Bay of Chesapeake between
the Rivers Rappahannock and Potomack:

The Courses of the River
RAPPAHANNOCK and POTOMACK,
in

VIRGINIA,
as surveyed according to P.
in the Years 1736 & 1737



than log palisades, armed with one or perhaps several small cannon, and manned by a handful of soldiers, they did provide effective rallying points as well as places of temporary refuge.

Meanwhile, Lord Fairfax, Dinwiddie's frontier "lieutenant", was faithfully performing his duties as one of the Justices of Frederick County—of all the members, he was most often present, usually as presiding officer. He was also continuing his practice of making periodic journeys to the seats of other Northern Neck counties in order to serve in his capacity as a Justice of the courts of those counties.¹⁷ And he was attending to such mundane though necessary pursuits as curtailing Winchester's "tippling houses"—they were "of great prejudice to our men"—and sending drummers through Winchester's streets to warn the inhabitants not to hurt the soldiers or to entertain them "at improper hours".

However, there were some serious troubles—Lord Fairfax's rangers were being required to patrol as far away as Maryland's Conococheague; the people of the upper Potomac were deserting their plantations; and the lax discipline was continuing—in one instance, Fairfax sent Captain Paris to relieve Captain Caton, a replacement blamable upon Capt. Thomas Swearingen, who, Fairfax noted wryly in a letter to Washington, "has always done every thing in his power to occasion confusion if his advice was not taken in everything".¹⁸

In the spring of 1756, England formally declared war against France—this was the Seven Years War—and that spring, for a change of scenery, Fairfax set out for Belvoir, *via* Williams' Gap. But upon arriving at West's Ordinary, near the present Loudoun County village of Aldie, he was "called back by a false alarm" issued by "old" Sharpe, the Governor of Maryland.¹⁹

Then, on July 23rd, John Campbell, the arrogant 4th Earl of Loudoun, the titular Governor of Virginia, and the newly appointed Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's forces in North America, landed in New York. He planned a much stronger move to capture Fort Duquesne, and on two separate occasions, he scheduled exploratory visits to Virginia. However, each of these trips was called off, and instead, a conference of all of the colonial Governors was set to be held in Philadelphia on February 17, 1757.

Washington, desiring to further his military career, requested

and was granted permission to attend the conference, whereupon Fairfax wrote to his old friend Loudoun,²⁰ recommending Washington for an appropriate command. In the same letter, Fairfax pointed out the "unhappy situation in these back parts of Virginia", advising that "Mr. Dinwiddie and Colonel Washington" were "better acquainted with our affairs" than Fairfax possibly could be. And in conclusion, Fairfax warned that "if we are not some way supported this next summer these back parts will be entirely deserted", adding that "for my own part I have never deserted these parts, but have endeavored to encourage the people to stand by their plantations but must confess to very little purpose".²¹

As a result of the Philadelphia conference, and similar meetings, a decision was made to strike the French in the Great Lakes region. This removed some of the pressure from Virginia, and in the spring of 1757, ninety-five Catawba Indians arrived in Winchester. Later, they were joined by bands of Cherokees, Nottoways, and Tuscaroras, and all of the Indians professed friendship, demanded gifts, and promised new alliances. Thereafter, during June and July, the French and Indians made several small strikes along Virginia's frontier, but this time, the partly finished chain of Allegheny forts, and Fort Loudoun, Winchester's nearly completed, four-bastioned redoubt, absorbed the blows.

But then, a false report of a large French movement restarted the east-bound exodus. Desertions also began anew, and in July, Washington, fed up, ordered the erection in Winchester of a forty foot gallows, from which he publicly hanged two several-times deserters. And at about the same time, the General Assembly, similarly irked, passed several laws which stringently braced the military establishment. But the French-backed Indians were also learning.

By avoiding the chain of defensive forts, and by striking in smaller bands at isolated and poorly defended outposts, they regained the initiative, and in September of 1757, a band of Indians penetrated to within twelve miles of Winchester. Reporting to Loudoun, Fairfax wrote that the savages had "scalped or carried away thirty-four men, women and children", and that an avenging party of soldiers sent out by Washington "saw no Indians, buried the dead and returned", which, Fairfax continued, "is usually the case".

John Culpeper, baron of Thoresway; Henry Jermyn, baron of St. Edmundsbury; Ralph Hopton, Baron of Stratton; Sir William Morton, Sir Dudley Wyatt, Thomas Culpeper, Esq., and Sir John Berkeley (brother of Sir William Berkeley).

The first land grants in the Northern Neck of Virginia were made in the 1650s. Much of the land in this territory went to a small elite. Some were "distressed cavaliers" such as Sir Thomas Lunsford, who had been lord of the Tower of London in 1641, and Sir Henry Chicheley, a royalist who had been locked in the Tower by Roundheads in 1648. Others were men in Berkeley's



36. Thomas, sixth Lord Fairfax. His claim to 5,282,000 acres in Virginia was upheld by the Privy Council in 1745.

circle such as Richard Lee, the founder of a Virginia dynasty. Many were young men of gentle families in mercantile careers: Raleigh Travers, William Ball, Thomas Powell. In 1674, 5,000 acres were granted to exiled royalist John Washington, great-grandfather of the future president, on condition that he "seat and plant" the tract within three years and pay in perpetuity a rent to the proprietor.

These men gave a distinctive tone to the Northern Neck by the end of the Berkeley era. Historian Edmund Morgan writes, "Lancaster [County] in the seventeenth century was a rich man's county, . . . not a land of opportunity for its newly freed servants." Of 247 servants who gained their freedom in Lancaster from 1662 to 1678, only twenty-four appeared as householders in 1679. Similar patterns appeared even more strongly in Northumberland and especially in Westmoreland County.¹⁹

The king's proprietary grant of the Northern Neck passed from his consortium of supporters to one family alone—the Culpepers. Through them, it was inherited by the Fairfax family. The Fairfaxes were an interesting English dynasty who combined cavalier manners with parliamentary principles. The third Baron Fairfax had commanded the army of Parliament against Charles I. The sixth Baron Fairfax also had the same strong sense of English law and liberty, which he linked to the conduct and character of a high-born English gentleman.

Lord Fairfax employed as his colonial agent Robert Carter who, by granting lands on the Northern Neck to his sons and friends, founded the wealth and power of the Carter family and won for himself the nickname of "King" Carter. When he died in 1732, his 300,000 acres and 1,000 slaves made him the richest man in Virginia.²⁰

Virginia maintained that the western boundary of Fairfax's domain was "the first falls" of the Potomac River, but he claimed the headwaters of that river, which at that time was unexplored. In the disputed region beyond the first falls, both the Virginia Council and Fairfax made grants, and Lord Fairfax ultimately came to Virginia to defend his interests. In April 1736 a group of horsemen headed by the proprietor himself arrived in a new settlement called Frederick (now Winchester) and informed the inhabitants that they were on his land. Fairfax was reasonable; he merely required that they pay their rents to him instead of to Virginia.²¹

Other Virginia grandees were not happy about the size of Fairfax's holdings. William Byrd II, acting for the colony, protested that Fairfax's claim



36. Thomas, sixth Lord Fairfax. His claim to 5,282,000 acres in Virginia was upheld by the Privy Council in 1745.

LIST OF HOUSES AND INHABITANTS AT FORT PITT

[B. M., Add. MSS. 21646. f. 139, D.]

A Return of the N^o of Houses, of the Names of the Owners and N^o of Men Women & Children in Each HouseFort Pitt April 14th 1761

N ^o	Houses	Owners names	men	Women	Children	Upper Town
N ^o 9	1	Emty House	—	—	—	
10	1	Michael Long ⁴⁶ sold	1	2	—	
11	1	Charles Boyle ⁴⁷	1	1	2	
12	2	Patrick M ^c Quaid ⁴⁸	1	—	—	
13	2	Thos. Small ⁴⁹	2	—	—	
14	1	John Meacalfe ⁵⁰	2	—	—	
✓ 15	1	Robert Parris ⁵¹	2	2	—	
16	1	Hugh Read ⁵²	2	2	—	
17	1	Tho ^s Brighton ²	1	—	—	
18	1	Conrad House ²	1	—	—	
19	2	W ^m Splane ⁵³	3	—	—	
20	1	Robert Read ⁵⁴	1	1	1	
21	1	Neil M ^c Collon ⁵⁵	1	1	1	
22	1	John Work ⁵⁶	2	—	—	
23	1	Dennis M ^c Glautin ²	1	1	2	
24	3	George Snigh ⁵⁷	1	1	2	
25	1	John Nial ⁵⁸	1	1	—	
26	1	Emty House	—	—	—	
27	1	Authur Current ²	1	1	—	
28	1	Dennis Hall ²	1	1	1	
29	1	Coupers 2 Sol ^d 3 Cont ^r ores	5	—	—	
30	1	Patrick M ^c Carty ⁵⁹	1	1	2	
31	1	Christopher Miller ⁶⁰	1	1	1	
32	1	John M ^c Cantash ⁶¹	1	1	—	
33	2	W ^m Hath ⁶²	1	—	—	
34	2	W ^m Vinston ⁶³	1	1	—	
35	2	Woodrow Ramsey & Com ^s ⁶⁴	2	1	—	
36	1	George White ²	2	—	—	
37	1	Christopher Nigty ²	1	1	—	
38	1	Martain Smith ⁶⁵	2	—	—	
39	1	Ellenor Crawford ⁶⁶	—	2	—	
40	1	James Gilbey ²	1	1	1	
40			43	23	13	
8		Bro ^t over	12	5	2	
48			55	28	15	

From : Papers of Henry Bouquet V. 409

PEARIS FAMILY

LIST OF HOUSES AND INHABITANTS AT FORT PITT

[B. M., Add. MSS. 21646, f. 139, D.]

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13	2	Thos. Small ⁴⁹	2	—	—	
14	1	John Meatcalfe ⁵⁰	2	—	—	
✓ 15	1	Robert Parris ⁵¹	2	2	—	
16	1	Hugh Read ⁵²	2	2	—	
17	1	Tho ^s Brighton ²	1	—	—	
18	1	Conrad House ²	1	—	—	
19	2	W ^m Splane ⁵³	3	—	—	
20	1	Robert Read ⁵⁴	1	1	1	
21	1	Neil M ^c Collon ⁵⁵	1	1	1	
22	1	John Work ⁵⁶	2	—	—	
23	1	Dennis M ^c Glautin ²	1	1	2	
24	3	George Snigh ⁵⁷	1	1	2	
25	1	John Nial ⁵⁸	1	1	—	
26	1	Emty House	—	—	—	
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29	1	Coupers 2 Sold ^d 3 Cont ^r ores	5	—	—	
30	1	Patrick M ^c Carry ⁵⁹	1	1	2	
31	1	Christopher Miller ⁶⁰	1	1	1	
32	1	John M ^c Cantash ⁶¹	1	1	—	
33	2	W ^m Hath ⁶²	1	—	—	
34	2	W ^m Vinston ⁶³	1	1	—	
35	2	Woodrow Ramsey & Com ^y ⁶⁴	2	1	—	
36	1	George White ²	2	—	—	
37	1	Christopher Nigty ²	1	1	—	
38	1	Martain Smith ⁶⁵	2	—	—	
39	1	Ellenor Crawford ⁶⁶	—	2	—	
40	1	James Gilbey ²	1	1	1	
	40		43	23	13	
	8		12	5	2	
	48		55	28	15	

Bro^t over

5 FEBRUARY 1759

* William Ives, or Eives, Indian trader, is shown on the Muster Roll of Colonel John Dagworthy's Company, dated at Fort Frederick, Aug. 8, 1758, as having deserted on July 11. *Ibid.*, f. 20. He was killed by Indians in 1763.

† Not identified.

[ENCLOSURE]

PROCEEDINGS OF COURT MARTIAL

[B. M., Add. MSS. 21644, f. 40, C.]*

A Court Martial Held at Fort Cumberland the fifth Day of Feb^y 1759.

Lieut Linn Pres^t ¹

Lieut Gorroll²

Ensign Mearns³ } Members

To try Such Prisoners as Shal be Brought Before them

Jn^o Ragon Corp^l confin^d By Cap^t Rich^d Pearis for Goeing from the Garrison Seven Miles Without Leave threatning to Desert if he Could Gett Any Good fellow to Goe wth Him & Insulting Ensⁿ Love⁴

The Prisoner being Examin^d Confeses he went to Isaac Colliers⁵ without Leave

Geo: Teeter⁶ of Cap^t Alex^r Bealls Comp^y Being Examin^d Says that this Morning in y^e Hospital he heard the Prisoner Say that if he had but a Good Fellow wth him he Soon would Goe of for He had No Right to Doe Duty in this Place without pay

Ensⁿ Love Proves to the Court that he Saw the Prisoner on the Parade & Knowing him to be Confin^d Ordered him to y^e Inside of y^e Guard Room & Said it was a fine Usage on these words y^e Prisoner Dam^d him & the Usage too and the Prisoner Confesses he Expressed the Words

The Prisoner in His Defence Says that he thought he had No Right to Ask Leave to Goe Abroad he Serving without Pay

The Nature of the Prisoners Crime being Such that y^e Court Judges thot they have Not a Right to Pass Sentence on Such Crime it Being of too henious a Nature

W^m LINN

A True Copy of the proceedings of the Court

[Endorsed in Bouquet's handwriting] Court Martial at Cumberland

* Enclosed in preceding letter from Pearis to Bouquet.

¹ William Linn, woodsman and scout, is shown as first lieutenant on the Muster Roll of Col. John Dagworthy's Company, dated at Fort Cumberland, April 26, 1759. Md. Hist. Soc., Muster Rolls, 1757-1759, f. 26.

² Lieut. James Gorrell is shown as a lieutenant and adjutant on Dagworthy's Muster Roll. *Ibid.*

- S K Stevas at al, et al. D A Hester Mearns Comm.

5 FEBRUARY 1759

³ Ens. Samuel Mearns.

⁴ Ens. Philip Love.

⁵ Isaac Collier, a smith, living about 7 miles below Fort Cumberland.

✓ ⁶ George Teater, or Teeter, listed as on furlough on the Muster Roll of a Maryland Company of Foot commanded by Capt. Alexander Beall, dated at Annapolis, Dec. 30, 1758. Md. Hist. Soc., Muster Rolls, 1757-1759, f. 52.

WALLACE TO BOUQUET

[B. M., Add. MSS. 21644, f. 38, A. L. S.]

New York 5th Feb^y 1759

Dear Colonell

I rec^d your fav^r 23^d Dec^r ¹ dated at Fort Ligonier, & am verry glad to hear you are in good Health, after your fateaguing Campaign.

I would have had the pleasure of answering your agreeable Letter, from the Ruins of Fort DuQuesne ere not [now], but hoped for the pleasure of seeing you here.

I have wrote M^r Du Pleissis² to come & Joyn you as fast as possible, he was well when Major Prevost³ left Hallifax, & Major Prevost setts out for Boston this day, & he says he will send off M^r Du Plessis Imediately.

✓ Col^o Young⁴ is orderd here, & expected hourly to settle with Brigad^o Stanwix & Prevost⁵ who are going home.

This day Major Halkett⁶ embarks in the Packett for England. We have had no Packett from England, Nor no News these three months, so we are Strangers to whats doing in the World, & greatly at a Loss here for some Directions from England for the operations of next campaign. All your Friends here are well. Col^o Haldimand⁷ & Major Munster⁸ are verry well. Your Cloathing was all sent to Philad^a some time ago, so hope you have got it ere now. Pray who have you made Paymaster in the Room of M^r Billings,⁹ as Mess^r Conyngham & Nesbitt¹⁰ of Philadelphia have orders to pay the Officers Subsistance to any person you are pleased to appoint Paymaster. I ever am with verry great Esteem & regard

Dr Sir

Your most obed^t Serv^t
HUGH WALLACE

Col^o Bouquett

[Endorsed in Bouquet's handwriting] M^r Wallace¹¹ 5th feb^y

¹ Letter not found.

² Ens. Louis Victor Du Plessis, or Duplessis, 60th Regiment.

Your Excellency may remember, in some of my former Letters in the Spring, I mentioned one Paris, a Trader from Virginia, and Price, his Partner; the former went in the Summer last for Virginia, and the latter to Carolina, not having wherewith to answer his Credit in Virginia; when the said Paris came there, one Guest, his Merchant and Father of this Guest who was sent into this Nation as Messenger from Virginia, seized on his Leather and denied him any further Credit, which obliged him here and there to pick up what Goods he could get, and consisted only in some single Matchcoats, Northward Blankets, and some other small Things, of inconsiderable Value, which he packed up in Baggs and brought two White Men, (who they say fled from Virginia for the Press) and a Northward Indian who had lived some Time in this Nation and had gone in with Paris to Virginia; these he sent in to Chote, desiring a Guard from thence into this Nation, and Long Jack's Brother called Chekesaw, with some others, went out to conduct and guard him in hither. It seems Paris had told the White Men he had a Letter also from the Governor to Old Hap, and had given the Indian a Letter of his own Writing, to Old Hap desiring him to give no Credit to Guest, or his Languister, Oliver, that they would tell him nothing but Lies and that Guest had stole the Governor's Letter from him and that he himself was the Man to have brought it; and that they should keep them both till he came into the Nation.

It happened that a Party of the Overhills Towns were at that Time out at War, and about two days March from Chote, came up with the said White Men and Indian, killed the Indian and brought in his Scalp with Paris, his Letters, and the White Men to Chote; which Letter I heard read and very much laughed at.

While I was over the Hills in Chote, passed by Long Jack's Brother and Paris keeping the other Side of the River for Toquo where his Woman lived, which very much affronted Old Hap and all the Warriors who were then convened and sat in Council in the Town House [46] expecting there coming when they found they were past, Old Hap, sent a Messenger for him, desiring him to come forthwith that they might hear his Message, who next Day came and being asked for the Governor's Letter he had said to the White Men he had brought, told them he had none, which much startled Old Hap, and put him to a Pause, and some high Words passing between Paris and Guest, Old Hap told Paris to be quiet, and as he had brought no Letter nor was a Messenger, he should only mind his Trade, and as he had brought little or no

JOHN SMITH, WILLIAM PRESTON AND RICHARD PEARIS TO THE CATAWBAWS

[170]

Fort Frederick, Jan. 13th, 1756

FRIENDS AND BROTHERS, WARRIOURS OF THE CATAWBAW NATION, You and we the English are Subjects of the great King George, and we all acknowledge him as our common Father, who has given us many distinguishing Tokens of his paternal Care of us.

The Chain of Friendship between you and your Brothers of Virginia we hope will be kept clear and bright as long as the Sun and Moon endures.

It shall be always our utmost Care and Concern to keep the Chain from contracting any Spots of Rust, to confirm which, there has been two Children fallen into our Hands which are of our Brothers the Catawbaw Nation; we have been very careful of them since we took them from the Enemy and they were brought to Fort Frederick on the Frontiers of Virginia where a great Warriour and a Number of Young Men of the Cherrockee Nation now resides, who have with the most brotherly Love and Friendship taken them into their Care, and now sends you a Messenger with a Letter desiring your Assistance in this present Expedition against the Shawannees. Your Compliance therewith will give us the greatest Satisfaction and you may be well assured that every thing necessary will be provided for your Reception at this Place and we hope you will lose no Time in coming for we intend to march in 20 Days with a Body of 300 Men against the Shawannees in which Expedition have great Reason to hope for Success especially if attended by a Number of our Brothers the Catawbaws who are known to be a People of undoubted Valour and Integrity.

The Indian Messenger Kerorostekee lived formerly in your Nation and since his Departure has killed two of his Enemies which we hope will be acceptable to you with George Paris the white Messenger.

From your Friends and Brothers,

JNO. SMITH
WM. PRESTON
RICHD. PEARIS

108 -- CONNECORTEE TO GOVERNOR GLEN

Chotte, the 20th March, 1756

CONOCAUGHTE TO HIS GOOD FRIEND AND BROTHER, I have got Mr. John Watts and Mr. John Butler and Mr. John Hatton to interpret my Talk to you.

I have heard your Talk and like it very well and think it very good and am very glad and am now going to deliver my Talk to you.

I know that by Orders of the Great King that the Path has been made good for our Messengers to go backwards and forwards in and hope it will never be spoiled.

I now think I am with you and that I live with you and my Thoughts are very good about it; I thought it troublesome to be alone but now I think I shall live much longer having my Brother to assist me for I reckon we are both as one Flesh and Blood.

I have lost one of my young Men who was killed by the Enemy and my Boys and young Men are gone to follow the Enemy and three of my Sons are gone with them and twelve of the Savannah Indians is also gone to assist in taking those that did the Murder but are not as yet returned.

There is also thirty Men gone to War against the French out of the Town of Toquo.

There is also a Party gone down our River, to Warr, out of the Town of Tennessee for the French knows that Path very well. And sometime past there was forty Men went to Warr out of the Town of Hewassee against the French and I gave them all Orders that if they saw any large Body of the Enemy coming to Warr against us or our Brothers the English to lett him know by a [122] Runner as soon as possible which if they do shall send you Word thereof directly and hope in a little Time with the Assistance we shall receive from you that we shall be much stronger. I expect your Warriours are now on the Road coming up and am afraid our Mountains will discourage them but notwithstanding hope they will take Heart and come along as fast as possible.

'Tis true it is very hungry Times here but what little we have we will share it with them and when there is a Want we will all want together, 'tis true it is very hungry Times and believe we shall be all very poor but in the Fall of the Year we shall recover our Flesh and grow fatt again. We get nothing here but what we buy from one another and what Cloaths we buy from Mr.

by Savannah Indians they mean Shawnee!
John Hatton

! (Rhodes's village)

Rei: Revis & Teton

Washington by debt from cattle found evidence, & Gist's is 21 years old and Nathaniel Gist is 18
 Deland Revis is his partner and a credit at the time. Gist was by Frederick's promise, as a loan, left
 him holding the bag, was yet the son Nathaniel tried to assist succeed in drabbing the state
 the Delaware. Revis it was Gist's & Revis's unproved much later. Nathaniel Gist was
 George Teton's capital in the 1st 1/4 mile, found a deer in 1769/2. Left Gist was
 a 1/4 acre in the deer land. It is
 great Charles George's Gist had
 formerly succeeded that he was better yet the
 many agree to many of Gist's already, he did not
 how to admit into more offspring.

F 229 6512 B

Christopher Gist

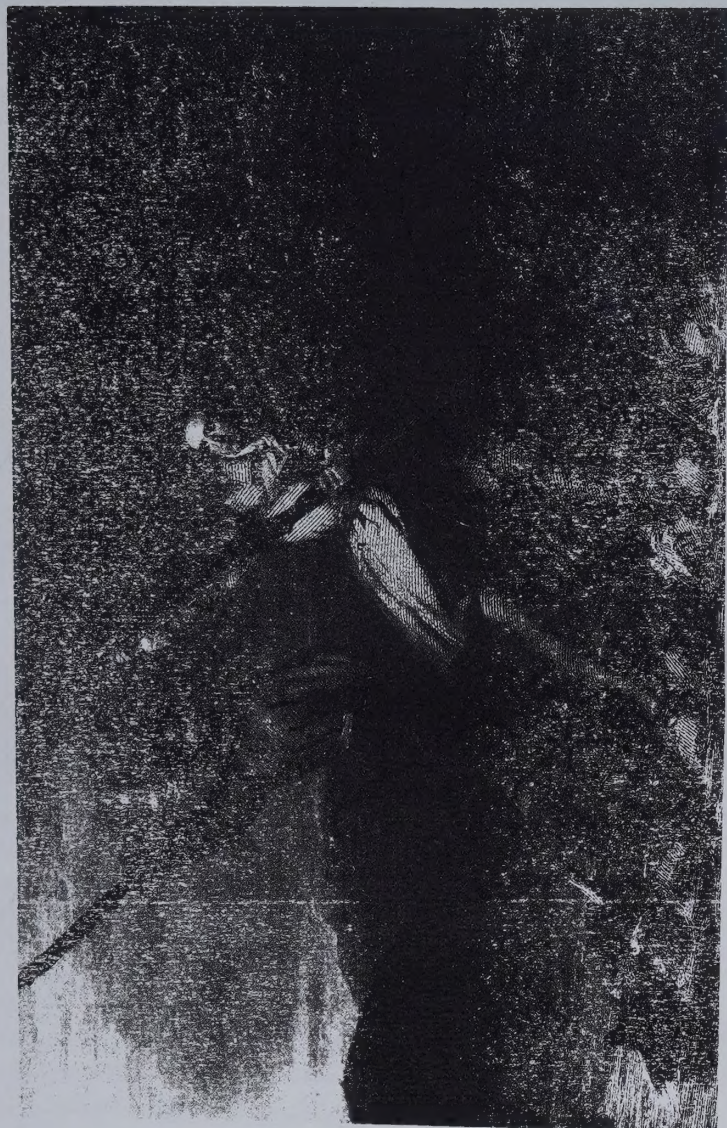


Colonial Frontiersman, Explorer, and Indian Agent

BY
 Kenneth P. Bailey

ARCHON BOOKS
 1976

Washington and Gist crossing the Allegheny River



Baltimore, she left for the North Carolina frontier, the first in a series of frontier homes. She died around 1755 at forty-seven years of age.

There were six children from the marriage of Christopher and Sarah—four boys and two girls. All six of the children became important in the father's career although two of the boys (Nathaniel and Thomas) and the two girls played more significant roles. The eldest son, Richard, was born September 2, 1729. Although he was to become well known on the frontier, Richard did not influence his father's career to any considerable extent. In 1774 he moved to the North Carolina frontier with his family and remained there for a number of years, even after his parents left for Virginia. In 1753 he lived for a time at the Gist Plantation in Pennsylvania. However, after his house was destroyed by the French in 1755, he made his home in Washington County, Virginia, although he is sometimes reported as living in South Carolina. He was killed during the American Revolution in 1780 at the battle of King's Mountain. He never married.

The second child was a girl, Violetta, born July 4, 1731. She and her husband, William Cromwell, followed Christopher to the Plantation in 1753 (although they may have gone there the previous year), building their home near the father's.⁴ It was burned down by the French in 1754.

The second son, Nathaniel, born October 15, 1733, was to become a famous and controversial frontier figure. He was with his father on most of his activities. Nathaniel is said to have resembled his father, and since we have detailed descriptions of Nathaniel but none of Christopher,⁵ we can get an idea of Christopher's physical characteristics.

The next boy was Thomas, born in 1735. He also always worked closely with his father, although he was too young to accompany him on his more important journeys of exploration.⁶ Thomas was one of the original settlers at the Plantation. After the French and Indian War he returned to live near the Plantation.

The youngest daughter, Annette, nicknamed Nancy, was born about 1734. She was an attractive girl who often visited with the Fairfax family in Virginia. At one time she was George Washington's favorite.⁷ The youngest son was John.

He grew up on the Yadkin River in North Carolina, then settled in Loudon County in Western Virginia. Much like his brother John, he did not become involved in his father's activities.

Christopher Gist was an educated man for the time in which he lived. Certainly he was in advance of any contemporary frontiersman. His education was not limited to surveying and mathematical information, for in his ability to write he was far more accomplished than the average man of his day. His spelling contains few errors. His writing compares favorably with that of the highest colonial dignitaries. It was generally free of grammatical mistakes. In addition to a considerable amount of correspondence, he kept three priceless journals, one of which parallels a diary kept by George Washington and certainly his account is not the poorer of the two. A careful writer, his journals leave no doubt as to the thoroughness of his work. It is easy to compare his journal of 1753, which concerns his trip to warn the French to leave the Ohio, with that of George Washington for the same expedition. Gist's journal is more complete than is that of his companion. It certainly is no less interesting. In his writing one finds descriptive abilities totally unexpected from a colonial explorer. He was an excellent surveyor. His handwriting was legible, his training adequate, with the result that his maps and surveys were accurate, neat, and about the best to be found during the period. All of his writings indicate modesty. However, his journals are better written than his letters, indicating either that he was careless in his letters or that someone helped him with his journal. His writing demonstrates that he was also a well-informed man in matters not related to his frontier problems. He was unusual in that he could be as much at home in the stately buildings of old Williamsburg as in a lonely spot beyond the frontier.

There is no contemporary portrait of Christopher Gist, but it is known that he was taller than average, huskily built and of a dark complexion. If he was physically like Nathaniel, then he was about six feet, two inches tall, and weighed about two hundred pounds. There is considerable evidence to substantiate such a description, for he is frequently referred to as being a strong man capable of enduring more physical

hardships than his fellows. George Washington gives us such an impression of him, indicating that work and suffering which would be too much for most men would seem as nothing to Gist. To the day of his death he was constantly traveling the length of the frontier, living under severe conditions, always showing himself to be a better man than his associates—red, black, or white. Indeed, by piecing together various items, it is learned that he was a man of more than ordinary strength, was robust in health, clean cut, sympathetic concerning the feelings of others, and minus most of the faults of his age. He could wear with equal ease the traditional garb of the frontiersman or the most conservative clothes of the Virginia planter.

Still, with all his frontier life he was not a "rough" man. Few, indeed, were the frontiersmen who knew enough of the social graces to be a regular and welcome visitor at the semi-aristocratic Fairfax home. Gist's children could also associate with Virginia's best on close to equal terms. Undoubtedly it was his early Baltimore training which accounted for the development and emphasis on the social graces.

He was a religious individual, a member of the Church of England. However, it is difficult to say to what extent that fact influenced his life. His first experience with church work was in Baltimore where he attended church regularly, was an officer in the church, and was responsible for raising money. (His attempts to hold a Christmas service among the Indians and half-barbaric traders will be recited later.) While various other interests may have influenced his religious behavior at times, religion does seem to have been a definite part of his make-up.

He was capable in many ways. He was a business man with wide experience and perhaps of average ability. Most men given the same opportunity would have remained at Baltimore and "grown up with the town." But Gist had too restless a spirit to be confined to the life of a country squire.

Gist was clever, possessed qualities of a diplomat, could foresee trouble, and was cautious enough to keep out of unnecessary danger. He had a likable personality, with neither the ugly aggressive temperament of a Thomas Cresap nor the

unapproachable aloofness found among so many of the period. He seems always to have been on friendly terms with his associates, ranging from his democratic frontier friends to the haughty British general, Braddock. The Indians liked him, especially the Catawbas and the Cherokees. At the same time Washington realized that his popularity with the whites of Pennsylvania and Maryland would make him an ideal recruiting officer for the Virginia regiment.

Certainly few Englishmen had more success in Indian affairs than Gist, as is shown by the several years he worked for an imperialistic trading concern, obtaining land from the Indians. The fact that he could succeed in such an undertaking and yet remain on friendly, intimate terms with the redmen, attests to his success as a diplomat. Efforts have been made by others to show that Gist's relationships with women were not all that they should have been—perhaps, and then again perhaps not. The sole incriminating evidence arises in a journal in *Horn Papers*, the lack of authenticity of which has been proved. Gist's private life shows no direct evidence of being anything but honorable.

He was, however, cunning and crafty. Whether he was working some kind of psychology on the Indians or driving a clever bargain in purchasing supplies from whites, he remained a tough man of whom to get the better. Although he enjoyed attending church, he was not noted for his religious piety or "square dealing" on week days. His numerous requests for money and supplies from the Virginia government eventually rendered that body unwilling to grant all that was requested, although his requisitions were quite modest. Governor Sharpe of Maryland doubted his honesty, but George Washington, who knew him much more intimately, seems not to have questioned his integrity. Washington often tried to improve Gist's financial condition, so did William Fairfax. And when these men recommended Gist to the higher officers, no opposition was encountered. Of the men who knew him personally, only Governor Sharpe of Maryland seems not to have been won by his charm. That officer, possessing a better than average understanding of colonial affairs, held anything but a high opinion of him. However, Sharpe's attitude was

the other Indians assembled, told Fairfax of their willingness to aid the English in such a venture but wanted to know what was planned about the fort that was to be built. As Fairfax did not know the proper answer to these embarrassing questions, the conference in reality came to an end. Numerous discussions continued, but with unsatisfactory results. The only thing that Fairfax could report covering the results of the sessions was that though the Indians did not answer him positively in terms of what he wanted to know, at least he did secure an implied approval of the plans for the fort.

The conference had one interesting development, however, and that in reference to Gist. The Indians requested that Virginia and the Ohio Company appoint three men to be the sole agents allowed to carry on trade and transact business between themselves (Indians) and the English and they suggested that one of these three men be Gist. The other two men were William Trent²² and Andrew Montour. Interestingly, the Indians added that if any one of these persons "Sho'd misbehave, or do amiss, we shall return them home to your honour again. . . ." Among other things the Indians requested that the agents not be allowed to bring liquor among them because of the disastrous effects that "fire water" had upon the warriors.²³

BEFORE 1752 the Ohio Company had constructed a trading post at Wills' Creek. Since so much of Gist's work centered here he built himself a home called Opeekon not far off. It is impossible to determine whether or not the house which he constructed belonged to the Ohio Company or whether it was his own personal property. In any event, he treated it as his own. He moved his family to Opeekon from the North Carolina Yadkin River home in 1750. He lived here only a short period of time while he was constructing his new settlement called the Plantation. He moved away from Opeekon but maintained his house for emergency use.

From 1752 to 1755 Gist engaged in a variety of activities: he served as a surveyor, road builder, recruitment officer, and guide, but his biggest concern was that of developing his new home as approved by the Indians at Logstown. Gist chose for the site of the Plantation a choice piece of land located in the Monongahela Valley in a region east of the forks of the Ohio. Specifically it was on a clearing between the Monongahela and the Youghiogheny Rivers, a few miles west of Laurel Ridge and not more than ten miles from the Red Stone Old Fort. In present-day terms the Plantation was located in Dunbar Township near the North Union Township line; it was about six miles from present Uniontown, in what is now known as Ligonier Valley. It is within range of vision from the highway which goes from Connellsville to Uniontown.

Gist's home became a famous frontier post. The early settlers and traders who passed that way knew it either as "Gist's Settlement" or merely "Gist's." In many instances it is referred to as "Gist's Plantation" while Gist himself called it "Monongahela." The Fry and Jefferson Map of 1755 names it "Gist's Settlement" while the Lewis Evans' map of the same

year calls the location "Gist's." It was near the Plantation that General Edward Braddock was buried. In about 1765 the region was named Mount Braddock by Christopher's son, Thomas Gist, who was then residing there.

The Logstown Treaty had granted the Ohio Company permission to establish a settlement and Gist was the man delegated to do it. This is why he constructed his home where he did. Gist designed his new home and probably built it with his own money. However, the Virginia government seems to have believed the development was a project of the Ohio Company. The British military also made use of it as though it was government property.

The exact date on which Gist began construction of his house is not available, though it undoubtedly was sometime in 1752 because by 1754 he headed a thriving community consisting of at least eleven other families besides his own. By that date, when George Washington visited him, he had built his settlement into a fortified location.¹ Repeated attempts have been made by genealogists of Fayette County, Pennsylvania, to determine the identity of these pioneer settlers who were with Gist, but the only names of whom we can be positive were Gist's three sons, Nathaniel, Thomas, and Richard, his daughter Ann (Nancy), and William Cromwell, his son-in-law.² Cromwell's home was with Gist, although the land he claimed was a three hundred and eighteen acre plot at Beaver Dam. While no evidence has come to light to prove that such was the case, it seems highly probable that William Crawford, later a close friend of Washington, and who later was killed by the Indians, also settled at the Plantation for a time at least. No advantage is gained by listing other possible settlers. In view of the method of beginning such settlements in other regions, especially as was done by Thomas Cresap at Old Town, it seems probable that close friends and relatives made up the remainder of the group.³ Gist did not hold a clear title to the region, even with the Ohio Company's influence, for the tract was also claimed by William Russell.⁴

In 1752 the Ohio Company sent Gist to Baltimore and Philadelphia to recruit settlers for the Plantation. Gist reported to the Ohio Company that he had fifty families lined up who were ready to move, some immediately and others as

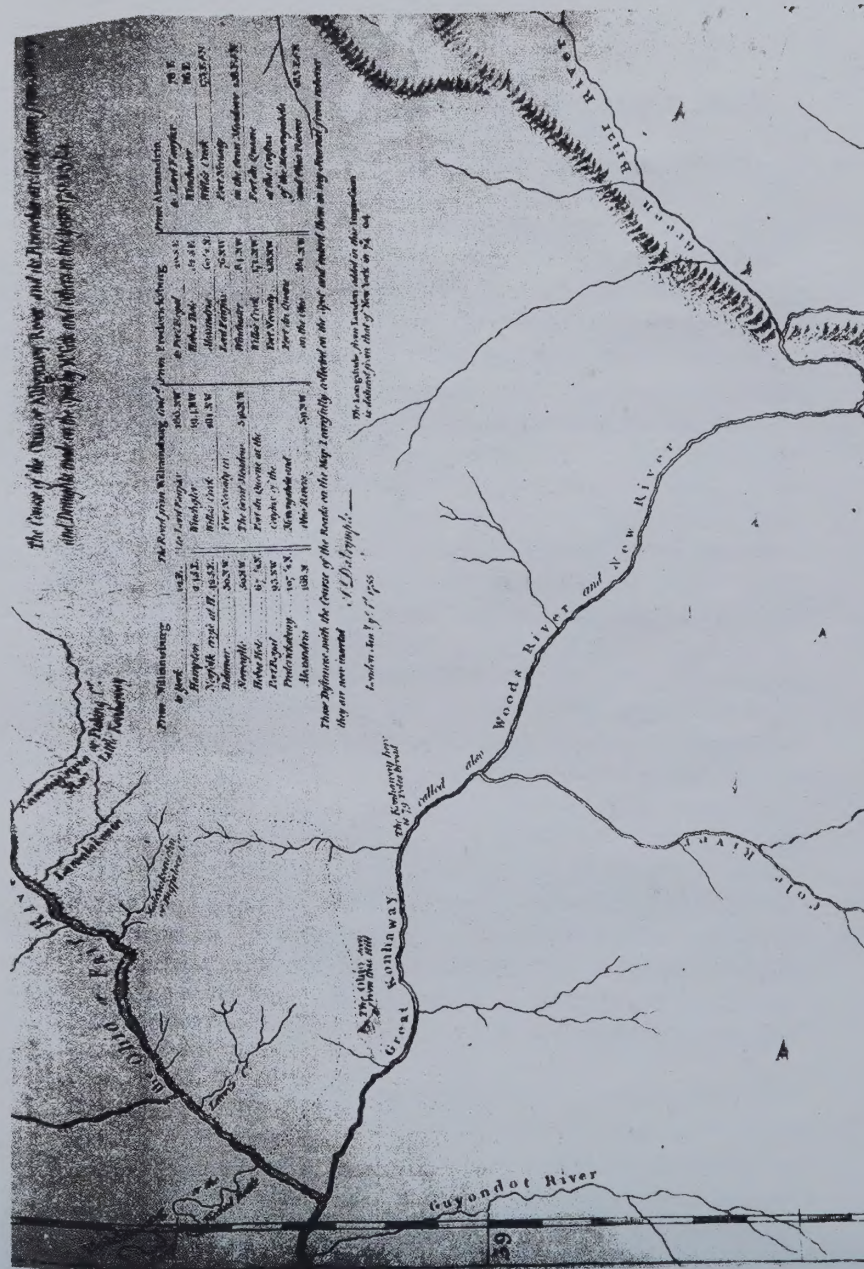
soon as provisions and supplies should become available. These potential settlers were promised one hundred acres a person, up to a family of four, and fifty acres for each additional person. Their grants were to be free of quit rents for the first five years, but after three years the settlers were to pay the Company four pounds sterling for each hundred acres.⁵ A number of these families started for the Plantation but is not clear that any actually arrived before hostile activities broke out.

At the Plantation, in addition to his own home and to those of his associates, Gist constructed a storehouse for Ohio Company goods. We have no complete description of Gist's home nor a statement of the number of buildings, except the remarks written in his journal by the French commander, de Villiers, in 1754, that the place consisted of three houses surrounded by a barricade.⁶ These buildings were burned by de Villiers at that time, yet structures of some nature still remained when Braddock arrived in the vicinity a few months later. It seems likely that Gist's house and the Ohio Company storehouse were the buildings burned, while the several other residences in the vicinity were left standing as they were not considered to be of any special aid to the English.

It is difficult to say how much equipment Gist had at his home. The records show that he owned a considerable number of horses; Washington at one time purchased some from him and on another occasion borrowed several. Also, in October, 1754, Gist petitioned the Virginia House of Burgesses for some financial assistance in restoring his home. He stated in his petition that he, along with a "Considerable Number of Families" from Maryland and Pennsylvania were settled there when Washington, encamping at the Plantation, took over his horses and carriage for the use of the troops. This situation had prevented Gist from removing the greatest part of his belongings, valued at approximately £200 which the French either took away or destroyed, and this in addition to the actual burning of his houses and fences which had been used as a palisade for the defenses of the Virginia forces.⁷ He added that he would be ready on all future occasions to risk his life and small fortune in promoting the settlement of that region of Virginia. His plea went unrewarded.

When the Plantation situation became untenable because of Indian and French hostility, Gist moved his family back to their home at Opeekon. This home now represented the only headquarters Gist had after this date. It is not at all clear whether Gist was able ever again to live at his Laurel Hill home during the early years of the French and Indian War. It seems doubtful. His wife died at this time, probably at their Opeekon home. But after the war was over and the frontier had become more settled, two of his children returned here for their permanent home. Thomas, and his unmarried sister, Nancy,⁸ lived at the Plantation for many years, the former acting as a magistrate of Yohogania County, considered then as a part of Virginia, but since 1781 a part of Fayette County, Pennsylvania. Many records tell of Thomas's activities during the remainder of his life. The Plantation finally became a part of the Meason property as a result of public auction around the dates of 1788 and 1789.

Since the Publication of my Map, Mr. Gist, whose Journal is made Use of in Dr. Mitchel's Map, was some Weeks in Philadelphia. When I shew'd him my Map, he could not be well persuaded at first but I had had a Perusal of his Draught; because he could distinctly trace the far greater Number of Places he had been at, and it agreed so well with the Idea he had of the Country. I then shewed him Dr. Mitchel's Map, and his Route as laid down thereon. The Route he said, had the Rivers he crost, and the Creeks which he travelled upon; but the Map wanted the Shape his Idea represented to him. I asked him, if Ohio was as crooked as Dr. Mitchel represented it; He said he had seen but very little of it; but could not well conceive it should, as neither



Section of Fry-Jefferson map showing Gist's contribution in making the famous map (see also back end paper)

the Traders who very frequently went up and down it, had never mentioned so remarkable Singularity; nor did he think the Land would admit it. He however confirmed me in a Suspicion I had of having placed the important Pass through the Ouasioto Mountain 30 or 40 Miles too far West. Mr. Gist imagined that his Journal became misrepresented in Dr. Mitchel's Map, by the Copy Dr. [Hugh] Mercer sent of it home from Virginia.¹⁰

During 1752 Gist worked at a number of activities closely related to his new settlement. In that year Gist had been appointed by the Ohio Company as its official surveyor. The College of William and Mary, which was responsible for granting licenses, issued him a special commission on July 25, 1753, which named him "surveyor of the lands belonging to the Ohio Company."¹¹ Subsequently he was ordered to lay out a fort and town site on Chartier Creek about two miles below the forks on the east side of the Ohio.

Gist's instructions from the Ohio Company on building this fort and town site issued July 25, 1753, were as follows:

Resolved that it is absolutely necessary that the Company should immediately erect a Fort for the Security and Protection of their Settlements on a hill just below Shertees Creek upon the South East side the River Ohio that the Walls of the said Fort shall be twelve feet high to be built of Sawed or hewn Loggs and to inclose a piece of Ground Ninety feet Square, besides the four Bastions at the Corners of sixteen feet square each, with houses in the middle for Stores Magazines &c.' according to a plan entered in the Companys Books, That Colo. Cresap Capt. Trent and Mr. Gist be appointed and Authorized on behalf of the Company to agree with Labourers Carpenters and other Workmen to build and compleat the same as soon as possible, and employ Hunters to supply them with Provisions and agree with some honest Industrious Man to overlook the Workmen and Labourers as Overseer, and that they be supplied with Flower, Salt, and all other Necessaries at the Companys Expence, That all the Land upon the Hill on which the said Fort is to be built to be appropriated to the Use of the said Fort, and that two hundred Acres of Land exclusive of Streets be layed off for a Town Convenient and adjoining to the said Fort Land, in squares of two Acres each, every square to be divided into four Lotts so that every Lott may front two streets, if the Ground will so admit and that all the Streets be of *convenient width* that

twenty of the best and most convenient Squares be reserved and set apart for the Companys own Use and one Square to build a School on for the Education of Indian Children. . . . and such other Uses as the Company shall hereafter think proper. . . . Every person taking up a Lot shall be obliged to build upon it in three Years, upon which they shall be intituled to Deeds for the same without any other Consideration than paying a Yearly Acknowledgment of one Ear of Indian Corn to the Company and furnishing an able bodied labouring Man to work sixty days if required about such Fortification, as the Company or their Agents shall judge necessary for the Defence and Security of the Inhabitants and at all such times and places as the Company, or their Agents shall judge fit and also perform all requisite Duty at the Fort by Watching and Warding one Month in the Year computed at twelve months according to the Course of Rotation to be Settled and appointed by the commanding Officer at the Fort and attending all Musters when required and in Case of any Assault attending on Notice to defend the Settlement from time to time with sufficient Arms and Ammunition, which are to be found and provided by the Companys Store keeper on every such Occasion. Provided that any professed Quaker or other protestant Dissenter not permitted by the Law of England to bear Arms instead of performing Duty in or about the Fort or Defence of the Town [may instead of that Service be allowed to take up their Lots upon working or sending an able man to work in].¹²

Gist served as a surveyor for other interests than that of the Ohio Company. Soldiers who served in the French and Indian War were promised "bonus" lands as a reward for their activities. Among those who lured Gist to survey such lands were George Washington, George Mercer, and Robert Stewart.

At the same time, in addition to surveying, Gist was doing other things for the Ohio Company. He was working out Indian problems and planning a road to the Monongahela River. Soon after the completion of his second journey Gist moved his family to the Plantation, and therefore found it less necessary to make Old Town his headquarters. Still, the needs of the Ohio Company made it necessary to discover a means of cheap, rapid, and easy transportation to the Ohio country. Plans for the construction of such a road were put in operation in 1751 and 1752. As has been shown, in 1751, during Gist's

explorations from Wills' Creek to the Monongahela, he had mapped out a fine route for a road. Later that year the Company opened a narrow trail from Wills' Creek to the three forks of the Youghiogheny, a spot known as Turkey Foot. The Company then engaged the services of Gist and Cresap to construct a road from Wills' Creek to the Monongahela. In Gist's instructions of April 28, 1752, he was ordered by the Company to serve in the capacity of advisor and assistant to Cresap in determining the best route along which to construct the highway and in choosing the proper Indians to build the road.

If Colo. Cresap has not agreed with any person to clear a Road for the Company, You are with the advice and Assistance of the said Colo. Cresap to agree with the proper Indians who are best acquainted with the ways Immediately to cut a Road from Wills Creek to the Fork of Mohongaly at the cheapest Rate you can for Goods and this you may mention publicly to the Indians at the Loggs Town or not as you can see Occasion.¹³

The two men agreed upon Nemacolin, a Delaware Indian, as the proper person to help blaze the trail. The route as finally worked out by Gist, Cresap, and Nemacolin, started from Wills' Creek, crossed successively Wills', Savage, and Meadow Mountains, descended into the Little Meadows, and bridged a tributary of the Youghiogheny River which itself is a tributary to the Monongahela. From the Youghiogheny at "Little Crossings" the trail went over Negro Mountain and Laurel Hill to the Monongahela via Red Stone Creek. In general terms it may be stated that from Wills' Creek the road extended slightly north of west to Laurel Hill or Mount Braddock near present Uniontown, Pennsylvania. Then, instead of following the trader's route to the forks of the Ohio, it turned northwest to an eastern bend in the Monongahela River at the mouth of Red Stone Creek, a spot near present Brownsville; obviously the road passed near Gist's Plantation. The main reason for Gist choosing the location for his home that he did was because it was a logical point for crossroads.¹⁴

This trail later became known as Braddock's Road, since this is the route the general followed, and later was named the

Cumberland Road. Today it is closely followed by United States Highway 40.

The Ohio Company gave Gist further instructions concerning the fort, the road, and the claims of certain Pennsylvanians to the same area. On July 27, 1753, Gist was reminded that he held a surveyor's commission from the College of William and Mary.

Whereas you have obtained a Commission from the College for Surveying our Lands, You are to provide a measuring wheel at the Companys expence and measure the Road clear'd by the Company from their Store at Wills Creek to the Fork of Mohongaly, in order to shew the exact place where Russel and his Company have Surveyed their Land. You are also to take an Instrument of writing under the hands of the people we have Settled certifying that they settled the Land under the Ohio Company and not under Russell and his Company, whose Claim they knew nothing of till he made his Surveys and took their plantations in. From thence you are to proceed to Shertees Creek, where you are to lay off the Town. You are particularly to note every Branch and remarkable place, as Indian Towns &c' with the different bearings, and where you pass any Creek or Navigable waters to try the Depths, enquire if any Falls or Interruption to the Passage, observing still to keep the best measure you can of the Courses of the River which you are not to lose. If you take the Latitude by an Instrument do it every [opportunity]. Lay off what quantity of good Land you can at Shertees Creek but don't be too eager to take much without 'tis very good. Shape your Courses as often as Necessary to leave out any bad or indifferent Lands so as it will not Cost the company more for such Nicety's then the charge they must be at for the time. Don't be in too great haste as the Company would chuse rather to pay for any lost time, then take bad Land when they can have more than they are allowed to Survey of the best. After laying off the Town Survey what Lands you think proper on Mohongaly and thence proceed down the River to make up your two hundred thousand Acres observing not to go above two miles back from the River, or Creeks you Survey on, as the Company may take the back Lands by their next Survey, take care that your Beginning and Corner trees are so marked that there may be no Difficulty in finding them. Whatever Land happens in every eighteen or twenty miles of what you Survey for

the Company you must look out if a piece tho' not above two or three hundred Acres of good Land on the River can be got for the Company's Stages fit to build a Store house and where their Boats may meet some help if they should want it, and by the Settlers have their Goods secured till they can provide to remove them. No time you can take up in proper Searches, or discovering Stone Quarries, Slate, Salt springs or anything that may be of Advantage to the Settlement, will be thought by the Company to be misapplied, as they have so much confidence in you, that if they are persuaded you will not unnecessarily protract your time on which that of several others will depend, and you can't possibly under that assurance omit the most exact Information or enquiry as it may be so much overpaid by any Lucky Discovery, the Discriptions of the most Barren Lands, are not to be omitted or anything else you may judge Material. You are to keep an exact Journal of all your proceedings and make a return thereof to the Ohio Company.¹⁵

The mapping out of the road was easy compared with the building of it. Because of a lack of both equipment and adequate materials it was slow work. It took two years to lay it out and do some clearing. The next year William Trent widened the path so that pack horses could pass, but even at best it was a poor excuse for a thoroughfare. Braddock had to clear it much more.

The story of the Plantation is an exciting one, even if a brief one. Washington spent time there in 1753 and, with his troops, was there again in the summer of 1754. Washington and his men made headquarters there until the French menace forced them to move back to Fort Necessity. On July 2 the French, under the command of Louis Coulon, Sieur de Villiers, visited the Plantation. In his journal de Villiers describes Gist's place as "consisting of three houses surrounded by some pieces standing on end and by some enclosures the interior of which was found to be commanded by the neighboring heights. . . ." July 5, on the return trip from forcing Washington's capitulation at Fort Necessity, de Villiers again visited the Plantation, once more surveyed the situation, then ordered the house with its surrounding buildings burned.¹⁷ The destruction of these buildings and equipment left Gist in desperate financial circumstances from which he never fully

recovered. His home had been broken up, never again completely to reunite. By now his five children were adults. His wife may have died at the Plantation, although more probably as suggested above, she died after Gist had pulled back to the "other" home at Opeekon. His daughter Nancy went to live at "Belvoir" with Gist's friend and supporter, William Fairfax.¹⁸ The boys, especially Nathaniel, were close in spirit to their father, usually accompanying him in his work. As noted previously, on October 30 Gist made a futile attempt to salvage some of his lost investment when he petitioned the House of Burgesses to reimburse him for his lost property. He argued that it had been impossible for him to remove any of his belongings before the French arrived because Washington's army had camped there. When they departed, their requisition of his horses made it impossible for him to transfer any of his belongings. It was also undoubtedly true that one of the reasons for the burning of his houses by the French was that in the past they had been, and in the future were likely to be, used as headquarters for English soldiers.

Although Gist certainly seemed to have just argument on his side, it was to no avail for the House refused his petition.¹⁹ At least two reasons suggest themselves as to why that body acted as it did. It may have believed that the property really belonged to the Ohio Company, and that the loss was nothing personal. Second, they may have conjectured that if Gist and the Ohio Company had not been working in that area, there would have been no war.

suddenly discovered some fifty or sixty feet deep. It was here behind a pile of huge boulders that Washington's Indian ally, Half-King, suspected the French were in hiding. Acting upon this supposition, the young commander moved cautiously during the night, which he says was as dark as pitch, and on the morning of May 28, he found that Half-King's guess was correct. Washington says, when the French discovered the English that "they ran to their arms without calling."¹⁹ He at once ordered his men to fire. The French force returned the fire. The conflict lasted about fifteen minutes, in which Jumonville and nine others were killed. Twenty-one prisoners were taken. Only one Frenchman escaped to tell the story—a man named Mouceau.²⁰

It was shortly after this event that Washington began construction of Fort Necessity in the Great Meadows. Then, near the end of June, he and his army moved up to the Plantation. Preparations were made for moving to the Ohio Company storehouse on Red Stone Creek. On the next day, however, Washington decided it would be better to remain at the Plantation if he could fortify Gist's houses, as well as build further fortifications. At first he seems to have believed that it was a suitable place at which to wait for the French. His choice of Gist's home as a site for a defense attests the wisdom of the latter in selecting it as a spot for a settlement. It also meant future trouble for Gist.

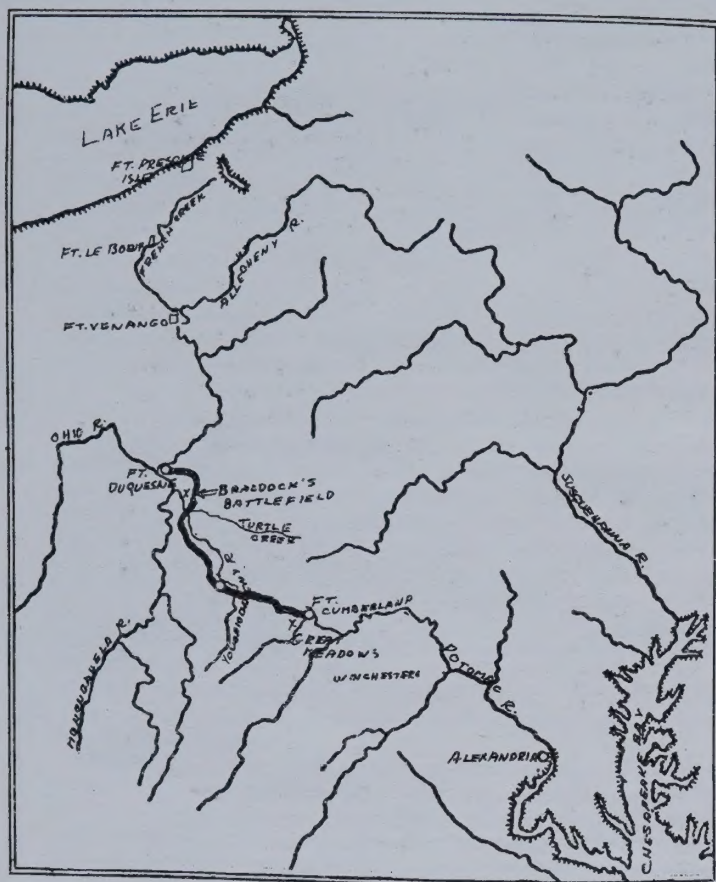
At a Council of War at the Plantations, June 28, 1754, Washington agreed to return to Fort Necessity because the weak, sick, and ill-prepared Virginia troops were greatly outnumbered by the French forces at the forks.²¹ Trouble was brewing from the French. Messengers at once reported to the French at the forks the death of Jumonville. His brother, Captain Coulon de Villiers, often called "le Grand Villiers," when he learned of Jumonville's death, determined to avenge his brother's death, marched with a force of five hundred French and one hundred and fifty Indians against Washington and his men. The young Colonel of the Virginia troops, learning of his danger, fell back from Gist's Plantation to Great Meadows, and there continued the construction of Fort Necessity.²²

On July 2, the day after the attack on Fort Necessity, the

French, still under the command of de Villiers, visited the Plantation. In his journal de Villiers described Gist's place.²³ July 5, on the return trip from the English capitulation at Fort Necessity, de Villiers again visited the Plantation, once more surveyed the situation, then ordered the house with its surrounding structures burned.

For the remainder of 1754 Gist served as a messenger, Indian agent and commissary. By the spring of 1755 he was ready to join any English expedition that might set out for the Ohio. It was under these conditions that there arrived an English general, whose name is known—and not in a complimentary sense—to every youngster in American schools, Major General Edward Braddock.²⁴ Following Washington's defeat at Fort Necessity it was determined by the British government to send forces from Britain to drive the French from the Ohio. It was in such difficult times that General Braddock arrived at Hampton, Virginia, February 20, 1755, to take command of the proposed campaign. Braddock's failings as a military leader for the expedition to the forks of the Ohio are too well-known to be recounted here. Still, from the point of view of the present biography, he showed at least some good judgment. Upon the advice of George Washington and others he selected Gist as his personal guide for the journey.²⁵ It was a most logical choice. Gist, in addition to having a better education than most frontiersmen, knew thoroughly the region in which the expedition was to take place. As his own home was the site of one of Braddock's stops, it is obvious that the selection secured a man who knew the terrain.

To obtain Indian help for Braddock, Governor Dinwiddie had sent Nathaniel Gist with a message to the Cherokees and Catawbias urging them to send their warriors to Braddock's assistance.²⁶ Christopher probably would have been the logical choice for such an assignment had he not been needed elsewhere. Nathaniel was a good second choice inasmuch as he did know the Cherokee well. As it turned out, from his visit to both nations he secured about three hundred warriors. They began the march to Virginia. After some four days' journey, they met a South Carolina trader, Richard Pearis.²⁷ Although Pearis had previously been a partner in commercial dealings with both Nathaniel and Christopher, he had long since



Braddock's Expedition, 1755

become their bitter personal enemy. After treating the Indians to liquor, Pearis advised them to ask Nathaniel to show them some written or sealed authority from the Governor of Virginia which would authorize him to bring them to Braddock's assistance. When the Indians requested such a document, Nathaniel could only reply that he had none, which convinced the Indians that he was an imposter. Consequently, they returned home, leaving Braddock still without Indians.²⁸

As Braddock's personal guide, Gist had ample occasion for contact with the General. His opinions of the latter would make interesting reading, but unfortunately no such record has been located. His attitude undoubtedly was much the same as that of most other frontiersmen. Yet he, like Washington, probably was capable of concealing any resentment. He plotted Braddock's westward journey on a map. The General, in his orderly books, worked out the site of each camp, the mileage and the time necessary to cover the distance.²⁹ These entries are nearly the same as those found on Gist's map. If one could have sat in on the councils between Braddock and Gist, it would probably have been found that Gist did most of the work. Just how much Braddock depended upon Gist, however, and how much upon Washington cannot be determined. As these two assistants were close friends, they undoubtedly worked over the plans together. Gist's map, mentioned above, was the result.

The movement westward was through such familiar spots as Frederick, Conococheague, Little Cacapon, Cresap's, Wills' Creek, the Great Meadows, the Little Meadows, and many other historic locations, finally arriving at the Plantation on or about June 25.

The Plantation seems to have been made into a rendezvous and a general supply depot. Most of the army left the Plantation by the twenty-eighth. The troops made slow progress, though by July 4 they were near the forks where the French had now built Fort Duquesne. Robert Orme,³⁰ on Braddock's staff, wrote in his journal for July 4, that as the army, now approaching quite near Fort Duquesne, feared an ambush, it was decided that reconnoitering was necessary.³¹ Braddock prevailed upon two unwilling Indians—by promising fine rewards—to scout around the fort for any

am fully of Opinion that w'd according to former Promise, have sent some of their Warriors long before now to join our Forces. All Quarrels and Disputes between private Persons sh'd subside w'n the Public Service requir'd the assistance of the Cherokees Catawbas. I will not now undertake to say who was in the Fault, but am convinc't Y'r private Disputes is the only Reason they did not join our Forces." *Dinwiddie Papers*, II, 77. See Edmond Atkin to Gov. Denny, Sept. 15, 1757, *Provincial Papers*, III, 81 (Archives of Pennsylvania).

29. Major General Edward Braddock's *Orderly Books, from February 26 to June 17, 1755* (Cumberland, Will H. Lowdermilk, 1878), XXVII-XXIX.

30. Captain Robert Orme was wounded at the battle of Monongahela but his journal and subsequent letters are the best sources of information concerning the expedition.

31. Journal of Robert Orme, in Sargent, op. cit., 349.

32. Neville B. Craig (ed.), *Washington's First Campaign, Death of Jumonville and the Taking of Fort Necessity; also, Braddock's Defeat; the March of the Unfortunate General Explained by a Distinguished Historian, Traced on the Ground by a Civil Engineer, and Exhibited on a Neat and Accurate Map, prepared under his Direction*, 16.

33. Journal of Robert Orme, in Sargent, op. cit., 349.

34. "Letter of Attorney", Book D. 2, III, 426, Department of Internal Affairs, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

35. Charles M. Stotz, "A Letter from Wills' Creek: Harry Gordon's Account of Braddock's Defeat", *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, June, 1961, 133.

36. Reports of Colonel Thomas Dunbar and Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Gage, Charles H. Lincoln (ed.), *Correspondence of William Shirley . . .*, II, 311-312, 316.

37. George Washington to Robert Dinwiddie, *The Writings of George Washington*, I, 150.

38. Captain Robert Orme to Governor Robert Hunter Morris, *New York Historical Society Collections*, LIX, 18.

39. George Washington to Robert Dinwiddie, *The Writings of George Washington*, I, 149.

40. Richard Walsh (ed.), "Braddock on July 9, 1755," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, December, 1965, 427.

41. Journal of Proceedings from Wills' Creek to the Monongahela: Harry Gordon to ?, in Stanley Pargellis (ed.), *Military Affairs in North America, 1748-1765*, 107; see also Journal of Robert Orme, in Sargent, op. cit., 357.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 9. Commissary

1. Robert Dinwiddie to John Carlyle, January 27, 1754, *Dinwiddie Papers*, I, 53-54.

2. Lyon G. Tyler (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography*, I, 203; *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine*, XVIII, 208.

3. William Waller Hening (ed.), *The Statutes at Large . . .*, VI, 214.

4. Robert Dinwiddie to John Carlyle, January 27, 1754, *Dinwiddie Papers*, I, 53-54.

5. John Carlyle to George Washington, June 17, 1754, *Letters to Washington*, I, 4-5.

6. Robert Dinwiddie to John Carlyle, December 20, 1754, *Dinwiddie Papers*, I, 431-433.

7. John Carlyle to George Washington, January 27, 1754, *Letters to Washington*, I, 4-5.

8. Horatio Sharpe to Dinwiddie, December 10, 1754, *Maryland Archives*, VI, 136.

9. Robert Dinwiddie to Horatio Sharpe, December 17, 1754, *Dinwiddie Papers*, I, 426.

10. Horatio Sharpe to Robert Dinwiddie, December 26, 1754, *Maryland Archives*, VI, 150-151.

11. Robert Dinwiddie to Horatio Sharpe, January 7, 1755, *Dinwiddie Papers*, I, 450.

12. Horatio Sharpe to Robert Dinwiddie, June 22, 1755, *Maryland Archives*, VI, 226.

13. Robert Dinwiddie to John Carlyle, December 20, 1754, *Dinwiddie Papers*, I, 432.

14. Robert Dinwiddie to William Fairfax, January 1, 1755, *ibid.*, I, 445.

15. Same to same, February 19, 1755, *ibid.*, I, 510.

16. Robert Dinwiddie to Thomas Carlyle, December 20, 1754, *ibid.*, I, 431-433.

17. Same to same, December 12, 1754, *ibid.*, I, 424.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 10. Captain of the Scouts

1. William Waller Hening (ed.), *The Statutes at Large . . .*, (hereafter cited as *Statutes at Large*), VI, 112-118.

2. *Ibid.*, IV, V, VI, *passim*.

3. Washington to John Blair, April 24, 1758, *Writings of Washington*, II, 183-185.

4. Adam Stephen was born in either Scotland or Pennsylvania c1718. He migrated to Virginia where he became a land holder in what is now Berkeley County, West Virginia. He is reported to have been trained as a physician and was highly regarded in the profession but he seems to have done very little actual practicing of his profession. Various spellings of his name are used by different writers including Stephen, Steven, Stephens, Stevens. Governor Dinwiddie used all four variations at different times. Stephen entered the army in 1754. From this point through the French and Indian War he became a close associate of Washington and a dependable aid. He had won Washington's confidence by his behavior in the skirmish with Jumonville and at the battle at Fort Necessity, and Washington showed his appreciation by raising him to the rank of lieutenant-colonel in 1754. That Dinwiddie had confidence in him is shown by the fact that he was appointed commander of the regiment when Washington resigned. With the reorganization of the

Resignation of Mr. Price, his Honour was pleas'd, by the Advice of the Council, to order his Comission to be prepared.

The Governor received a Letter of the 23d of April, from Colon^l Armstrong, inclosing Intelligence sent him by the Commander at Fort Cumberland in Virginia, which was read, and the Intelligence order'd to be enter'd, viz^t:

Extract of a Letter dated at Fort Cumberland, April the 9th, 1757.

"Sir:

"One hundred & twenty-four Catawbias arriv'd here Yesterday. I receiv'd them in a Manner that was entirely agreeable to them; And this Day I gave them a formal welcome. What I said to them happen'd to please so well that they have submitted themselves entirely to my Disposal.

"By some Inadvertant Persons who came to go out Volunteers wth them, they learn that some Delawares and Shawonese are gone down to make Peace with Pennsylvania; Which chagrien'd them so much that they had a good Mind to enter Pennsylvania and Cut every Quaker's Throat. However, I explained it off as well as possible, and proved the Quakers Fools, by Treating with one Party of a Nation, whilst the other Part are supplied with Ammunition and committing Hostilities.

"The Catawbias came upon me without any Notice, and I have no Orders about them; I am at a Distance from the Inhabitants, and am at a loss for Carriage Horses, otherwise I wou'd proceed immediately, and at least get certain Intelligence of the Ohio. By our last Accounts there were 700 Men at Duquesne, and 400 at Wenango. I wish you Success.

"I am, your most obed^t

"Humble Servant,

"ADAM STEPHEN."

Since the Receipt of the above Letter, Intelligence arriv'd here, w^{ch} seems to be confirm'd, That as two of the Catawbias were pleasuring in a Canoe some Distance from the Fort, they were killed, upon which the whole Body of the Catawbias, with about One hundred White Men, set off in Pursuit of the Enemy; 'tis said by some they took 30, by others 60 Days' Provisions with them.

This Minute Accounts informs us, that on Monday last 13 Persons were killed about a Mile above the Mouth of Connicocheque Creek; 'tis said they captivated none, as all that were missing are found dead.

Eight Days ago, a Man within 300 Yards of Fort Frederick, in Maryland, was killed and scalp'd.

A Letter from Mr. Croghan of the 2nd Instant, from Lancaster, was read in these words, videlicet:

"LANCASTER, May 2d, 1757.

"May it please your Honour:

"Friday last a Party of Onondaga Warriors left Camp to go to Fort Cumberland, in Order to join the Southern Indians there, and from thence to proceed against his Majesty's Enemies.

"To-morrow Scaroyady, with a Party of the Mohawk Warriors, set off for Fort Augusta; I have given them Orders to reconnoitre the adjacent Woods for a few days, to see if any of the Enemy be lurking about the Garrison; They are then to proceed towards Ohio, reconnoitering all the Country well as they go; if they shou'd discover any Body of the Enemy, or Party of Indians coming down towards Fort Augusta, or any part of those Colonies, they are to return and give Notice to the Commanding officer of Fort Augusta, or any other Fort on these Frontiers where they may return to.

"There are here now 15 Indians in the small Pox, most of which seem likely to recover.

"I am your Honour's most obedient

"Humble Servant,

"GEO. CROGHAN.

"To the Honble. WILLIAM DENNY, Esq^r."

A Letter from Colon^l Armstrong of the 5th Instant, was read in these Words, to wit:

"CARLISLE, 5th May, 1757.

"May it please your Honour:

"The Sixty Cherokee Indians, mention'd in my last, under the Direction of Cap^t Paris (a Trader in their Nation), found the Tracks of the Enemy Indians who committed the late Mischiefs near the Mouth of Connicocheque, which they followed into this Province, called at Philip Davis' and Justice Maxwell's Ferts, & lodged at a Place called Black's Mill, about five Miles from Fort Loudoun, where they were discovered by a Country Man, who had in that Neighbourhood been making Search for his Horses. The Man taking the Cherokees for Enemies, fled to Fort Loudoun with the News, upon which Sixty Men, with Three or Four Officers, marched to the Place and found the Indians were there, but thought it expedient to postpone the Attack until Break of Day. Accordingly they lay out all Night, divided themselves into 3 Parties, surrounded the House where the Indians were, and at Day break drew near to begin their Fire, but being happily discovered, some White Men

*Many subsequent
pages filed with
source materials,
for they duplicate
or approximate other
data in this book*

PEARIS FAMILY

*Page 73a
insert*

who came with the Indians sprang out and hollow'd to our People that those were our Friends, the Cherokees, come for our Assistance. Whereupon the Indians came out of the House, laid down their Arms, which Our officers discovering, ordered the Soldiers to do the same, upon which ensued a very friendly Meeting. The Indian Chief was highly pleas'd that our Soldiers discover'd themselves Men by so surrounding of him, but wonder'd much, as did Captain Paris, that Notice of their being in those Parts had not been sent from Maxwell's Fort to Fort Loudoun, which they said they had expressly desired. They were asked to go to Fort Loudoun and be refreshed, and told that the Tracks they were then on were too Old, that the Enemy wou'd soon be down again, &c. To which they answered, They were then on the Footing of their Murderers and our Murderers; That they left their Country with Design to kill those, our Enemies, and wou'd call in at Fort Lyttleton if they shou'd want Provisions, or at Fort Cumberland. They farther said, that they wanted to see me, that they might shake Hands and be thankfull for killing some of the worst of their Enemies, and wou'd readily join with Us in the like Service whenever occasion served.

"I have been sundry Times informed that shortly after we came from the Kittanning One Campbell in Carolina wrote his Father in Connecocheque that a Number of the Cherokees were getting ready to come here and join this Battalion, but were discouraged by hearing that this Government was entering into Treaty with their Enemy's the Delawares and Shawones. Something like this I hear was dropt by the Indian Captain to our People at Black's, but as that part of the Intelligence is not come clear I cannot assert it.

"The Coming of the Cherokees and Catawbias appears to be a very favourable Providence, which shou'd in my opinion be speedily and properly emproved, as well for the Benefit of this as of others his Majesty's Colonies, and prompts me to propose to your Honour what I have long ago suggested to the late Governor and Gentlemen Commissioners, that is the Building a Fort at Ray's Town, without which the King's Business and the Country's Safety can never be effected to the Westward. To this Place, were we there encamped or fortified, might the Southern Indians be brought frequently from Fort Cumberland, provided the Necessaries of Life and of War cou'd there be given them; and from it might proceed Patrolling Parties to spy, waylay, intercept, &c. which Dutys shou'd constantly or frequently be follow'd, while others might carry on the Building. 'Tis true this Service will require upwards of 500 Men, as no doubt they will be attack'd if any Power be at Fort Duquesne, because this will be a visible, large, and direct Stride to that Place; but no doubt Colonel Stanwix will bear a party in Duty and Expence.

"Besides the Inclination which the Cherokees have expressed to be acquainted and occasionally join with Us, I am well acquainted

with Paris, the Trader, who is at the Head of those People, and can, I'm persuaded, get him to visit and assist us with more or less of his People, except when they may be put on some Expedition or particular Service from Virginia; but have not taken the Liberty even of writing to that Gentleman on the Subject, until I have your Honour's Authority for so doing. I am informed that on their coming over Potowmack, Commissary Ross rode Express to the Governor of Maryland; Their Arms were said to be of the worst sort of Sale Guns with painted Stocks, and that they wou'd fondly have had an Exchange of some Rifles that were among our People. The Indian Capt^m was gratified and got a Rifle from one of the Soldiers.

"I think Paris will, for some time, stay at Fort Cumberland; if your Honor thinks proper to write, or order me to fix any thing with him relative to the Indians and this Province, the sooner 'tis done the better, least they shou'd be able to charge us with any Neglect of them; but as I don't mean any thing of the Nature of a Treaty, not to attempt breaking in upon the proper Province of any Person whatsoever, but only to fix a good Understanding with all the Friends of a British Constitution, and in Conjunction with them, to oppose and resist His Majesty's avowed Enemies, and the ungratefull Murderers of our Fellow Subjects, so let me beg you Honour wou'd send no Indian Interpreters nor corrupt Peace Makers amongst Us, for at this time, Nothing is so likely to loose us the Friendship of these Southern Tribes as the Appearance of tampering with a few abject Delawares and Shawonesc. East of Sasquehannah Peace Makers may be requisite, but West of it Warriors are most needed, and those in the End will make the best Peace. I am,

"Hond. Sir, Your most obedient & most humble Servant,

"JOHN ARMSTRONG.

"Governor DENNY."

At a Council held at Lancaster, on Tuesday the 10th day of May, 1757.

PRESENT:

The Honourable WILLIAM DENNY, Esquire, Lieutenant Governor of the Province.

William Logan,
Lynford Lardner,

Richard Peters,
George Croghan, } Esquires.

Yesterday Evening the Governor, attended by a Number of his Council, a Number of the House of Representatives, the Commissioners for the Province, with a great Number of other Gentlemen arrived here.

could be given How [?] for the payment in London as that I might have immediate recourse to the security here without sending to Virginia I shall be extremely glad of the opportunity of complying with your request. I am Sir &c.

To the Honorable William Byrd Esq.

Oct. 23, 1755

Ms/Edmund Jenings, Jenings Family Mementoes and Papers, Box 1, ViHi.

1. Edmund Jenings, son of the Edmund Jenings who had so long served as president of the Virginia Council, was secretary of state for Maryland until he moved to England, where he died in 1756.

2. The document has "40 m."—I have not been able to identify this act.

[George Washington] ¹

Dear Sir

Dec. 12, 1755

The bearer Mr. Duncanson ² was recommended to me by Capt. Stewart, ³ to succeed a lieutenant in his Light Horse who is desirous to resign. I applied to the governor and he said he would write to you on the subject. Should you approve of preferring the young gentleman, I shall be much obliged to you. I wish I could entertain you with news, but we have none here. I am / dear Sir, / your affectionate & obedient servant / W. Byrd.

Williamsburgh, Dec. 12, 1755

RC, Papers of George Washington, 4th ser., II, f. 213, MS Div., DLC; endorsed "From Col. William Byrd 12 Dec. 1755"; not autograph; printed in *Letters to Washington*, I, 146-47.

1. Braddock's expedition had ended in defeat for the British and provincial troops and death for Braddock, but Washington had returned home with an honorable record and on Aug. 16, 1756, he was commissioned colonel of the Virginia forces. He spent the next month touring the frontier and recruiting and training troops.

2. James Duncanson (or Duncannon) was appointed an ensign in Joshua Lewis's company, later he became a lieutenant and was wounded in the throat at Laythanna in 1758. He was a brother of Capt. Robert Duncanson. See *Letters to Washington*, III, 123; and *JHR*, 176, 25, p. 152.

3. Capt. Robert Stewart commanded one of the Virginia companies in Braddock's expedition and continued to serve under Washington until November 1757, when Washington, dangerously ill, turned over the command to him.

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Dec 1755

December 23, 1755

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From Gov. Robert Dinwiddie

Gentlemen ¹

Williamsburg, December 23d, 1755

Inclosed you have your commission, my two speeches to the Catawbas & Cherokees, with some instructions ² for you which are but short, as I have a great dependence on your known understanding & capacity. I think proper to give you a few hints which may be of service in your negotiations with those people. You will first meet with the king & great men of the Catawbas; after the council is met and ceremonies of reception over: you are first to read your commission. After that (as the custom of the Indians is) you are to tell them their brother the governor of Virginia is going to speak to them, then read my speech: as they are tedious in their councils they probably will require some time to answer it. You are to take all possible care to convince them of our regard and love for them. Let your treaty with them be offensive & defensive, which must be committed to writing & signed by all the chiefs present, & the counterpart by you in behalf of the colony. Endeavour to get them to mention the number of warriors they may agree to supply us with & the place they will march them in to our country when we may have occasion for their assistance, & by what message we are to give them notice to come in to join our forces & what we may provide for their reception. If they should intimate any expectations of being paid for the men they may send to our assistance you may come into such terms you may think reasonable, but if they do not mention any thing of that nature, you may assure them of being properly taken care of. Do all you can to raise their resentment against the French and their Indians & that they may discourage & hinder their coming into the Nation. The Catawbas I hear have long complained of being much confin'd by the English settling on their land; that they wanted to sell their land & go further to the westward; if they mention any thing of this, you may assure them I shall do every thing in my power with the neighbouring governors for their service. You will have occasion to go thorow the foremention'd ceremonies &c. with the Cherokees; but you are to consider them as a much more numerous Nation & their lands very extensive. The French have been for many years endeavouring to bring them over to their interest & to build forts on the river in the upper Cherokee country, but I hope they have not as yet built it, if they have, endeavour to prevail with the Indians to destroy it & by no means to allow them any settlement in

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the first of the century, and it is not before 1800 that these were introduced into the literature, which was then in a state of stagnation. The first of these were the "Lectures on the History of the English Language," by John Walker, published in 1791. These lectures were the first of a series of works which were published in the same year, and which were the first of a series of works which were published in the same year. The first of these were the "Lectures on the History of the English Language," by John Walker, published in 1791. These lectures were the first of a series of works which were published in the same year, and which were the first of a series of works which were published in the same year.

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their Nation & if possible to hinder any of the French or their Indians having any consultations with them, unless they bring a certificate or message by one of the Six Nations or their brothers the English otherwise they will endeavour to deceive them. Perswade them to take great care of the passes over the mountains to the upper Cherokees to prevent any surprize. Make an excuse for not sending them some arms, let them know they were not to be had here, but we will endeavour to provide some for them. You will find the traders from South Carolina will do all they can to harrass you in your treaty. There is one Smith,³ a native of this country & a trader from Charles Town, he bears a good character. You may send for him he probably may be of service to you. Be sure to return the Cherokees hearty thanks for the men they sent in with Mr. Pearis⁴ to our assistance against the Shawnese. As many things may occur in the course of your negotiations that I cannot foresee, your own good sense must be your guide & I accordingly refer it entirely to you. The attorney general⁵ brings you the £250 you wrote for. I am greatly disappointed in wampum, having wrote to Col. Hunter⁶ to bring me a quantity but he is not returned. I think you wrote me Col. Eaton would supply you he will let you know the quantity necessary.

Inclosed you have invoice of the goods for a present pack'd up & directed for each Nation & I hope if the weather permits to send them from this on Monday or Tuesday next for Petersburg. The ten pieces Dutch blanketing from Mr. Turnbull are for the Cherokees, & if there be any thing wanting have it from him & desire him [to] send me the account. As the Cherokees by report are ten to one of the Catawbas I have proportion'd the powder & lead accordingly which you may alter if you see proper. Two Cherokee boys who were taken prisoners by the northern Indians were retaken by a company of our rangers, I order'd them back to their Nation pray enquire about them.

Since writing the above I have a letter from Mr. Dobbs governor of North Carolina.⁷ He appoints two commissioners to go to the Catawbas & Cherokees, he proposes their meeting you at a place I think he calls Salisbury which he says is near the Indian Road, which rout he supposes you will take. I wrote him I believ'd you would set out from this the 4th or 6th of January. If I have omitted any thing as hints for your conduct please send me word & I shall answer you. That you may have your health success in your negotiations & a safe return is the sincere wish of gentlemen your affectionate humble servant.

¹ H. C. G. Robert Dinwiddie, II, 222, n. 1, headed "Messrs. Peter Randolph & William Byrd," printed in Brock, *Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie*, II, 303-4, and *A Treaty*

July 8, 1756

621

Held with the Catawba and Cherokee Indians, at the Catawba-Town and Broad-River, in the Months of February and March 1756. . . . Published by Order of the Governor (Williamsburg, 1756), photostat reproduction by Massachusetts Historical Society, Americana Series No. 222.

1. The letter is addressed to Peter Randolph and William Byrd, Esquires.
2. The commission, messages to the Catawbas and Cherokees, and instructions are in Brock, *Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie*, II, 298-303.

Peter Randolph, who served with Byrd, was of Chatsworth, Henrico County, son of William Randolph and grandson of the emigrant William Randolph of Turkey Island. He was a member of the Council and later surveyor general of customs for the middle district of North America.

The commissioners met at Catawba town on Feb. 20 and 21 and at Broad River March 13-17. The Little Carpenter (Attakullaculla) was chief sachem of the Cherokees; Heigler was king of the Catawbas.

Randolph and Byrd were not paid for their services as commissioners until 1763. See EJC, VI, 251.

3. Richard Smith, Abraham Smith, and Daniel Carrol were interpreters when the commissioners met.

4. Capt. Richard Pearis, an Indian trader located on Holston River (*Letters to Washington*, I, 123).

5. Peyton Randolph, son of Sir John Randolph, was attorney general 1748-56.

6. Col. John Hunter of Hampton, colonel of the Elizabeth City militia and commissary for the Virginia troops.

7. Arthur Dobbs became governor of North Carolina in October 1754 and remained until 1765.

[George Washington]

Dear Sir

July 8, 1756

The young gentleman who will deliver you this letter is the Associator¹ I mention'd to you, when I had the pleasure of seeing you in Williamsburgh. Shoud it be convenient for you, Sir, to give him some commission in your regiment, I don't doubt but you will approve of him on tryall. I wish for nothing more than an opportunity to entertain you at Westover, for I assure you I am with very great regard / dear Sir / your most obedient humble servant / W Byrd.
Westover, July 8th, 1756

RC, Papers of George Washington, 4th ser., III, 1, 402, MS Div. 1, D.C., endorsed "From the Honorable Col. Byrd 8th July 1756"; printed in *Letters to Washington*, I, 309-10.

1. A number of leading Virginians had in May 1756 volunteered to get followers and at their own expense go to Winchester to assist the regiment against the Indians. They called themselves the "Associators." They did not arrive in time to be of help and soon dispersed to their homes (Freeman, *George Washington*, II, 178).

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from Big Bone Lick down the Ohio near present Cincinnati. Also their route planned along Big Sandy Creek was a shorter route than the two women had taken and the Cherokees claimed it could be done in a week's march.¹⁴ William Ingles went to Williamsburg after his wife's return and must have so reasoned with Governor Dinwiddie. He assured Dinwiddie that "a great many" of the Allegheny people would "go volunteers on this Expedition." Certainly as they considered the women's exploits they underestimated the privations that awaited. Dinwiddie believed the march would be "very practicable" showing his complete ignorance of the Allegheny frontier. Only one man stood out firmly against it. George Washington claimed that it would prove "abortive."¹⁵

Though Preston surely wanted to avenge his uncle's death and go on the expedition he realized he must help his friends Lapsley, Woods and Cloyd. Again he visited tailor Donelson and bought a green suit and an expensive suit of allapine suitable to appear at the Assembly. His ranger George Elliot was fitted out in a new frock coat so he could accompany him in style.¹⁶

In mid-January bearing a message from Governor Dinwiddie to the Catawba Indians, he was back at Fort Frederick on New River where the Cherokees were encamped. Along with John Smith and Richard Pearis he conferred with Antosscity Ustoneeka or Outacite who then dispatched a letter from Fort Frederick to the Catawbas.

"Come to our Assistance to drive the Shawanese out of their Towns . . . I expect your warriors and men at Fort Frederick where I shall wait for you," said Outacite, "The warriors of Virginia . . . have brought me two of your Children which they have taken from your Enemies with the loss of some blood on both Sides."

Accompanying this letter was one from Pearis, Smith and Preston saying they intended to "march in 20 Days with a Body of 300 men against the Shawnanees" and asking for the assistance of "a number of our Brothers the Catawbas." They verified that a "great Warriour and a number of young men of the Cherokee Nation" residing at Fort Frederick did have the two Catawba children. The message was sent off by George Pearis, Richard's young brother and a young Indian, Kerorostekee for whom Preston bought a new shirt.¹⁷

While Preston was at Fort Frederick conferring with the Cherokees it still was not decided that he would accompany the expedition. Dinwiddie had ordered part of his men to march with Captain John Smith and only on January 28 did Andrew Lewis write him, "It will be necessary to take you out. You are to make ready for a

march and be at Fort Frederick by the end of the week with the men, horses, and provisions including 2000 pounds of beef."¹⁸

When Preston told the men at Fort Preston of the new orders to march they refused to do so until they were paid. Later he told the Governor, "I fully satisfied them mostly out of my own Pocket."¹⁹

Notes

1. James Donelson, *Account, Preston Papers, VSL*; William Preston, *Account Book*, September 15, 1755, *LCPP*, 164; William Preston, *Account Book*, *WH* 1 QQ p. 129; Dinwiddie to Governor Horatio Sharpe, August 25, 1755, *DP*, II, p. 171; *CS*, I, p. 138; Kegley, *Virginia Frontier*, pp. 215, 230, 487; David Robinson to WP, October 14, 1755, *WH* 1 QQ p. 88; WP to Dinwiddie, June 24, 1756, *WH* 1 QQ pp. 134-135; *WH* 1 QQ pp. 96-123; Andrew Lewis to Dinwiddie, 1756, *WH* 1 QQ pp. 131-133 and George Washington to Dinwiddie, October 10, 1756; John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscripts Sources, 1745-1799* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1931) hereafter cited as Fitzpatrick, *Washington Papers*, v. I, pp. 478-481.
2. Governor Dinwiddie to WP, September 15, October 18, 1755, *DP*, II, pp. 199-200, 246-247.
3. Dinwiddie to Major Andrew Lewis, August 11, 1755, *DP*, II, p. 151; Dinwiddie to Andrew Lewis and WP, September 15, 1755, *DP*, II, pp. 199-200; Dinwiddie to WP, October 18, 1755, *DP*, II, pp. 246-247; and Colonel George Washington, *Orders*, September 17, 1755, Fitzpatrick, *Washington Papers*, I, p. 176.
4. WP, *Account Book*, Entry, September 4, 1755, *LCPP*, 166 and WP to Dinwiddie, April 8, 1756, *WH*, 1 QQ p. 124; James Donelson, *Account, Preston Papers, VSL*; *WH*, 1 QQ p. 91 and *CS*, I, p. 67.
5. *Lloyd Letters*.
6. David Robinson to WP, October 14 and November 1755, *WH* 1 QQ pp. 88-89 and William L. McDowell, Jr., ed., *Documents Relating to Indian Affairs* (Columbia, South Carolina: South Carolina Archives Department, 1958) hereafter cited as *SCIAD*, v. III, pp. 96-97 and Letter, William L. McDowell, Jr., to author, April 16, 1975. See *pictures* for Outacite.
7. *SCIAD*, v. III, p. 210 and Minutes of the Cherokee Council, Williamsburg, September 5-6, 1755 *DP*, II, p. 188.
8. Kegley, *Virginia Frontier*, p. 229 and WP, *Account Book*, September 3, 1755, *LCPP*, 164.
9. Lieutenant David Robinson to WP, October 14, 1755 and November 1755, *WH*, 1 QQ pp. 88-89.
10. *HJ*, 1752-1758, pp. 307, 347-348, 381, 390, 422, 446-447 and Kegley, *Virginia Frontier*, p. 219.
11. Minutes of the Cherokee Council, September 5-6, 1755, *DP*, II, p. 188.
12. Dinwiddie to Obadiah Woodson, *DP*, II, p. 278.
13. Francis Russell, *The French and Indian Wars* (New York: American Heritage Publishing Company, Inc., 1962) p. 67, map.
14. *Ibid.*

sonably complete Preston bought "six gallons of whiskey for my soldiers for building ye Fort."¹

By mid-September he told the Governor he was taking to the woods to range and asked pay for his men. His decision to range at this dangerous time was his own for Dinwiddie wrote, "I approve of your intentions to Range the Woods . . . by no means continue in one place, but proceed wherever you think the Indians may come to annoy our back settlements." He hoped Preston would "destroy the Vermin" and promised the "Cherokees will be with you this winter" as protection against the French Indians.²

The Governor sent word to Andrew Lewis that Preston and his rangers were "not to be at any Place but to scower the woods on the Frontiers."

After Colonel Patton's death Andrew Lewis was given two hundred pounds by Dinwiddie to pay the ranger companies "formed by Patton before his death." The money was "entirely for the use of the Rangers" and Lewis was to keep it separate from his own company, the Virginia Regiment, in which he had been commissioned a major. Evidently Lewis told Dinwiddie that Preston had no men so he would not have to part with the two hundred pounds. Dinwiddie told Preston, "You are deficient in not sending me an attested copy of muster roll . . . after that it's time to desire some money . . . I think you have received some from Col. Lewis which you take no notice of."³

In September Preston had sold Colonel Patton's two personal servants to raise money. From the sale of servants, his account books and muster rolls we know he did have men under his command who he had to pay. His company was now composed of Dr. Thomas Lloyd, Abraham Bledsoe, Thomas Lawlar, George Dar, Charles Stringham, George and Robert Elliot, Archibald Buchanan, John Walker, Aaron Hart, Jacob Mires and Owen Callihan. He had tailor James Donelson make clothes for all these men. Other expenses for his company are sufficient to show he was paying the men out of his pocket as he later claimed.⁴ Apparently Andrew Lewis was holding money due Preston's rangers because of a feud between Colonel John Lewis and Colonel Patton, the embers of which still burned brightly!

Dr. Thomas Lloyd who had become Preston's servant did not appreciate his servitude nor was he happy in his service. He wrote a friend in England, "You must know that I am an Indentured Servant: have 2 yrs ½ of my Time to come from 3 of Nov(ember) next — to give a Description of my Servitude is Impossible so as to Expect you w(ou)ld Credit it."⁵

As the October leaves were turning Preston left his fort under

the command of David Robinson who followed orders to divide the men into two companies to range around the fort "to inure the soldiers to Fatigue." Preston had written neighbors about attending a council of war and according to David Robinson the letters had been "suppressed or miscarried" so he informed them of the proposed council but they would not attend. Memories of summer massacres and fear of prowling parties of Indians kept people close to their cabins.

David Robinson's humor always bubbled close to the surface and after informing Preston of serious matters he told him, "Mr. Stringham has returned from Fort Washington once more, and now assumes to himself the title of Captain, however we have metamorphosed him into a common soldier, until you return."

The Cherokees Dinwiddie had asked to remain on the New and Holston during the winter visited Preston's fort. So many of them appeared that Robinson had to send for a fresh supply of beef. He mentioned that one "Great Warrior" had made a "very pertinent speech" and the rangers had "endeavoured to pay them all Deference imaginable." Though Robinson does not give the name of the "Great Warrior" he was Antossity Usteneeka or Outacite, which means literally, "Great Warrior," just as Robinson said.*⁶

There were eighty-two Cherokees in the company led into the New River Valley by trader Richard Pearis who was greatly respected by the Cherokees because he "would not tell a lie." All messages sent to them were directed to Pearis who had a wife in their villages, the half-breed daughter of trader Hatton. His devotion to "his woman" was sufficient that he risked his life several times to go to her.⁷

Dinwiddie had promised that the Cherokees would be well-treated and so Preston bought rum for them from David Cloyd and Richard Hall. He also bought three dozen pipes and "an extraordinary fine tomahawk for a Cherokee warrior" probably after he had failed to show them any attention or invite them to his fort.⁸ This angered Pearis and David Robinson explained to him that considering Preston's "circumstances" it was impossible for him to do either.⁹

The "circumstances" were Preston's ranging about the country in October searching not for Indians but for votes. The Assembly at Williamsburg had ordered a special election held in Augusta to fill the vacancy left by Patton's death and Preston had decided to bid for it.

The election was held at Augusta Court House on December 17. Wagers were loud and noisy in the courtyard. Joseph Lapsely, Richard Woods and David Cloyd, loudly advertized their candidate,

*Outacite is also Oustenaika, Judge's Friend or Judd's Friend.

WILLIAM PRESTON
and the
ALLEGHENY PATRIOTS

By
Patricia Givens Johnson

GENEALOGICAL DEPARTMENT
CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST
OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS

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Chapter I

Ulster Child In Augusta

"Colonel Patton placed his nephew with the Reverend Mr. Craig for an excellent course of history, mathematics and penmanship."

Letitia Preston Floyd to Benjamin Rush Floyd
February 23, 1843

In this year of the American Bicentennial, it is wise that we reconsider the origins of our country and its people and their struggles to found this free nation. It is fitting that each locality renew its acquaintance with its past leaders and stirring events of the American Revolution. So it is appropriate that the people of the Alleghenies consider the life and times of that great American William Preston who first led his people as a British subject and then as an American patriot.

At the time of the Revolution the Virginia frontier lay in the Allegheny mountains and was constantly assailed by Indian tribes loyal to Britain. William Preston organized defense of the area which he knew so well from fighting the Indians in his youth. Because of the administrative skill of Preston and others the Allegheny region acted as a buffer between the Indians and Virginia, freeing the rest of the colony to engage with Washington to fight the British and finally defeat them at Yorktown.

Two years before Washington was born in Virginia, William Preston was born in Northern Ireland. He was of the Scotch-Irish race who fled injustice in Britain to find sanctuary, land, and freedom on the American frontier only to have it gradually limited by the long arm of the King. For it was the limitations upon free land and free thought that aroused the Virginia frontiersmen more than any tea tax or stamp act. Preston had been with his uncle James Patton at the Treaty of Logstown when Virginians thought they secured a right to lands beyond the Allegheny ridge and for which in a few years the uncle died and Preston struggled in the French and Indian War. But in 1763 the land was forbidden to Virginians by the King and fierce rumblings of discontent were heard in the mountains. Even so, ten years later the mountain men were still willing to fight

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under royal governor Dunmore against the Ohio Indians in "Dunmore's War." There they learned some things about royal governors that led to further disillusionment. In the Revolution that shortly followed, William Preston became the leader in organizing defense against the Indians, against the Tories, and ultimately against the British Army when he led the mountain men to fight Cornwallis in North Carolina. More than any other individual, William Preston held Virginia's Allegheny frontier for the American cause. This is his story.

William Preston was born in December 1729 at Newton Limavaddy, Londonderry County, Northern Ireland. Relatives have assigned his birthdate to various days in December (some say Christmas Day) but his daughter gives December 26 as the correct date. His parents were John Preston and Elizabeth Patton Preston. William's birthplace, Newton Limavaddy, lies on the road midway between Londonderry and Portrush, eighteenth-century commercial and shipping centers. Londonderry was a bastion of Protestantism having withstood a hundred and five day siege by Catholic King James II in 1689. The defenders ate rats and died of starvation but sent word to the besiegers that they would "Never Surrender," a motto and stance which has come unscathed into the twentieth century. Portrush was noted as a port of emigration from Northern Ireland in the early 1700's. Limavaddy, the smaller town between the two, has the distinction of being the town where Jane Ross wrote down the melody of a wandering fiddler and gave the world the *Londonderry Air*.

When William Preston was born Limavaddy was the typical Irish village similar to its neighbors, Dungiven and Ballykelly. Stone houses with thatched roofs fronted on muddy streets bordered by pigstys and small gardens. The houses were crowded with large families who shared their cramped quarters with the family linen looms or other tools of trade. Every home had some small industry such as lace-making or linen weaving. In the case of the Prestons it was carpentry for John Preston earned his living as a ship carpenter and cabinet maker.

Though there was little pretension in the Preston cottage there were proud family traditions. There were "twelve belted knights" of the Preston name at the siege of Londonderry and the Prestons claim that John Preston was "not of obscure parentage or pretensions" for his uncles and father, Archibald Preston, had served at the siege. Nevertheless John Preston lived in humble circumstances in Limavaddy. The claim to gentility in the Preston household was through the mother, Elizabeth Patton Preston. Her people were gentry living

at Springfield Manor and Croghan House near Kilmacrenan in adjacent County Donegal.

Springfield Manor, the home of Elizabeth's parents, Henry and Sarah Lynn Patton, had been awarded to Henry by William of Orange for supporting the Protestant cause in 1689. Springfield joined Croghan, the estate of Henry's father. Both Croghan House and Springfield Manor are gone today, but the grounds remain intact retaining their ancient names.¹

Croghan, where Henry Patton grew to manhood and where his daughter Elizabeth Patton must have visited as a girl, overlooks Mulroy Bay. A visitor in 1974 described all that remains of Croghan. "The old gatehouse is still intact. Remains of the former driveway can be seen with their entrance posts long covered over with turf and vines. One wall of the original house stands as part of the latter-day building now occupying the site. The view from the front lawn is beautiful. Rolling fields in the foreground. Beautiful Mulroy Bay beyond. Great patches of yellow daffodils. And in the back, the mountains."²

Elizabeth Patton spent happy childhood hours at her grandparents home overlooking blue Mulroy Bay. Her visits were surely frequent for her home, Springfield Manor, was just down the road.

Springfield Manor was torn down in 1968 but once housed sixteen rooms and was a massive two-storied Irish manor house. Set in a wide acreage, approached by a long drive, it was the typical home of landed Irish gentry. Such was Elizabeth Patton's home as a girl growing up among her sisters and brothers, Andrew, Richard and James. Elizabeth was the youngest of the sisters who married "men of quality" which was also expected of her.³

Brother James went to sea when quite young and had established himself as a merchant-shipper in various Irish towns by the time Elizabeth was a young woman. He did business in Limerick on the Shannon River and possibly she was visiting him when she happened to cross the river Shannon in a boat about the year 1724. On the boat was handsome John Preston, a ship carpenter, an honorable trade, but one that placed him notches below Elizabeth on the social scale. Elizabeth was "much attracted" by John's good looks and manly deportment. Upon inquiry she learned that he was a ship carpenter but this did not daunt Elizabeth for she was falling in love. John asked her to marry him and knowing her parents would be displeased she eloped which "placed her out of the pale of her family but not beyond the notice of her brother Captain James."⁴

Elizabeth and John went to live in Newton Limavaddy where two daughters were born to them before William. As a child William

36. WP, *Account Book*, September 3, 1755, *LCPP*, 164. This "Mrs. Ingles" was the wife of Thomas or Matthew Ingles since the wife of William Ingles, Mary Draper Ingles, had been carried away to the Shawnee villages on the Ohio.

37. Lewis Preston Summers, *Annals of Southwest Virginia, 1769-1800* (Kingsport, Tennessee: Kingsport Press, 1929) hereafter cited as Summers, *Annals*, p. 56. William Ingles later bought the land where Fort Frederick stood, tore down the fort and built Ingles Ferry Tavern with the timbers. Part of the tavern is still intact (see pictures) but the fort site lies under Claytor Lake. Francis B. Fitzpatrick, *History of Ingles Ferry*, (privately published 1936) p. 29.

Chapter III

Fort William Preston

"The Indians came to the Fort last night and we endeavoured to pay them all Deference imaginable."

Lieutenant David Robinson to Captain William Preston
October 14, 1755

Before Preston could proceed to build a fort he needed more men so with his rangers and lieutenant David Robinson he returned to Augusta Court House where he recruited at the September militia muster. Audley Paul, just returned from Braddock's defeat, signed on as a new lieutenant. Then Preston had a tailor make him a suit of mourning. He was not alone in wearing black that fall of 1755. Braddock's defeat and the continuing Indian raids gave many reason to mourn. In September he returned to Ephraim Vause's plantation. At his own expense Vause had begun building a fort known as Fort Vause which guarded a strategic pass in the Alleghenies open to both southern and northern Indians. Preston's rangers observed Vause's building efforts and then crossed through the mountains to Catawba Creek Valley. Through this valley the "Indian Road" passed into the Alleghenies and to New River Valley which in turn was a gateway to the Ohio country. Only weeks before Preston and his ill-fated uncle had traveled the road along which he now sought a fort site. At a strategic point on a South Branch of Catawba Creek near where Catawba Creek Road and old John's Creek Road joined, William began a fort which guarded not only Catawba Valley but Stone Coal Gap's access through the mountains to Greenbrier Valley. He had bought 33 gallons of rum from Vause to ease the fort building along, and sufficient progress was made that a fort of sorts was completed by October. How this fort looked is not known. Some forts were nothing more than blockhouses but this one apparently had a stockade for Charles Stringham was paid two pounds for making "a large gate for the fort." Preston's fort on Catawba has been found under different names in the records of the era: Fort on Catawba, Fort William or Fort Preston, the latter two names in honor of its twenty-five-year-old architect and commander. When construction was rea-



15. Dinwiddie to Captains Obadiah Woodson, William Preston and John Smith, December 15, 1755, *DP*, II, p. 90, 278; Dinwiddie to Colonel George Washington, December 14, 1755, *DP*, II, pp. 291-292 and Colonel George Washington to Dinwiddie, January 13, 1756, Fitzpatrick, *Washington Papers*, v. I, p. 286.
16. James Donelson, *Account*, *Preston Papers*, *VSL*.
17. *SCIAD*, III, pp. 97-98 and *LCPP*, 164.
18. Major Andrew Lewis to WP, January 28, 1756, *WH*, 1 QQ p. 94.
19. WP to Dinwiddie, April 8, 1756, *WH*, 1 QQ p. 124.

Chapter IV

The Sandy Creek Expedition

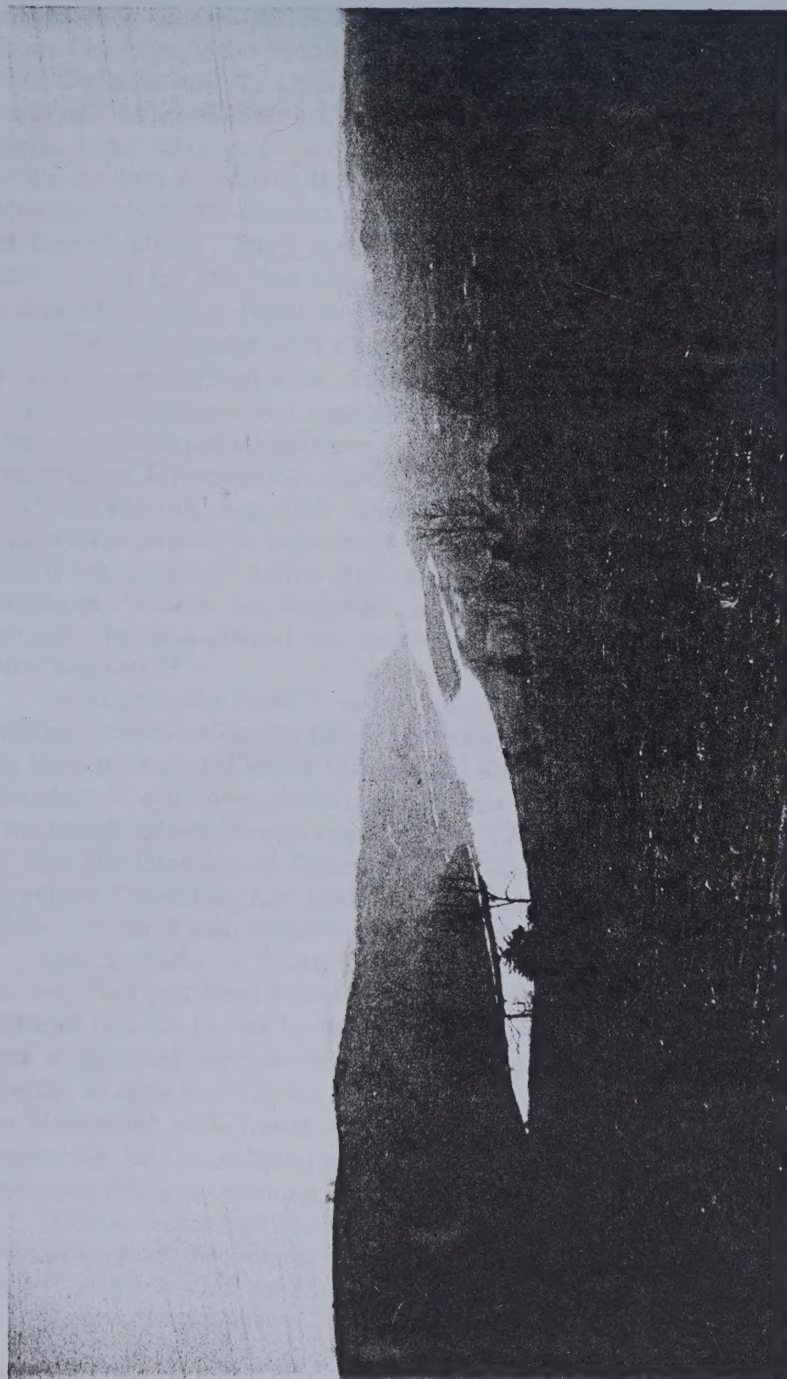
"Hunger and want was so much increased that any man in the camp would have ventured his life for a supper."

Captain William Preston
Journal of the Sandy Creek Expedition,
Entry for March 13, 1756

On February 9 Preston began his march from Fort Prince George near present Salem, Virginia, accompanied by 25 men, 2 corporals, 2 sergeants and lieutenants David Robinson and Audley Paul.¹ Bringing along 200 pounds of lead sent to Fort Preston from Williamsburg and 2000 pounds of dried beef they headed toward the North Fork of the Roanoke River. Camping the night at Francis Cyphers, the next day the company climbed the Allegheny ridge that lay between them and New River. They spent the night at Richard Hall's five miles west of present Christiansburg, Virginia, where Preston had recently bought rum for the Cherokees.² Richard Hall had lived here since before 1750 when he had been visited by explorer Christopher Gist upon his return trip from exploring the Ohio country. Hall had been one of the westernmost settlers in 1750.³ In the years following Gist's visit many families had come to the New River Valley but the Indian raids of the previous summer had caused most of the survivors to flee east of the Blue Ridge or to the Valley of Virginia. Some would return to their New River land but some like Augustine Price would never return. When Price was eighty and still living in Rockingham County he testified how he had been driven by the Indians from the New River in 1755.⁴

Preston's company marched on past deserted plantations to join the Cherokees with Richard Pearis and Outacite at Fort Frederick. Pearis and the Cherokees had been ranging the mountains during the winter. One mountain immediately north of Blacksburg bears the name Pearis Mountain and is the only reminder we have today of the service to Virginia rendered by the Cherokees in the winter of 1755-56.

As Preston's men marched past the Cherokees now encamped at



Dunkard's Bottom on New River where William Christian lived at Manahaim. Near here the Sandy Creek Expeditionary Force gathered to march to the Shawnee villages. (Photograph courtesy of John Ingles Barton)

Fort Frederick they saluted them with a volley. The Cherokees returned the salute "in great joy" and afterwards honored them with a war dance beside New River. Preston's company was joined by Captain Peter Hogg who had seen service with Washington at Great Meadows and was with him at the surrender of Fort Necessity.⁵

Guards were put out to protect the New River crossing and the companies settled down to wait while horses and pack-saddles were gathered and reinforcements arrived. In accord with Dinwiddie's orders to Lewis to keep "your people in good morality, forbid swearing and all other vices," the soldiers were honored with several sermons by Presbyterian ministers John Craig and John Brown, the two Presbyterian ministers beyond the Blue Ridge at this time.⁶ The reason two ministers preached was due to a schism in the colonial American Presbyterian church which had spread to the frontier. Craig, Preston's tutor, until recently the leading Presbyterian minister in Augusta County and educated at the University of Edinburgh, represented the "Old Side" Presbyterians who believed in a well-educated ministry and strict adherence to doctrine. John Brown represented the "New Side" group who put more faith in conversion than education. Brown was a product of a "log college" which this group was saying was good enough for them. He had graduated in 1749 from the "log college" of New Jersey, later Princeton University and had been assigned to Augusta County where he met and married Margaret Preston and established as minister at New Providence and Timber Ridge (present Rockbridge County).⁷

Preston was always very close to his brother-in-law, John Brown, and had probably urged him to speak to the expeditionary force. Margaret Preston Brown had just had a baby girl on December 4, 1755, the day after John had helped organize Hanover Presbytery, the first Presbytery in the southern colonies. The chief concern of this new presbytery was the "critical & alarming State . . . of the British Plantations in America" and they had designated New Year's Day 1756 as day of fasting and prayer.⁸ So Brown came to preach here by New River with a deep sense of mission. When he finished William accompanied him back across New River and returned to camp to dine with Captain Hogg who "entertained the officers very kindly."⁹

Preston and Pearis kept busy gathering supplies in the next days. Mr. Thomas Donald, agent for the Robert and James Donald Company of Glasgow, Scotland, sold and delivered goods worthy sixty pounds of them here at Fort Frederick.¹⁰

By February 12 the companies of Major Andrew Lewis and Captain Peter Hogg both of Washington's Virginia Regiment had



joined with the companies of Samuel Overton and Obadiah Woodson from Hanover, John Smith and Preston from Augusta, and Pearis with Outacite and the Cherokees. The total force has been numbered variously between 340 and 365 men including the Cherokee company. Later they were joined by volunteers under Robert Breckenridge, another brother-in-law of Preston; Archibald Alexander, John Montgomery and a Mr. Dunlap. The Hanover troops were neighbors of Patrick Henry. Their commander, Samuel Overton, was present later, when for the first time Patrick Henry was heard to speak of independence from Great Britain.¹¹

The commander of the expeditionary force, Andrew Lewis, was a "tall, heavy formed man, full, florid with a fine countenance, dark brown eyes, austere and reserved, seldom known to smile." Though Lewis was married he had seen more frontier fighting than most. He had married Elizabeth Givens in 1749, had a family of small children, yet his leadership was such "though he never sought for station yet was always chosen to serve his fellow citizens on all occasions of difficulty or danger." Lewis had suffered with Washington at Great Meadows "where he behaved with bravery" and received two wounds. He was also at the surrender of Fort Necessity and Braddock's defeat.¹²

To reward the Cherokees for their winter's work Lewis gave two captain's commissions to Cherokee warriors Yellow Bird and Round O. Round O would know hunger and starvation among these white men but would meet death not on this expedition but among his own people of white man's smallpox in 1760. Yellow Bird would live to sign the Treaties of Hopewell in 1786 and the Holston in 1791. Governor Dinwiddie had told Lewis to treat the Cherokees well and "take care Mr. Pearis behaves well and stays sober."¹³

James Burke, a frontier guide, suddenly arrived saying Robert Looney had just been killed by Indians on Reed Creek. Burke himself had lost six horses to them but had escaped. Lewis immediately sent a hundred men to range along Reed Creek and into Burke's Garden to clear the way for the main company which moved forward on Wednesday with Lewis and Hogg commanding. The names of the guides for this expedition are unknown but since Burke had joined them it is likely he was one of them.¹⁴

Thirty horses had been lost and for lack of horses Preston could not leave Fort Frederick until the next day when he brought up twenty-seven loaded packhorses. Lieutenant Tyler and twenty-four men were left to garrison Fort Frederick.¹⁵ The expeditionary force proceeded to William Sayers where they camped on the barn floor. The next day Preston had a soldier "switched" for "profane swear-

ing." Whipping was a natural form of punishment to colonial Americans. George Washington that same month told an officer that for desertion, "You must go on in the old way of whipping stoutly."¹⁶ At Augusta Court House young Preston had seen Colonel Patton, the old sea captain, use this customary punishment of the military service and on British ships. But the Cherokees who did not even whip children, did not think it a natural punishment to whip a man. Preston noted that the "Indian chiefs" were "very much incensed" and shortly afterward "some of our Indians deserted."¹⁷

Major Lewis, Captain Pearis and the interpreter went to Colonel Buchanan's place where they "met the Indians who had deserted us and induced them to return which they did." Buchanan was living at "Anchor and Hope" on Reed Creek which indicates the route of the expeditionary force passed Max Meadows, thence to Bear Garden on North Holston. From Bear Garden they crossed two large mountains into Burke's Garden where the soldiers gathered potatoes at deserted farms. From Burke's Garden they went to the head of Clinch. Their destination of upper Shawnee town on the Ohio must have seemed momentarily closer. For some reason Preston had sent his own horse home by Buchanan's servant which he admitted, "I soon after repented." At the head of Clinch he bought "a little horse to carry me to the Shawnee Towns."¹⁸

Already problems which were to plague them were arising. Horses were lost, the mountains were almost impassable and the hunters could find no game. On February 28 they arrived at the head of Sandy Creek, that creek which if followed would lead to the Ohio and which today forms the boundary between Kentucky and West Virginia. They began the march down the creek crossing its convolutions twenty times the first day. For a week they marched down the creek "being much retarded by the river and mountains which closed in on both sides."¹⁹

Food was running out. Governor Dinwiddie had appointed Colonel David Stewart commissary of this expedition with the admonition "exert yourself that I may have no complaints of your neglect." But the men blamed the commissary "for not providing necessaries for such a number of men, as we had not fifteen days provisions when we left Fort Frederick to support us on a journey of near 300 miles."²⁰

Lewis had no way to please the men "but to order a cask of butter to be divided among them, which was no more than a taste to each man . . . it rained very hard that night, which still added to our misfortunes, as we had no tents, nor indeed hardly any other necessary for such a journey." This lack was due not only to the commis-



sary but to the fact that troops in Augusta as George Washington reported "would sooner starve than carry a few provisions on their backs for conveniency, as other Soldiers do."²¹

On March 5, the day they crossed and recrossed Sandy Creek twenty-four times, the horses were dying at every crossing. Preston wrote, "This day my four pound horse expired and I was left on foot with a hungry belly, which increased my woe. Nothing but hunger and fatigue appears to us."

When they reached the North Fork of Sandy morale was rapidly deteriorating. Conditions among the men and officers at this time are described by Lieutenant Thomas Morton, a recruit from New Kent County, who was also keeping a diary.²² These two appear to be the only ones who kept accounts of the expedition. Morton explained, "This is the 6th Day (March 6) that we have been at the allowance of half a pound of flour a man pr. Day, and several of our Men much disgusted to see that they were pinched for want of provision and Capt. Hogg had Corn plenty to feed his Horses till he came to this place and here they eat the last of it. This Night one of the Volunteers kill'd an Elk and the Indians took half of it from them as they were just perished, which disgusted the Volunteers very much."²³

Such was the treatment given the Cherokees who had been promised provisions and civil treatment in return for their wintering on the New and Holston to protect the settlers from the Shawnees and northern Indians."²⁴

Morton continued, "We were now in a pitiable condition, our men looking on one another with Tears in their Eyes, and lamenting that they had ever Enter'd into a Soldier's life, and indeed our circumstances were very shocking, for in our Camps was little else but cursing, swearing, confusion and complaining and among our officers much selfishness and ambition which naturally produced devision and contention and a discouragement. I had been for several days satisfied that without a great alteration we should meet with nothing but confusion and disappointment, for I am certain it would have been dishonorable to God to have granted us success on such conduct, for that neglected thing Religion was hissed out of company with contempt as tho' it had caried a deadly infection with it."²⁵

Governor Dinwiddie when informing George Washington that his officers Andrew Lewis and Peter Hogg with their men were to accompany the expedition, stipulated that Lewis was to command the expeditionary force. The year before Washington had commissioned Lewis a major of the Virginia Regiment so Lewis certainly outranked everyone present.²⁶

But Lieutenant Morton related that "Major Lewis till now hath in general behaved with sobriety and with prudence, but always seems somewhat on the reserve to the Virginia Captains and Companies and I never can find that there hath been one Regular Council since we marched, but from what we can gather it is generally believ'd that Capt. Hogg has the whole matter at his direction. Whether Capt. Hogg had a right to command I know not. This I know that when Major Lewis would offer any thing, he by an over-forwardness would direct as he saw proper, and his sentiments generally were followed as a Standing Rule, and by this means the Men were much imposed on, for common Soldiers were by him scarcely treated with humanity."²⁷

Small wonder that Lewis acted with reserve toward his officers. One company was commanded by Preston, nephew of Colonel Patton, who had in his lifetime hotly feuded with the Lewis family. A second company was commanded by John Smith who had been Patton's business partner, surveyor and friend. A third company was commanded by Hogg who possibly was a Patton relation. A fourth company was commanded by Robert Breckenridge, a Preston-in-law. Thus four company officers might be considered partisans of old Colonel Patton and shades of the Patton-Lewis feud clung over the campfires as mist clings to the Allegheny peaks. And as for Hogg, several years later he would get a taste of his own medicine while commanding at Brock's Gap near Linville's Creek in Rockingham County. Abraham Bird tried to get Hogg's soldiers to sign a petition for Hogg's removal so Bird could command.²⁸

Lieutenant Morton said that the Cherokee company in their conduct toward each other put the whites to shame. "The conduct and concord that was kept up among the Indians might shame us, for they were in general quite unanimous and brotherly." As a result of such concord the Cherokees were able to plan constructively in sharp contrast to the blundering, cursing whites for they quickly made bark canoes to carry themselves downstream. Lewis, following suit, "Sabath morning the 7th came early to our tents, and ordered that all our Axes with some of the best of our axmen Should go immediately to making of a Kanew, for to carry the publick stores, for our pack-horses were now giving out, the small number of them left. We have had nothing but our half pound of Flour since Friday Night, only a half of pound of Butter pr. Man, times being so hard that our Strength is now almost exhausted, and we have never been allowed to hunt but very little, and now we are not able and if we were this place is barren, so that there is little or nothing to be killed."

Captain John Smith, a company commander, later told William

Pitt in London that a bark canoe could "be made in three hours by three men" which suggests that Smith got his experience building canoes on the Sandy Creek Expedition.²⁹

Major Lewis with part of the men loaded the ammunition on a large canoe, with a remnant of the flour and went off downstream. The others, including Preston's grumbling men, continued the struggle overland.³⁰

Lieutenant Morton says, "Notwithstanding the way was thought to be impassable with Horses, yet Captain Smith, Captain Preston and Brackenridge, with their whole companies, and . . . the Companies of Vollunteers set off to go down the Creek to seek for provisions . . . we had not gone above two miles, before we were obliged to turn up a small Creek, a difficult, rocky and very bad way and . . . cross a steep and high mountain, and so fall on such another creek, and make down to the large creek, and there were obliged to take up camp . . . our case grew more and more lamentable as the way was now much worse than ever, and the Creek now impassable by Horses, and the mountains higher and worse than ever on all accounts and lying in larger on the river."³¹

Preston wrote, "The men were faint and weak with hunger and could not travel the mountains and wade the river as formerly, there was no game in the mountains, nor appearance of level country, and their half pound of flour would not support them, and that would soon be gone . . . they intended to leave the next morning and go home. I proposed to kill the horses to eat, which they refused. They said that might do to support them if they were on their way home but it was not a diet proper to sustain men on a long march against the enemy."

Now the men were nearly dead from hunger. Hunters were sent out and killed two elk. Preston relates, "Hunger appeared in all our faces, and most of us had become weak and feeble, and had we not got that relief, I doubt not but several of the men would have died of hunger; their cries and complaints were pitiful and shocking; and the more so as the officers could not afford them any help, for they were in equal want with their men."³²

Preston simply said the elk were divided among the men. Morton candidly related that only one elk "was divided among the Companies, but not equally, for Capt. Smith took half of it, saving the backbone, and the meat was chiefly cut off of it. Capt. Preston with Capt. Brackenridge and myself shear'd the small matter that we had, which came to two pound per man, but near half of it bone, and we are now suf'ring very much for want of provisions, and a great part

of the men . . . have fallen on a resolution to go back, for we can see nothing before us but inevitable destruction."³³

Preston told them if they left, "I would be blamed and my character would suffer." They agreed to stay which speaks of their loyalty to him. But he knew mutiny was eminent so sent Lieutenant Morton with a letter to Major Lewis begging him to come at once. When several men slipped from Preston's camp, in order to prevent wholesale desertion, he said, "When 8 or 10 of my Company were ready to leave, I was obliged to disarm them and take their blankets from them by force."

News came that the canoe with the ammunition and provisions had overturned and all had been lost. Lewis and his officers had to swim for their lives and soon arrived back in camp. Lewis had Colby Chew take a little bear to Preston's tent where the Major lodged the night and they ate the bear. Preston said, "I had a good supper — a rarity." And he had time to think. His mind was in a "confused state" when he reasoned that death surely awaited them if they continued but to turn back "would infallibly ruin the expedition" and bring death many times over to the people back home.

In the morning Lewis made a speech to the men against mutiny but the men "were obstinate." Lewis then stepped off some yards and asked all willing to share his fate to go with him. All the officers and about 30 privates joined him. Then Montgomery's volunteers marched off, followed by the companies of Preston and Smith. Only four privates and his lieutenants remained with Preston.³⁴

Lewis conferred with "Old Autocity" as Preston called Outacite who was willing to continue but was doubtful his warriors would. After noting the behavior of these white men Outacite observed that white men could not travel long without food as the Indians could. If Outacite was disillusioned by the behavior of the whites this was only the beginning. Six years from this time in 1762 he would go to London to visit the King. He was received indifferently by George III but was visited by Oliver Goldsmith and painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds, practically the only courtesies shown him. His landlord Caccanthropes put the Cherokees on public display conducting people to their bedrooms while they were undressing and charging admission to see them.³⁵ Perhaps he would stoically accept these indignities in London as he now did hunger on Sandy Creek. But the white men were less able to cope with privation.

William Preston records that "hunger and want was so much increased that any man in the Camp would have ventured his life for a supper." This entry was on March 13 the day Preston's journal abruptly ends. The only account by a participant in this expedi-

tion of what next occurred is given by company surgeon Thomas Lloyd, "I was Surgeon to 300 men who went out against the Shawnee Indian Town but we had 500 miles to go & having a bad Pilote — out of 200 Horses we brought in only 4 or 5 the chief of the rest we were forced to Eat being all like to Perish several Times." ³⁶

David E. Johnston, New River Valley historian, relates a plausible account that a messenger from the governor came telling the expedition to turn back, that some continued to the mouth of the Sandy where the officers urged crossing the Ohio but finally decided to turn homeward.³⁷ No record of a messenger from the governor has been found in official accounts. According to Johnston, snow began to fall and the weather became bitter. The starving men stopped at Burning Spring (Welch, West Virginia) and took strips of hide called "Thugs" or "Tugs" and broiled them in the burning gas. Since this incident occurred near a branch of the Big Sandy it came to be known as the Tug Fork of the Sandy.³⁸

A different story is related about the name of Tug Fork by William Preston's daughter who claimed that her father went to the Ohio to make a treaty in 1757 and nearly died on his return trip. Since no known trip of Preston is recorded in 1757, she probably was recounting his experiences on his return from the Ohio in 1756. "Preston endured singular hardships in this expedition. He had tied his mocassin somewhat too tightly; the string chafed the instep of one of his feet, which produced partial mortification. The skill of a physician by the name of Dr. Thomas Lloyd saved his life. Lloyd had been purchased by Preston a year or two previously. Finding him a man of fine education with great knowledge of medicine, the Doctor was made the companion." Preston and company were so "entirely out of food as to be compelled to eat the buffalo tugs which tied on their packs" and hence the stream was named by Preston the "Tug Fork of the Sandy." So goes the daughter's story.³⁹

If Preston had a gangrenous foot it would certainly explain why his journal so abruptly ended. The unknown experiences of the return trip must have been horrendous. Reportedly men of his company and other companies scattered through the mountains and some perished, either frozen to death or starved. Some that wandered off in small groups were lost and some killed by Indians who had discovered them about the mouth of Sandy and followed them some distance on the way homeward.⁴⁰

The general consensus among the frontiersmen regarding the failure of this expedition agreed with William Fleming, also along as a doctor who said, "It miscarried for want of Provisions."⁴¹ The journals of Preston and Morton support this conclusion. However, George

Washington said, "Major Lewis attributes all his misfortunes" to his guide's "misconduct." Captain Peter Hogg claimed the expedition "miscarried from the Disobedience of men, undisciplined and Subject to no Military Law, a too small store of provisions and the most impassable trail." Hogg gives the only indication as to where and when the expeditionary force first regained the white settlements. He wrote from Fort Dinwiddie on Jackson's River that he returned there on April 3.⁴²

William Preston had started from Fort Prince George on February 9 on this ill-fated expedition which accomplished nothing but took nearly two months and many lives and had returned by April 7 when Washington wrote Dinwiddie that the expeditionary force which "I always had little expectation of . . . are returned with the Indians that accompanied them."⁴³

No known account of this expedition was made by Major Andrew Lewis, the commander. Lieutenant Thomas Morton's diary covers only from March 3 through March 8 and Preston's record ends on March 13. While Preston's journal is also neither a complete account nor does it list those who died, yet it is the best existing record of this abortive and agonizing adventure in the Alleghenies. William Preston's *Sandy Creek Journal*, letters and account books, mark him as a man with exceptional intelligence. Granted he was ordered by the Governor to keep records, yet he did so with an accuracy and thoroughness that is amazing considering the circumstances under which he labored. His records without doubt give the most complete existing insight into events at this time among the trans-Allegheny colonists of Virginia.

A tragic postscript to this expedition is told by an English traveler in the colonies. "About the spring of 1756," writes he, "A party of Cherokees returning from an expedition to help the English against the French were waylaid by an Augusta militia captain" who killed several "under a pretence that they had pilfered some of his poultry. He had received and entertained them as friends; and when they took their leave of him to return to their own country, he placed a party in ambush, murdered several." Further, "he attempted to defraud the government, by claiming the premium assigned for the scalps of hostile Indians." The Cherokees who escaped arrived at their village just as Dinwiddie's embassy, Col. Peter Randolph, Col. Byrd and Mr. Campbell, were winding up an advantageous treaty with the Cherokees. The Cherokees, on hearing the news, seized Dinwiddie's ambassadors and would have murdered them but for the intervention of Attakullakulla who advised the Cherokees not to abuse hospitality. "Let us take them back to their own settlements,"

he said, "then take up the hatchet, and endeavour to exterminate the whole race of them." Byrd and Randolph placated the Indians with gifts. Their accounts came to over thirteen hundred pounds the principal item being "For soothing the Indians," which took some doing for though the treaty was held in March they had still not returned home by April 12. Though Byrd and Randolph finally returned safely, the Cherokees did not forget. From the attack of a New River militiaman upon Cherokees can be traced a chain of events that led to the Cherokee war in 1760.⁴⁴

Notes

1. William Preston, *Journal of the Sandy Creek Expedition*, WH, 1 QQ pp. 96-123 hereafter cited as Preston, *Sandy Creek Journal* and Louis K. Koontz, *The Virginia Frontier, 1754-1763* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1925) p. 123.
2. Colonel David Stewart to WP, *LCPP*, 182 and William Preston, *Account Books*, *LCPP*, 164 and WH, 1 QQ p. 129.
3. Gist tells in his journals of visiting Hall.
4. CS, II, p. 36. Augustine Price, Adam Harman and other New River Germans fled to the Shenandoah lands of John Madison near Peaked Mountain (Elkton, Virginia) See WMQ, v. 13 p. 249.
5. Fitzpatrick, *Washington Papers*, v. I, p. 38.
6. Dinwiddie to Andrew Lewis February 6, 1756, *DP*, II, p. 337 and Preston, *Sandy Creek Journal*.
7. Howard McKnight Wilson, *The Lexington Presbytery Heritage, The Presbytery of Lexington and its Churches in the Synod of Virginia Presbyterian Church in the United States* (Verona, Virginia: McClure Press, 1971) hereafter cited as Wilson, *Lexington Presbytery*, pp. 39-42.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 21, 39; Bayless E. Hardin, "Dr. Samuel Brown, 1769-1830, His Family and Descendants," *FCQ*, v. XXVI, pp. 2-27; Wilson, *Lexington Presbytery*, pp. 39-40.
9. Preston, *Sandy Creek Journal*, February 16, 1756.
10. *LCPP*, 182 and *HJ*, v. 8, pp. 458-459 and Charles City County, *Order Book, 1737-1751*, pp. 88-89.
11. William Fleming, *Sketch of Andrew Lewis*, WH, 16 DD p. 22 and Robert Douthat Meade, *Patrick Henry, Patriot in the Making* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1957) hereafter cited as Meade, *Henry*, p. 335.
12. Fitzpatrick, *Washington Papers*, v. I, p. 201; Freeman, *Washington*, v. I, pp. 369-408 and WH 32 S p. 55.
13. Lyman C. Draper, "The Expedition Against the Shawnee Indians in 1756," *VHR*, v. 5, p. 76 and Dinwiddie to Andrew Lewis, February 6, 1756, *DP*, II, p. 337.
14. Johnson, *Patton and Colonists*, pp. 72-73; Preston, *Sandy Creek Journal* and *The Preston Register*, WH, 1 QQ p. 83.
15. Preston, *Sandy Creek Journal*.
16. Colonel George Washington to Colonel Adam Stephen, February 1, 1756, Fitzpatrick, *Washington Papers*, I, p. 294.

17. *Ibid.*, and Johnson, *Patton and Colonists*, p. 102.
18. Preston, *Sandy Creek Journal*; Draper, *ibid.*, p. 63 and *DP*, II, p. 57, fn. 44.
19. Preston, *Sandy Creek Journal*.
20. Dinwiddie to Colonel David Stewart, February 15, 1755, *DP*, II, p. 296 and Draper, *ibid.*
21. Preston, *Sandy Creek Journal*, and Colonel George Washington to John Robinson, November 9, Fitzpatrick, *Washington Papers*, v. I, p. 500.
22. Thomas Morton, *Diary*, March 5, 1756, *VHR*, v. 4, p. 144 hereafter cited as Morton, *Diary*; and William Waller Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large being a collection of all the laws of Virginia from the first session of the Legislature in 1619* (Richmond: Printed for the editor by George Cochran, 1823) hereafter cited as Hening, *Statutes*, v. 7, p. 228.
23. Morton, *Diary*.
24. Minutes of a Council with the Cherokees, Williamsburg, September 5-6, 1755, *DP*, II, pp. 187-188.
25. Morton, *Diary*.
26. Dinwiddie to George Washington, December 15, 1755, *DP*, II, pp. 291-292 and George Washington, *Orders*, Fort Cumberland, September 17, 1755 Fitzpatrick, *Washington Papers*, v. I, p. 176.
27. Morton, *Diary*.
28. Johnson, *Patton and Colonists*, p. 29 and CS, I, pp. 320, 409-410, 483 and Charles E. Kemper, "French and Indian War Notes," *WMQ* (2) v. 30, p. 38.
29. Morton, *Diary* and Captain John Smith to William Pitt, Great Britain. P.R.O.: 30/8/ p. 95-C/158.
30. Morton, *Diary* and Preston, *Sandy Creek Journal*.
31. Morton, *Diary*.
32. Preston, *Sandy Creek Journal*.
33. Morton, *Diary*.
34. Lyman C. Draper, "The Expedition Against the Shawnee Indians in 1756," *VHR*, v. 5, p. 67, 71 and Preston, *Sandy Creek Journal*, March 10, 1756.
35. Chapman J. Milling, *Red Carolinians* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1940) pp. 307-308, 342, 343; Preston, *Sandy Creek Journal* and John Alden, *John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier A Study of Indian Relations, War, Trade, and Land Problems in the Southern Wilderness, 1754-1775* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1944) p. 40.
36. Dr. Thomas Lloyd to Dr. Edmond Hector, Birmingham, England, October 6, 1756, Great Britain. P.R.O. High Court of Admiralty 30/ v. 258.
37. David E. Johnston, *A History of the Middle New River Settlements* (Huntington, W. Va.: Standard Ptg & Pub. Co., 1906) hereafter cited as Johnston, *Middle New River*, p. 30.
38. *Ibid.*
39. *RS*, *LPF*.
40. Johnston, *Middle New River*, p. 30.
41. Colonel William Fleming, *Sketch of General Andrew Lewis*, WH, 16 DD p. 22 and Kegley, *Virginia Frontier*, p. 224.
42. Colonel George Washington to Dinwiddie, April 7, 1756, Fitzpatrick, *Washington Papers*, v. I, pp. 301-302 and Stanislaus Murray Hamilton, ed., *Letters to Washington and Accompanying Papers* (Boston, New York: Houghton,

The Assembly had been considering the status of western lands and their decisions would affect Patton's old New River grant and Dr. Thomas Walker's Loyal Company both whose interest William Preston had at heart. Walker had asked him in March to take depositions in support of Loyal Company claims. Since Colonel Patton had released to them all his land on the Holston except Burke's Garden and Preston had worked as their surveyor no person in the Alleghenies was more familiar with the claims of the Loyal Company. In October 1778 Preston and William Thompson sent a memorial to the North Carolina Assembly petitioning for clear title to Patton's land in North Carolina, part of which came under jurisdiction of the Loyal Company. They claimed, "James Patton at very great expense & Loss of Time and with much Trouble, Fatigue & Danger Explored that Country, then almost unknown, settled a great many Families on the Lands" and "some patents were issued, some were unsigned" when Patton was killed in 1755. They had applied to every Governor" from that time to the present to sign the patents, which they severally refused to do . . . because of the Proclamation of 1763. In 1765 John Buchanan asked the governor to sign them which he promised as soon as he was at liberty to do so and "those lands would be preferred to any others on the western waters." They wanted North Carolina to take note of this and postpone an inquiry until the next Assembly because their "exposed situation on the frontier of Montgomery" kept them from visiting the Assembly.³⁰

The Virginia Assembly was also considering the status of western lands which involved Preston's own grants there as an officer in the French and Indian War as well as Fincastle surveyor under Dunmore's questionable proclamations. The Assembly particularly scrutinized Dr. John Connolly's grant given him by Dunmore at the falls of the Ohio. In teaming up against the Tory Connolly for once Preston, Arthur Campbell and John Floyd could agree and patriotically denounce Connolly's claim. Arthur Campbell testified, "I have heard Colonel Preston complain of it as illegal as the works did not regularly proceed from his office." John Floyd testified, " (Preston said) he was directed by Lord Dunmore to sign a plat for said land, which he thought illegal, as no Surveyor under him had ever been in that country since their appointment, and that he did not think himself justifiable in surveying Lands . . . southward . . . of the Donelson line."³¹

Dr. Walker thanked Preston for helping the Loyal Company in the Assembly and asked for the same assistance next Assembly.

Preston had suffered another illness probably of apoplectic nature since Walker recommended bleeding.³²

Amid all the conflicts of the year there were always the lighter moments. Some came to Preston's attention because he was the chief law enforcement officer. Ben Cook of the New River Cooks who had been prosecuted by the "civil power" returned to New River to find he was not welcome. "People want to involve me in trouble again," he said, begging Preston, "Grant me a Permit for twenty days to Settle my affairs without molestation" and I will "depart in peace."³³

Then there was William Christian's serving girl Lovice who had run away from Christian but was recaptured. Christian told his sister, "Be particular and not let her have any part of her clothes . . . tell James to tie her before he leaves your House. Indeed if she is not locked up the night he is there she will run away again. She is a great liar and no dependence to be had on her word."³⁴

Preston's own sons were wanting to get away from the boredom of frontier life and go to school in eastern Virginia. John Brown, Jr., was already at William and Mary and Preston sent down a message by young Jimmy Doak, son of "honest old David Doak". He asked John to show Doak about Williamsburg. "The little body is a Stranger in Town, as well as to Business; therefore, if you or Mr. Stewart would show him the way thro the Streets & to the houses he must call at, I am sure it will oblige him terribly. He will tell when he returns how Cruel kind you were: and I know, jesting apart, that he will want your Assistance in a Place where he is altogether unacquainted."

Proof is given in this letter why William Preston was so beloved of his family.

"I beg you," says he, "let me know freely if you will accept of my assistance. I will from time to time supply you as Opportunity offers & as it can be raised here. Don't let yourself be straitened," he tells young Brown who was destined to become the first United States Senator from Kentucky. "What I can spare I will send it with the same Pleasure as to my own Son, and believe me, I have a good prospect at present of making pretty largely out of my Distillery & other means this Spring."

Speaking of John Breckenridge who would be joining Brown he teased that Breckenridge's affections had been drawn "from the mountains to the College. He is determined to make every necessary preparation to join you next Fall in which I most heartily concur. I wish my Boys were prepared to join you, I would then have hopes that such a parcel of *swinging* mountaineers would be able to stand their hands at a crowded Table, not overloaded with fat roast beef."³⁵

Since his boys were not prepared yet for William and Mary he was thinking of sending them to a Hanover County school and advice was sought about sending them with Mrs. Breckenridge's younger sons and Betty Norvell, daughter of his overseer. Granville Smith advised, "I have heard you intend to send your boys to College. I know how solicitous you are to give them a liberal Education and at the same Time preserve to them that Innocence and Virtue in which they have been educated. At a country school under the Direction of a good Teacher they will learn the Languages better than at College, for the present professor of Humanity is not . . . possessed of the most shining abilities."³⁶ Frontier defense was still crucial and Basel Castle and others were sent patrolling from Holston to Blue Stone but missed an Indian party who killed settlers Clay and Bane at Clover Bottom of Bluestone the last week of March. A messenger from Captain Floyd rode up at ten o'clock on Saturday night April 3 telling that William Hale who was fired at near Munsey's Fort on Walker's Creek, eighteen miles from Smithfield had received a severe wound. Though covered with blood and followed a considerable distance by four Indians he got to Shannon's at the mouth of Walker's Creek. Preston put out the alarm. Believing "Bradley's helpless family was murdered yesterday," he ordered out a pursuit party but the officer could get only half the men needed. No word had been heard as to whether the scouts were alive. The people on Sinking Creek were gathering to Pearis's fort (Pearisburg, Virginia) and to Munsey's Fort on Walker's Creek. He had been advised to appoint an officer at each post and put the inhabitants under pay although he did not believe this strengthened the garrisons.³⁷

Education of children, land deals, Indian wars, the murder of Cornstalk, all preoccupations of the past year, suddenly became secondary concerns. A greater danger arose from the fogs along New River and followed William Preston as he rode the shaded trails around Smithfield. In the coming months fear would come to his doorstep every night and lurk about the garden and in the dappled shade. The most dangerous menace yet to threaten the Allegheny patriots and the Smithfield colonel was close at hand.

Notes

1. WP to Colonel William Fleming, December 2, 1777, *WH*, 2 ZZ p. 43.
2. Francis Preston, *Sketch*, *WH*, 33 S p. 336.
3. Col. William Fleming to WP, December 15, 1777, *LCPP*, 973.
4. Captain Thomas Burke to WP, February 18, 1778, *WH*, 4 QQ pp. 158-159.

5. *CH*, III, p. 481.
6. WP to Bryan McDonald, February 23, 1778, *WH*, 4 QQ p. 160.
7. WP to Governor Patrick Henry, January 16, 1778, *VSL*, *PP*.
8. *LCPP*, 978.
9. Governor Patrick Henry to WP and William Fleming, February 19, 1778, Henry, *Letters*, v. I, pp. 242-243.
10. David I. Bushnell, Jr., "The Virginia Frontier in History," *VMHB*, v. 23, p. 119; Hambleton Tapp, "Colonel John Floyd, Kentucky Pioneer," *FCQ*, v. 15, pp. 11-12; Dr. Thomas Walker to WP, July 9, 1778, *WH*, 4 QQ p. 179 and *LCPP*, 984.
11. WP and William Fleming to Governor Patrick Henry, March 4, 14, 1778, *WH*, 4 QQ pp. 162-163; *VEJ*, 1777-1778, p. 229; WP to the Shawnee Nation, March 14, 1778, *WH*, 4 QQ p. 163; WP and Col. William Fleming to the Shawnee Nation, *WH*, 2 ZZ p. 44; WP to Colonel William Fleming, April 13, 1778, *WH*, 3 ZZ p. 14; *WH*, 7 ZZ p. 48 and Henry, *Letters*, I, p. 256.
12. Governor Patrick Henry to WP and William Fleming, March 27, May 5, 1778, Henry, *Letters*, v. I, p. 257 and 269; *VEJ*, 1777-1778, March 4, 27, 1778, p. 229.
13. WP to Col. William Fleming, April 13-14, 1778, *WH*, 3 ZZ p. 14 and J.F.D. Smyth. *A Tour of the United States of America*, (New York: The New York Times and Arno Press, 1968) p. 311.
14. General Hand to WP, *WH*, 4 QQ p. 166; Commissioners for Defense to WP, March 26, 1778, *WH*, 4 QQ p. 165 and General McIntosh to WP, October 30, 1778, *LCPP*, 999 and Governor Patrick Henry to WP, November 20, 1778, *LCPP*, 1000.
15. WP to William Fleming, April 29, 1778, *WH*, 3 ZZ p. 22; Mrs. N. E. Clement, "Revolutionary Pension Declarations from Pittsylvania County, Virginia," *VMHB*, v. 25, p. 152; and David I. Bushness, Jr., "Virginia Frontier in History," *VMHB*, v. 23, pp. 120-122.
16. WP to Captain William Peachy, April 29, 1778, *LCPP*, 984.
17. WP to William Fleming, May 10, 1778, *WH*, 2 U p. 16.
18. *Ibid.*, and WP to William Fleming, June 2, 1778, Kegley, *Virginia Frontier*, p. 641.
19. Governor Patrick Henry to WP and William Fleming, May 12, 17, 1778, *WH*, 4 QQ pp. 168, 170 *WH*, 18 J p. 149 and Henry, *Letters*, I, p. 276 and Stephen Trigg to WP, May 16, 1778, *WH*, 4 QQ p. 169.
20. WP to William Fleming, May 17, 1778, *WH*, 3 ZZ p. 15.
21. Kegley, *Virginia Frontier*, p. 641; John Lybrook, *Narrative*, *WH*, 31 S p. 433 and *LCPP*, 414, 424. This "brave man" may have been George or Samuel Scott tenants of William Thompson and Preston on the Dingus place.
22. *Ibid.*, Ruby A. Roberts, "Montgomery County's Revolutionary Heritage," *VMHB*, v. 47, p. 156; and Kegley, *Virginia Frontier*, p. 641.
23. WP to William Fleming, May 20, 1778, *WH*, 3 ZZ p. 16; Patrick Henry to WP, May 17, 1778, *WH*, 4 QQ p. 170.
24. WP to William Fleming, May 31, 1778, *WH*, 2 U p. 21; WP to William Fleming, June 2, 1778, Kegley, *Virginia Frontier*, p. 641; and William Fleming to WP, June 5, 1778, *LCPP*, 987.
25. WP to Captain William Robinson, June 6, 1778, *WH*, 2 U p. 23.
26. *Ibid.*
27. General Andrew Lewis to WP, June 8, 1778, *WH*, 4 QQ p. 173; Governor Patrick Henry to WP, June 27, 1778, *WH*, 4 QQ p. 178 and WP to

Chapter XIX

King's Mountain and Shallow Ford

"I am convinced . . . choice riflemen can be had as volunteers who would be equal to the like number in any part of America"

Colonel William Preston to Colonel George Skillern
September 13, 1780

During this summer of Tory trials on New River, General Gates with the southern division of the Continental Army was being pursued by Cornwallis across the Carolinas. Gates met a crushing defeat at Camden on August 16 and fled toward Virginia. When Preston heard of the Camden defeat he notified William Campbell who had just received notice that the Cherokees with seven hundred Tories were going to attack the Allegheny patriots. Campbell told Preston, "The Intelligence you have received from the southward gives me the greatest concern. We must exert ourselves to retrieve if possible that misfortune. I hope to see you tomorrow evening and shall have orders for the Men you require to march with all possible Expedition."¹

The trials were interrupted to raise men to help Gates. "I have ordered the Montgomery troops to assemble at the lead mines as soon as possible." Preston answered Campbell, "Continue them on this service as long as you judge it absolutely necessary for the safety of this and our sister state of North Carolina."²

On August 26 Preston was at Fort Chiswell when an urgent plea came from Colonel Martin Armstrong begging lead for Gates. Armstrong also sent his son Thomas aged twelve to Major Joseph Cloyd begging for men. Cloyd raised three companies of horsemen, commanded by Captains George Pearis, Abraham Trigg and Bryant. Desperate to raise men, Preston announced that Tory offenders were given their choice of punishment or enlistment in the American service. Later he reported, "I have enlisted near one hundred into the Continental Army as Security for their own & friend's future good Behaviour."³

He then scoured the area around the Lead Mines and Fort Chiswell for lead wagons and had great trouble persuading the drivers to cross the Carolina border. Parker Lucas from Sinking Creek guard-

George III →

ed lead wagons with the group that went down with Major Cloyd sometime after August 26.

An advance party sent off by William Campbell had marched already for North Carolina while he stayed behind gathering a force to march to Watauga. Preston gives a vivid picture of the part Allegheny men were taking in a war that was approaching ever nearer. "Yesterday 50 men passed this place . . . I expect two companies more today & tomorrow Colonel Campbell and Major Cloyd's companies." He regretted the defeats but believed they would "rouse the Americans from this late languor."⁴

As soon as Campbell marched the Tories caught his slave delivering his letters to William Christian. They had watched Christian's place at Manahaim all day waiting to capture the letters and were preparing to hang the slave and kill Mrs. Campbell when they were chased away by Christian who sent a guard home with the slave and asked Preston to give Mrs. Campbell a bodyguard until her husband returned.⁵

By September 6 Gates's army lay whipped and exhausted at Hillsborough. All the south belonged to Cornwallis. Preston told George Skillern his old ranger sergeant now commanding Botetourt militia, "The distressed situation of the southern states at this juncture being so very alarming, that it becomes the indispensable duty of every friend to the Liberties of America to exert himself in some measure for their relief." Then Preston revealed a plan he had sent to Governor Jefferson but which had not yet received approval.

He proposed that five hundred men with officers be supplied by Augusta, Rockbridge, Botetourt, Montgomery and Washington. Each man would find his own rifle and spear but would be paid by the government. Each would be three months on duty from the day departing the Moravian towns where the rendezvous was set for October 25. These men would be an elite corps to act separately from the main army but under command of Gates.

Preston was so sure the government would approve his plan he told Skillern to start recruiting. When the government's approval arrived the men would be ready to march. He was convinced the Allegheny people would raise a thousand men.

"From all I can hear," he said, "I am convinced that numbers of choice riflemen can be had as volunteers who would, at least, be equal to the like number in any part of America."⁶

This is a significant statement coming when it did. The American Army lay whipped in North Carolina. The civilian population was either fleeing or rapidly turning Loyalist. But Virginia's mountain men were not daunted. They were willing to march long dis-

tances out of the mountains to twist the tail of the British lion. It is remarkable that these men who had always lived isolated behind Virginia's mountains, who were barely literate and had no formal military training were willing to pit themselves against the unrelenting thrust of victorious Lord Cornwallis.

Their kinsmen and friends with Abraham Buford had received no quarter from the British at the Waxhaws only five months before, surrendering only to be massacred by Tarleton's slashing sabres. Perhaps this is why they were so willing to go now. But they marched knowing that they could expect the same treatment.

Preston's plan for volunteers was laid before the Virginia Council and they decreed that the men would have to carry muskets and be under continental officers and rules of war. On September 21 they authorized raising two volunteer battalions for the southern army. In a letter that has been lost Jefferson wrote Preston instructions at this crucial time. When William Campbell wanted details, Jefferson said, "Having written . . . to Colonel Preston on the measures to be pursued in your part of the country, and being much thronged, I must beg leave to refer you to him. We shall be exceedingly glad it two battalions of volunteers can be raised, as we are very desirous of availing ourselves of your personal service."⁷

Probably because the volunteers were asked to use muskets instead of rifles which decreased their effectiveness as marksmen and because Continental officers were to be in command Preston's proposal failed.⁸

The British were not failing. Cornwallis, ever triumphant, by September 8 had sent a detachment under Major Ferguson into western North Carolina to raise the Tories and it had arrived at Gilbert Town (Rutherford). Ferguson sent his famous message to Isaac Shelby warning the mountain people "if they did not desist from their opposition to the British arms, he would march his army over the mountains, hang their leaders, and lay their country waste with fire and sword."⁹ By that time William Campbell, Isaac Shelby and John Sevier were marching with their backmountain men toward the Watauga where they were to rendezvous at Sycamore Shoals on September 25 with other patriot detachments.

By September 13 Montgomery companies under Joseph Cloyd had gotten to General Stevens in Guilford County, North Carolina and were probably the horsemen Preston reported moving through North Carolina on September 18 against the Tories.¹⁰

Back in Virginia Walter Crockett was still trying to raise Washington and Montgomery militia and found them backward but said he would leave from the Lead Mines on October 9. "I will march

The first of these is the fact that the United States is a young nation. It has only been about 150 years since it was founded. This is a very short time in the history of the world. Yet in this short time, the United States has achieved many great things. It has become a world power, a leader in science and technology, and a model of democracy. It has also faced many challenges, including wars, economic crises, and social problems. But it has always emerged stronger and more united than before. This is a testament to the resilience and strength of the American people. The second of these is the fact that the United States is a diverse nation. It is home to people from many different backgrounds, races, and ethnicities. This diversity is one of the strengths of the United States. It has allowed the country to draw on the talents and ideas of people from all over the world. It has also helped to create a rich and vibrant culture. The third of these is the fact that the United States is a nation of opportunity. It is a place where anyone can achieve their dreams. It is a place where hard work and determination can lead to success. This is one of the reasons why so many people from all over the world come to the United States. They are looking for a better life, a chance to improve themselves, and a place where they can make a difference. The fourth of these is the fact that the United States is a nation of freedom. It is a place where people are free to express their opinions, to practice their religion, and to live their lives as they see fit. This freedom is one of the most precious things in the United States. It is what makes the country so special and so unique. The fifth of these is the fact that the United States is a nation of hope. It is a place where people believe in a better future. It is a place where people are willing to sacrifice for the good of the country. This hope is one of the most powerful forces in the United States. It is what gives the country its strength and its resilience. It is what allows the country to overcome its challenges and to move forward. These are the five things that make the United States a great nation. They are the things that have made it a world power, a leader in science and technology, and a model of democracy. They are the things that have helped it to achieve so much in such a short time. They are the things that make the United States a place where anyone can achieve their dreams, a place where hard work and determination can lead to success, a place where people are free to express their opinions, to practice their religion, and to live their lives as they see fit, and a place where people believe in a better future. These are the things that make the United States a nation of opportunity, a nation of freedom, and a nation of hope. These are the things that make the United States a great nation.

The sixth of these is the fact that the United States is a nation of innovation. It is a place where new ideas are born. It is a place where people are encouraged to think outside the box and to come up with creative solutions to problems. This innovation is one of the most important things in the United States. It is what has allowed the country to lead the world in science and technology. It is what has made the United States a global leader in many industries. The seventh of these is the fact that the United States is a nation of progress. It is a place where people are always looking for ways to improve themselves and their society. It is a place where people are not satisfied with the status quo and are always striving for better. This progress is one of the most powerful forces in the United States. It is what has helped the country to overcome its challenges and to move forward. The eighth of these is the fact that the United States is a nation of unity. It is a place where people from all different backgrounds, races, and ethnicities work together for the good of the country. This unity is one of the most important things in the United States. It is what has allowed the country to draw on the talents and ideas of people from all over the world. It is what has helped the country to overcome its challenges and to move forward. The ninth of these is the fact that the United States is a nation of strength. It is a place where people are proud of their country and are willing to sacrifice for it. This strength is one of the most powerful forces in the United States. It is what has allowed the country to become a world power. It is what has helped the country to overcome its challenges and to move forward. The tenth of these is the fact that the United States is a nation of peace. It is a place where people value peace and are willing to work for it. This peace is one of the most important things in the United States. It is what has allowed the country to become a global leader in many industries. It is what has helped the country to overcome its challenges and to move forward. These are the ten things that make the United States a great nation. They are the things that have made it a world power, a leader in science and technology, and a model of democracy. They are the things that have helped it to achieve so much in such a short time. They are the things that make the United States a place where anyone can achieve their dreams, a place where hard work and determination can lead to success, a place where people are free to express their opinions, to practice their religion, and to live their lives as they see fit, and a place where people believe in a better future. These are the things that make the United States a nation of opportunity, a nation of freedom, a nation of hope, a nation of innovation, a nation of progress, a nation of unity, a nation of strength, and a nation of peace. These are the things that make the United States a great nation.



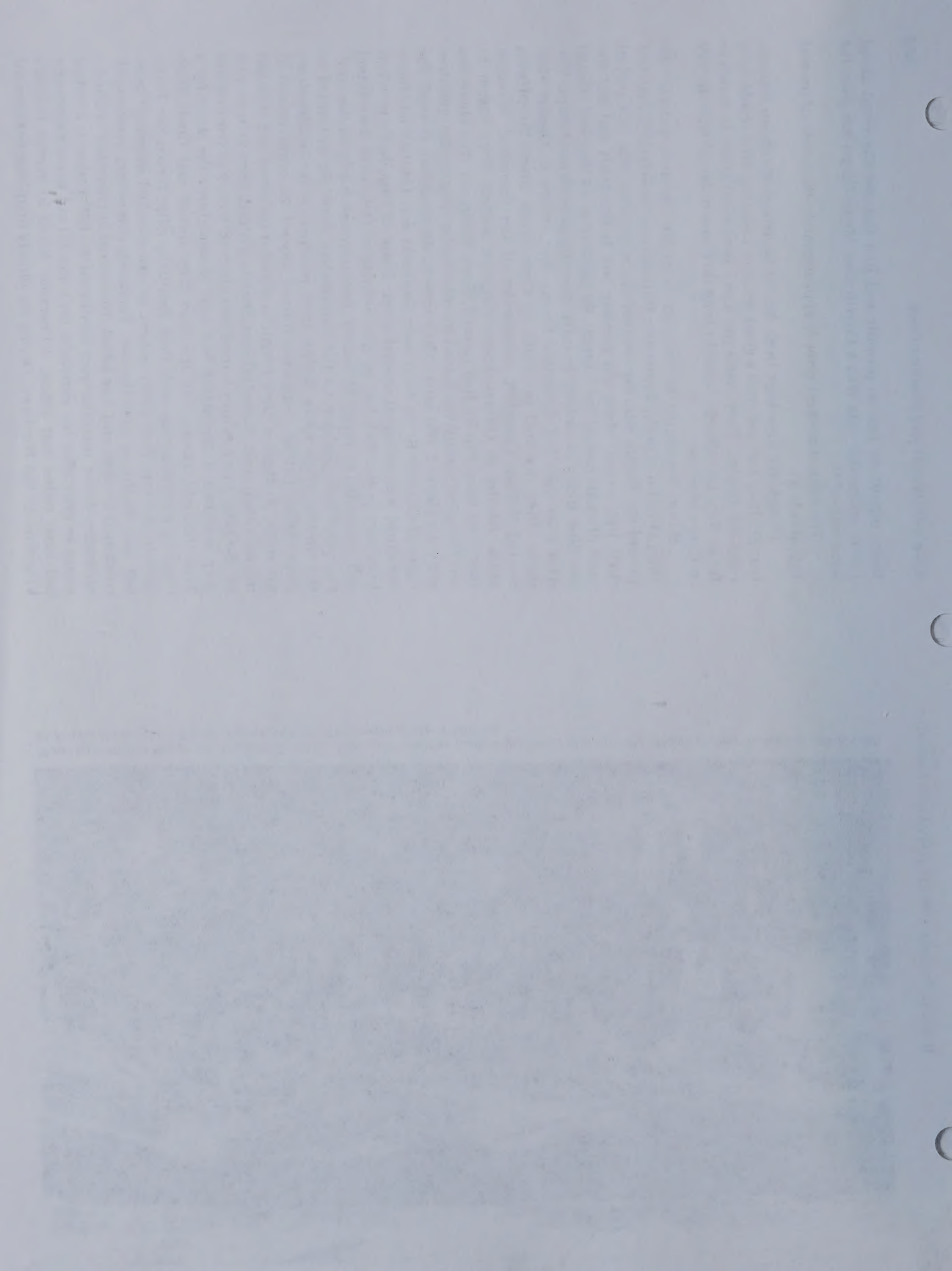
Mountain militia raised by William Preston and other patriot leaders gathered at Sycamore Shoals to march against the British at King's Mountain. (Photograph courtesy Tennessee State Archives)

them myself as fast as possible and join Colonel Cleveland about twelve miles this side Wilk's Courthouse. Major Cloyd has gone the same route."¹¹

The route Crockett gives is approximately the route of present U.S. Route 21.

Campbell's men kept their date at Sycamore Shoals on September 25. They had marched a great distance believing they would soon meet the British. They could not know they would have to march as far as they had already come to keep their appointment with destiny at King's Mountain.

So on September 26 the men from the "western waters," the New, Holston, Clinch, Tennessee, Watauga and Nolichucky, marched toward the British who lay beyond the mountains. The first part of their trek wound along old hunting and Indian trails and was the most difficult part of the journey. By September 19 they had crossed the Blue Ridge Mountains in early snow up to their bootstraps. Five days after they left Sycamore Shoals they arrived at Quaker Meadows. They marched on south to Cane Creek where the officers elected William Campbell commander of the combined volunteer units. Nearby at Gilbert Town Ferguson waited. They hoped to fight him there but he fled toward King's Mountain. The chase was on. Campbell's army was joined by other units bringing the volunteer army to about 1,790 men. They rode in drizzling rain through the night of October 6. To keep their flintlocks dry, blankets and hunting shirts were wrapped around them. Some of Campbell's men lost their way in the dark but by the morning of October 7 were found and proceeded to King's Mountain. Ferguson was dug in on the crest. Campbell took position on the southeastern slope. Sevier formed on the western slope while Shelby took position on the northwestern slope. Other patriot companies formed around the northern end of the ridge. At three o'clock Ferguson sounded the alarm and attacked the mountain men. Campbell and Shelby charged, their men moving up the ridge firing as they moved from tree to tree. For ten minutes they maintained the attack but were driven down the slope by a Tory bayonet charge. At the base they turned and fired. Their unerring marksmanship with their Kentucky rifles forced the Tories back to the top. Now other patriot groups attacked allowing Campbell and Shelby to take the top. Ferguson, completely surrounded, continued to fight and was killed. His second in command ordered a surrender. Some mountaineers continued to kill Tories in a virtual massacre even after the surrender for some did not know a surrender had been called and others deliberately killed to avenge Buford's Virginians at the Waxhaws. During the bloody hour-long engagement





British leader Ferguson dies at King's Mountain while American mountain militia attack in the background. (Photograph courtesy of the Library of Congress)

King's Mountain and Shallow Ford

the mountain men had gained a complete victory. With killed and 62 wounded they had killed, wounded or captured son's entire force.¹²

Meantime another Virginia force had been moving to Shallow Ford of the Yadkin. These were Montgomery's troops not at King's Mountain. The companies of Abraham Trigg and Walter Crockett were at the Shallow Ford not at King's Mountain. Reuben Ratliff in Trigg's company were marched to within twenty miles of King's Mountain and turned and marched toward the Shallow Ford.

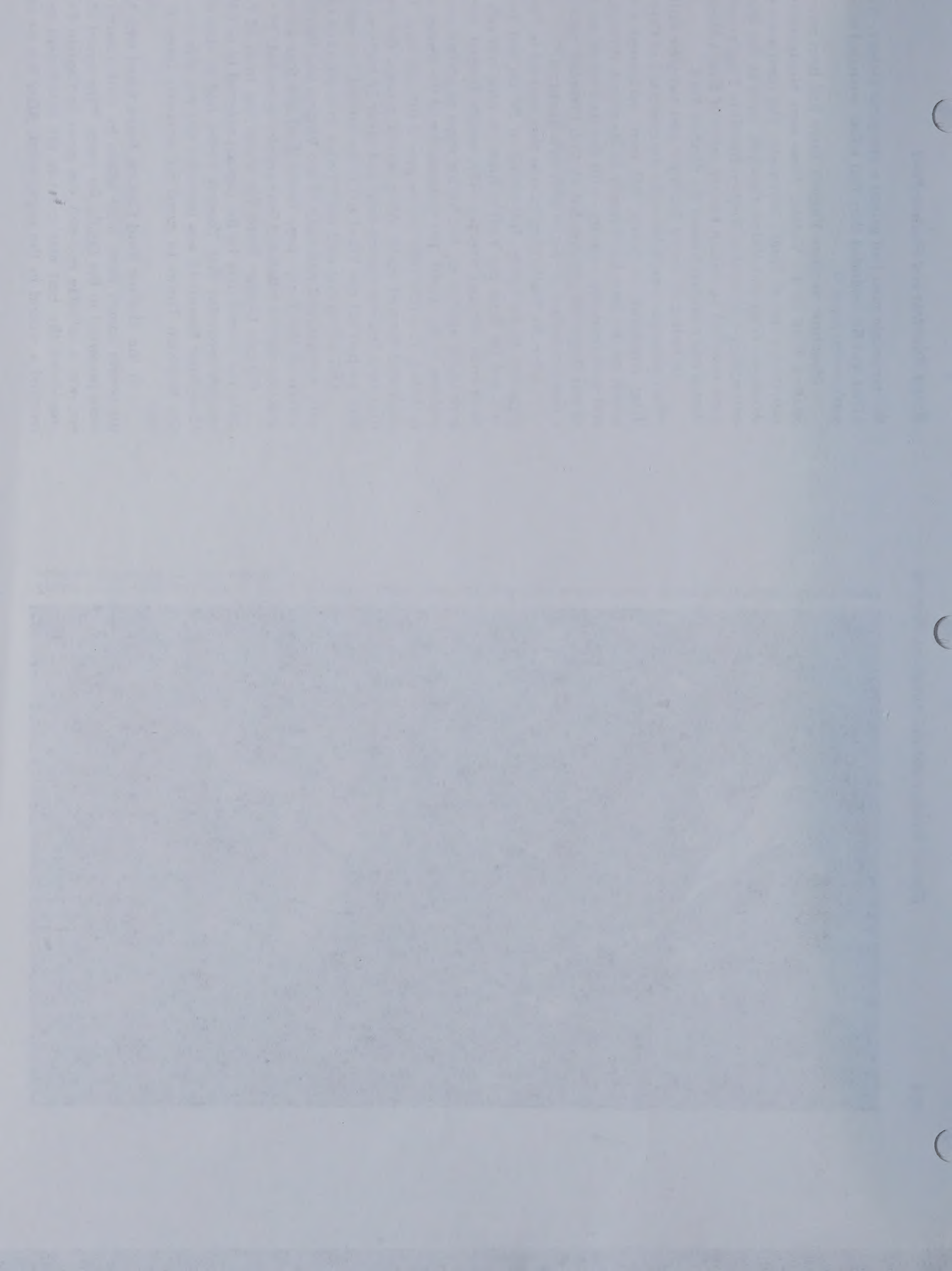
According to Henry Trolinger who had gone earlier to Shallow Ford, "Two companies on foot under the command of Captain Trigg consisting of nearly 200 men, performed a march up the New River nearly to its source, through a mountainous and mountainous country, with the purpose of joining the 1st Regiment commanded by Col. Campbell but could not meet at a juncture before the battle of King's Mountain."

After the battle Cloyd's men were ordered to "intercept" the Tories supposed to be nearly 400 strong of British and Tories met not far from the Yadkin River on what was called the Shallow Ford road. We met unexpectedly, hastily formed, the odds were much against us, but having some as perfect marksmen as perhaps in the world. The Commander of the enemy was killed, five rifle balls having passed through him. They fell back and formed again. After several rounds, the enemy dispersed, leaving sixteen dead and 10 or 12 badly wounded on our side, we had but one killed and five wounded," so said Trigg.

Official reports said the "Tories were attacked by the patriots with one hundred and sixty of the Virginia and Carolina troops. Fifteen of the Tories were found dead and four wounded. There was one captain killed and four privates wounded."¹⁴

✓ Captain George Pearis for whom the town of Pearisburg, Virginia was named may be the captain referred to as killed. He was severely wounded that Thomas Farley had to stay and care for him. Humphrey Brumfield was wounded but was able to continue. The Moravian Towns to guard the prisoners taken at King's Mountain.

✓ At the Shallow Ford Captain Pearis killed with his sword his cousin named Burk from whom he took a sword. The sword were preserved in the family for years. "The sword of the patriot, was a valuable one and was given to Captain Pearis. He considered the best marksman in the detachment and received a wound in the engagement. After this we ran



few days chastising the Tories, and then returned home," so concluded Henry Trolinger.¹⁵

After these engagements this report was sent to Congress.

Gentlemen: You have the account of Lord Cornwallis's retreat from Charlotte with precipitation by reason we suppose of Ferguson's defeat: as also the killing and dispersing a number of Tories at the Shallow Ford by Major Cloyd of Virginia. These events are truly interesting to this State and give a sprightly countenance to our affairs so lately clouded and embarrassed."¹⁶

Congress declared its thanks to William Campbell and the mountain men for their bravery at King's Mountain and he in turn sent a letter of thanks to William Preston and the Montgomery militia.

The action of King's Mountain marked the turning point of the war in the south. Prior to this time the British were victorious. After this they met one reverse after another which led them to Yorktown.

Notes

1. Col. Arthur Campbell to Colonel William Campbell, August 13, 1780, *WH*, 8 DD p. 5 and Colonel William Campbell to WP, August 22, 1780, *WH*, 5 QQ p. 61.
2. WP to Colonel William Campbell, August 29, 1780, Gibbes, *American Revolution Documents*, v. 22, p. 137.
3. Colonel William Christian to WP, September 1780, *WH*, 5 QQ p. 72 and Johnston, *Middle New River*, p. 75; WP to General John P. Muhlenberg, September 1780, *WH*, 5 QQ p. 81.
4. WP to Colonel Martin Armstrong, August 26, 1780, *WH*, 5 QQ p. 62; Parker Lucas, Thomas Farley, *Pension Claims, NA*.
5. Colonel William Christian to WP, August 30, 1780, "Preston Papers," *VMHB*, v. 27, pp. 323-325.
6. WP to Colonel George Skillern, September 13, 1780, *WH*, 5 QQ p. 80.
7. Governor Thomas Jefferson to Colonel William Campbell, September 22, 1780, Boyd, *Jefferson Papers*, v. 3, pp. 654-655.
8. *Ibid.* and Colonel William Christian to WP, September 29, 1780, *WH*, 8 DD p. 7.
9. George C. Mackenzie, *King's Mountain National Military Park South Carolina* (National Park Service Historical Handbook Series no. 22, reprint) (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1961) hereafter cited as Mackenzie, *King's Mountain*, p. 11.
10. S.A. Ashe, "The Battle of Shallow Ford," *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, v. 9, pp. 48-51.
11. Colonel Walter Crockett to WP, October 2, 1780, "Preston Papers," *VMHB*, v. 27, pp. 165-166.
12. Mackenzie, *King's Mountain*, pp. 12-21.
13. Smith, *Colonial Pulaski*, p. 132.
14. General Smallwood to General Gates, October 16, 1779, in S.A.

Ashe, "The Battle of Shallow Ford," *ibid.* and Johnston, *Middle New River*, p. 76.

15. Smith, *Colonial Pulaski*, p. 132-133; Johnston, *Middle New River*, p. 76; Dorman, *Pension Claims*, v. 6, p. 35; v. 13, p. 85 and Thomas Farley, *Pension Claim*.

16. Smith, *Colonial Pulaski*, p. 133.

from Big Bone Lick down the Ohio near present Cincinnati. Also their route planned along Big Sandy Creek was a shorter route than the two women had taken and the Cherokees claimed it could be done in a week's march.¹⁴ William Ingles went to Williamsburg after his wife's return and must have so reasoned with Governor Dinwiddie. He assured Dinwiddie that "a great many" of the Allegheny people would "go volunteers on this Expedition." Certainly as they considered the women's exploits they underestimated the privations that awaited. Dinwiddie believed the march would be "very practicable" showing his complete ignorance of the Allegheny frontier. Only one man stood out firmly against it. George Washington claimed that it would prove "abortive."¹⁵

Though Preston surely wanted to avenge his uncle's death and go on the expedition he realized he must help his friends Lapsley, Woods and Cloyd. Again he visited tailor Donelson and bought a green suit and an expensive suit of allapine suitable to appear at the Assembly. His ranger George Elliot was fitted out in a new frock coat so he could accompany him in style.¹⁶

In mid-January bearing a message from Governor Dinwiddie to the Catawba Indians, he was back at Fort Frederick on New River where the Cherokees were encamped. Along with John Smith and Richard Pearis he conferred with Antosscity Ustoneeka or Outacite who then dispatched a letter from Fort Frederick to the Catawbias.

"Come to our Assistance to drive the Shawanese out of their Towns . . . I expect your warriors and men at Fort Frederick where I shall wait for you," said Outacite, "The warriors of Virginia . . . have brought me two of your Children which they have taken from your Enemies with the loss of some blood on both Sides."

Accompanying this letter was one from Pearis, Smith and Preston saying they intended to "march in 20 Days with a Body of 300 men against the Shawnanees" and asking for the assistance of "a number of our Brothers the Catawbias." They verified that a "great Warriour and a number of young men of the Cherokee Nation" residing at Fort Frederick did have the two Catawba children. The message was sent off by George Pearis, Richard's young brother and a young Indian, Kerorostekee for whom Preston bought a new shirt.¹⁷

While Preston was at Fort Frederick conferring with the Cherokees it still was not decided that he would accompany the expedition. Dinwiddie had ordered part of his men to march with Captain John Smith and only on January 28 did Andrew Lewis write him, "It will be necessary to take you out. You are to make ready for a

march and be at Fort Frederick by the end of the week with the men, horses, and provisions including 2000 pounds of beef."¹⁸

When Preston told the men at Fort Preston of the new orders to march they refused to do so until they were paid. Later he told the Governor, "I fully satisfied them mostly out of my own Pocket."¹⁹

Notes

1. James Donelson, *Account, Preston Papers, VSL*; William Preston, *Account Book*, September 15, 1755, *LCPP*, 164; William Preston, *Account Book*, *WH* 1 QQ p. 129; Dinwiddie to Governor Horatio Sharpe, August 25, 1755, *DP*, II, p. 171; CS, I, p. 138; Kegley, *Virginia Frontier*, pp. 215, 230, 487; David Robinson to WP, October 14, 1755, *WH* 1 QQ p. 88; WP to Dinwiddie, June 24, 1756, *WH* 1 QQ pp. 134-135; *WH* 1 QQ pp. 96-123; Andrew Lewis to Dinwiddie, 1756, *WH* 1 QQ pp. 131-133 and George Washington to Dinwiddie, October 10, 1756; John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscripts Sources, 1745-1799* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1931) hereafter cited as Fitzpatrick, *Washington Papers*, v. I, pp. 478-481.
2. Governor Dinwiddie to WP, September 15, October 18, 1755, *DP*, II, pp. 199-200, 246-247.
3. Dinwiddie to Major Andrew Lewis, August 11, 1755, *DP*, II, p. 151; Dinwiddie to Andrew Lewis and WP, September 15, 1755, *DP*, II, pp. 199-200; Dinwiddie to WP, October 18, 1755, *DP*, II, pp. 246-247; and Colonel George Washington, *Orders*, September 17, 1755, Fitzpatrick, *Washington Papers*, I, p. 176.
4. WP, *Account Book*, Entry, September 4, 1755, *LCPP*, 166 and WP to Dinwiddie, April 8, 1756, *WH*, 1 QQ p. 124; James Donelson, *Account, Preston Papers, VSL*; *WH*, 1 QQ p. 91 and CS, I, p. 67.
5. *Lloyd Letters*.
6. David Robinson to WP, October 14 and November 1755, *WH* 1 QQ pp. 88-89 and William L. McDowell, Jr., ed., *Documents Relating to Indian Affairs* (Columbia, South Carolina: South Carolina Archives Department, 1958) hereafter cited as *SCIAD*, v. III, pp. 96-97 and Letter, William L. McDowell, Jr., to author, April 16, 1975. See pictures for Outacite.
7. *SCIAD*, v. III, p. 210 and Minutes of the Cherokee Council, Williamsburg, September 5-6, 1755 *DP*, II, p. 188.
8. Kegley, *Virginia Frontier*, p. 229 and WP, *Account Book*, September 3, 1755, *LCPP*, 164.
9. Lieutenant David Robinson to WP, October 14, 1755 and November 1755, *WH*, 1 QQ pp. 88-89.
10. *HJ*, 1752-1758, pp. 307, 347-348, 381, 390, 422, 446-447 and Kegley, *Virginia Frontier*, p. 219.
11. Minutes of the Cherokee Council, September 5-6, 1755, *DP*, II, p. 188.
12. Dinwiddie to Obadiah Woodson, *DP*, II, p. 278.
13. Francis Russell, *The French and Indian Wars* (New York: American Heritage Publishing Company, Inc., 1962) p. 67, map.
14. *Ibid*.

15. Dinwiddie to Captains Obadiah Woodson, William Preston and John Smith, December 15, 1755, *DP*, II, p. 90, 278; Dinwiddie to Colonel George Washington, December 14, 1755, *DP*, II, pp. 291-292 and Colonel George Washington to Dinwiddie, January 13, 1756, Fitzpatrick, *Washington Papers*, v. I, p. 286.

16. James Donelson, *Account, Preston Papers*, VSL.

17. *SCIAD*, III, pp. 97-98 and *LCPP*, 164.

18. Major Andrew Lewis to WP, January 28, 1756, *WH*, 1 QQ p. 94.

19. WP to Dinwiddie, April 8, 1756, *WH*, 1 QQ p. 124.

Chapter IV

The Sandy Creek Expedition

"Hunger and want was so much increased that any man in the camp would have ventured his life for a supper."

Captain William Preston
Journal of the Sandy Creek Expedition,
Entry for March 13, 1756

On February 9 Preston began his march from Fort Prince George near present Salem, Virginia, accompanied by 25 men, 2 corporals, 2 sergeants and lieutenants David Robinson and Audley Paul.¹ Bringing along 200 pounds of lead sent to Fort Preston from Williamsburg and 2000 pounds of dried beef they headed toward the North Fork of the Roanoke River. Camping the night at Francis Cyphers, the next day the company climbed the Allegheny ridge that lay between them and New River. They spent the night at Richard Hall's five miles west of present Christiansburg, Virginia, where Preston had recently bought rum for the Cherokees.² Richard Hall had lived here since before 1750 when he had been visited by explorer Christopher Gist upon his return trip from exploring the Ohio country. Hall had been one of the westernmost settlers in 1750.³ In the years following Gist's visit many families had come to the New River Valley but the Indian raids of the previous summer had caused most of the survivors to flee east of the Blue Ridge or to the Valley of Virginia. Some would return to their New River land but some like Augustine Price would never return. When Price was eighty and still living in Rockingham County he testified how he had been driven by the Indians from the New River in 1755.⁴

Preston's company marched on past deserted plantations to join the Cherokees with Richard Pearis and Outacite at Fort Frederick. Pearis and the Cherokees had been ranging the mountains during the winter. One mountain immediately north of Blacksburg bears the name Pearis Mountain and is the only reminder we have today of the service to Virginia rendered by the Cherokees in the winter of 1755-56.

As Preston's men marched past the Cherokees now encamped at

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from Big Bone Lick down the Ohio near present Cincinnati. Also their route planned along Big Sandy Creek was a shorter route than the two women had taken and the Cherokees claimed it could be done in a week's march.¹⁴ William Ingles went to Williamsburg after his wife's return and must have so reasoned with Governor Dinwiddie. He assured Dinwiddie that "a great many" of the Allegheny people would "go volunteers on this Expedition." Certainly as they considered the women's exploits they underestimated the privations that awaited. Dinwiddie believed the march would be "very practicable" showing his complete ignorance of the Allegheny frontier. Only one man stood out firmly against it. George Washington claimed that it would prove "abortive."¹⁵

Though Preston surely wanted to avenge his uncle's death and go on the expedition he realized he must help his friends Lapsley, Woods and Cloyd. Again he visited tailor Donelson and bought a green suit and an expensive suit of allapine suitable to appear at the Assembly. His ranger George Elliot was fitted out in a new frock coat so he could accompany him in style.¹⁶

In mid-January bearing a message from Governor Dinwiddie to the Catawba Indians, he was back at Fort Frederick on New River where the Cherokees were encamped. Along with John Smith and ✓ Richard Pearis he conferred with Antosscity Ustoneeka or Outacite who then dispatched a letter from Fort Frederick to the Catawbias.

"Come to our Assistance to drive the Shawanese out of their Towns . . . I expect your warriors and men at Fort Frederick where I shall wait for you," said Outacite, "The warriors of Virginia . . . have brought me two of your Children which they have taken from your Enemies with the loss of some blood on both Sides."

✓ Accompanying this letter was one from Pearis, Smith and Preston saying they intended to "march in 20 Days with a Body of 300 men against the Shawanese" and asking for the assistance of "a number of our Brothers the Catawbias." They verified that a "great Warriour and a number of young men of the Cherokee Nation" residing at Fort Frederick did have the two Catawba children. ✓ The message was sent off by George Pearis, Richard's young brother and a young Indian, Kerorostekee for whom Preston bought a new shirt.¹⁷

While Preston was at Fort Frederick conferring with the Cherokees it still was not decided that he would accompany the expedition. Dinwiddie had ordered part of his men to march with Captain John Smith and only on January 28 did Andrew Lewis write him, "It will be necessary to take you out. You are to make ready for a

march and be at Fort Frederick by the end of the week with the men, horses, and provisions including 2000 pounds of beef."¹⁸

When Preston told the men at Fort Preston of the new orders to march they refused to do so until they were paid. Later he told the Governor, "I fully satisfied them mostly out of my own Pocket."¹⁹

Notes

1. James Donelson, *Account, Preston Papers, VSL*; William Preston, *Account Book*, September 15, 1755, *LCPP*, 164; William Preston, *Account Book*, *WH* 1 QQ p. 129; Dinwiddie to Governor Horatio Sharpe, August 25, 1755, *DP*, II, p. 171; CS, I, p. 138; Kegley, *Virginia Frontier*, pp. 215, 230, 487; David Robinson to WP, October 14, 1755, *WH* 1 QQ p. 88; WP to Dinwiddie, June 24, 1756, *WH* 1 QQ pp. 134-135; *WH* 1 QQ pp. 96-123; Andrew Lewis to Dinwiddie, 1756, *WH* 1 QQ pp. 131-133 and George Washington to Dinwiddie, October 10, 1756; John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscripts Sources, 1745-1799* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1931) hereafter cited as Fitzpatrick, *Washington Papers*, v. I, pp. 478-481.
2. Governor Dinwiddie to WP, September 15, October 18, 1755, *DP*, II, pp. 199-200, 246-247.
3. Dinwiddie to Major Andrew Lewis, August 11, 1755, *DP*, II, p. 151; Dinwiddie to Andrew Lewis and WP, September 15, 1755, *DP*, II, pp. 199-200; Dinwiddie to WP, October 18, 1755, *DP*, II, pp. 246-247; and Colonel George Washington, *Orders*, September 17, 1755, Fitzpatrick, *Washington Papers*, I, p. 176.
4. WP, *Account Book*, Entry, September 4, 1755, *LCPP*, 166 and WP to Dinwiddie, April 8, 1756, *WH*, 1 QQ p. 124; James Donelson, *Account, Preston Papers, VSL*; *WH*, 1 QQ p. 91 and CS, I, p. 67.
5. Lloyd Letters.
6. David Robinson to WP, October 14 and November 1755, *WH* 1 QQ pp. 88-89 and William L. McDowell, Jr., ed., *Documents Relating to Indian Affairs* (Columbia, South Carolina: South Carolina Archives Department, 1958) hereafter cited as *SCIAD*, v. III, pp. 96-97 and Letter, William L. McDowell, Jr., to author, April 16, 1975. See pictures for Outacite.
7. *SCIAD*, v. III, p. 210 and Minutes of the Cherokee Council, Williamsburg, September 5-6, 1755 *DP*, II, p. 188.
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13. Francis Russell, *The French and Indian Wars* (New York: American Heritage Publishing Company, Inc., 1962) p. 67, map.
14. *Ibid.*

the command of David Robinson who followed orders to divide the men into two companies to range around the fort "to inure the soldiers to Fatigue." Preston had written neighbors about attending a council of war and according to David Robinson the letters had been "suppressed or miscarried" so he informed them of the proposed council but they would not attend. Memories of summer massacres and fear of prowling parties of Indians kept people close to their cabins.

David Robinson's humor always bubbled close to the surface and after informing Preston of serious matters he told him, "Mr. Stringham has returned from Fort Washington once more, and now assumes to himself the title of Captain, however we have metamorphosed him into a common soldier, until you return."

The Cherokees Dinwiddie had asked to remain on the New and Holston during the winter visited Preston's fort. So many of them appeared that Robinson had to send for a fresh supply of beef. He mentioned that one "Great Warrior" had made a "very pertinent speech" and the rangers had "endeavoured to pay them all Deference imaginable." Though Robinson does not give the name of the "Great Warrior" he was Antossity Usteneeka or Outacite, which means literally, "Great Warrior," just as Robinson said.*⁶

There were eighty-two Cherokees in the company led into the New River Valley by trader Richard Pearis who was greatly respected by the Cherokees because he "would not tell a lie." All messages sent to them were directed to Pearis who had a wife in their villages, the half-breed daughter of trader Hatton. His devotion to "his woman" was sufficient that he risked his life several times to go to her.⁷

Dinwiddie had promised that the Cherokees would be well-treated and so Preston bought rum for them from David Cloyd and Richard Hall. He also bought three dozen pipes and "an extraordinary fine tomahawk for a Cherokee warrior" probably after he had failed to show them any attention or invite them to his fort.⁸ This angered Pearis and David Robinson explained to him that considering Preston's "circumstances" it was impossible for him to do either.⁹

The "circumstances" were Preston's ranging about the country in October searching not for Indians but for votes. The Assembly at Williamsburg had ordered a special election held in Augusta to fill the vacancy left by Patton's death and Preston had decided to bid for it.

The election was held at Augusta Court House on December 17. Wagers were loud and noisy in the courtyard. Joseph Lapsely, Richard Woods and David Cloyd, loudly advertized their candidate,

Chapter IV

The Sandy Creek Expedition

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Captain William Preston
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As Preston's men marched past the Cherokees now encamped at

*Outacite is also Oustenaika, Judge's Friend or Judd's Friend.

Halifax 28th August 1786.

X *Prudence* on the claim of Colonel
Richard Pearis late of South Carolina
Claimant Sworn.

Says he resided on St. Johns River Florida in 1783, and in the fall of that year sent his claim to England but the ship in which it was sent was wrecked on the Barr of St. Augustine, about three months after he sent another claim to England by Mr. Thomas Forbes which arrived in London too late

Mr. Forbes left the claim with Mr. James Simpson with directions to present it the first opportunity, who writes that the necessary steps would be taken for that purpose.

Colonel Pearis now prays to be heard conditionally should his claim be received, or that the Memorial sent from the Bahamas signed by several Loyalists might be considered as his claim which it was intended to be, - It is dated in December 1785 and was transmitted to Halifax by the first opportunity after the account arrived of the late Act having passed.

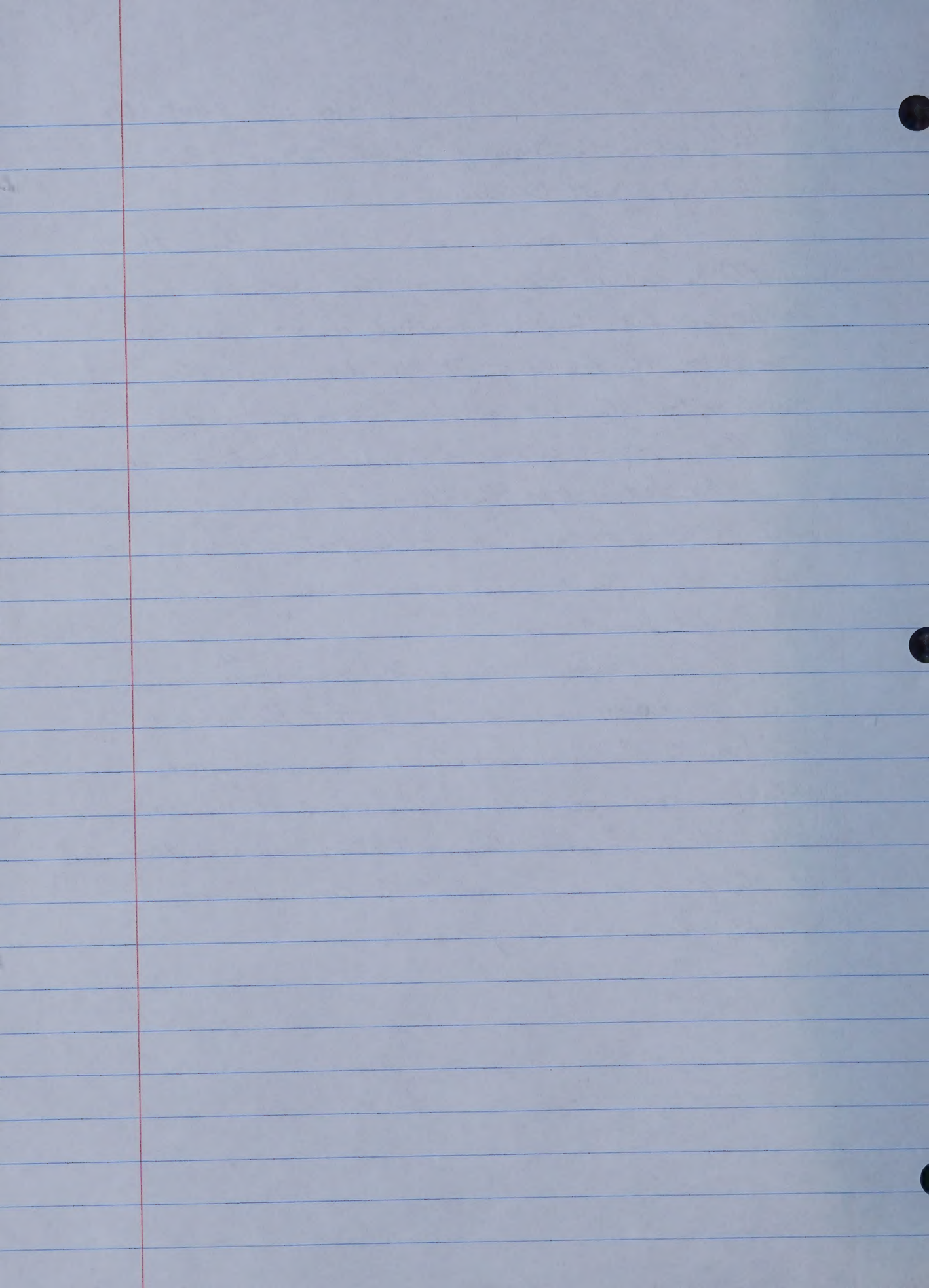
Halifax 28th August 1786

Evidence on the Claim of Colonel Richard Peiris
late of South Carolina

Says he resided on St. Johns' River Florida in 1783, and in the fall of that year sent his Claim to England but the Ship in which it was sent was wrecked on the Barr of St. Augustine, about three Months after he sent another Claim to England by Mr Thomas Forbes which arrived in London too late.

Mr Forbes left the Claim with Mr James Simpson with directions to present it the first opportunity, who writes that the necessary steps would be taken for that purpose.

Colonel Peiris now prays to be ^{heard} ~~heard~~ conditionally should his Claim be received, or that the Memorial sent from the Bahamas signed by several Loyalists might be considered as his Claim which it was intended to be. It is dated in December 1785 and was transmitted by the first opportunity after the Accounts arrived of the late act being passed.



(See Claim)
To the Commissioners

appointed by act of Parliament for enquiring into the
Losses and Services of the American Loyalists.

The Memorial of Colonel Richard Pearis.
Most humbly Sheweth,

That your Memorialist was formerly an Inhabitant
of South Carolina that he early in the Commencement of the
late dissensions in America took a decided and active part in
favor of Government and that he continued his unremitting
Efforts in the Royal Cause during the War. at the
Conclusion whereof he emigrated to the Island of New
in the Bahamas where he has since resided.

That on being informed of the first most
gracious Act of Parliament appointing Commissioners
to enquire into the Losses and Services of the American Loyalists
your Memorialist used his utmost Endeavors to have his
Claim for Compensation put in under the said Act
of Parliament but misfortune attended his Claim in
transmitting it to England which he believes to be the
sole Reason why his was not put in under the said Act.

That on the arrival of Captain Hood at
New Providence who your Memorialist is informed
was sent thither for the purpose of receiving the Claims
of the Loyalists in the Bahama Islands, he among others
signed a Memorial addressed to the Honorable the
American Commissioners which was handed to Captain
Hood to be delivered by him at the Office at the

Your Memorialist did not make affidavit
at that time stating the reasons why his claim was
not put in under the former Act of Parliament because
he did not then know that such affidavit was
not required.

Thus situated your Memorialist humbly
prays that you will take his case into consideration
and be pleased to look on the Memorial signed
by him and delivered to Captain Wood as aforesaid
and now lodged in your Office as his Claim, he
being ready to make the affidavit required by
Act of Parliament and that he may be heard
in support thereof.

And your Memorialist will ever pray.

Signed Rich^d. Pearis.

Near Claim

To the Commissioners appointed by Act of Parliament

~~Formerly of SC~~ That your memorialist was formerly an inhabitant of South Carolina that he early in the commencement of the late Dissension in America took a decided and active part in favor of Government and that he continued his unremitting endeavors in the loyal cause during the War at the Conclusion thereof he emigrated to the Island of Antigua in the Antigua where he has since resided.

2 That on being informed of the most gracious Act of War, Claimant appointing Commissioners for enquiring into the ^{losses} ~~(losses)~~ and services of the American Loyalists, your memorialist used his utmost endeavours to have his claim for compensation put in under the said Act of Parliament but misfortune attended his claim in transmitting it to England which he believes to be the sole reason why his was not put in under the said Act.

That in the arrival of Captain Hood ~~at~~ New Providence who your memorialist is informed was sent thither for the purpose of receiving the Claims of the Loyalists in the Bahamas Islands, he among others

signed a memorial addressed to the Honorable the American Commission which was handed to Captain Hood to be delivered by him at that office at Halifax

1P Your memorialist did not make ~~his~~ affidavit at that time stating the reasons why his claim was not put in under the former Act of Parliament because he did not then know that such affidavit was not required

1P Thus situated your memorialist humbly prays that you will take his case into consideration and be pleased to look on this memorial signed by him and delivered to Captain Hood as aforesaid and now lodged in your office as his claim, he being ready to make his affidavit required by Act of Parliament and that he may be heard in support of himself.

1P And your memorialist will ever pray / Signed Richd Paris

The first of these is the fact that the
the Commission of the European Communities
is not a body of experts, but a body of
politicians. It is not a body of experts,
but a body of politicians. It is not a
body of experts, but a body of politicians.

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Colonel Richard Harris's Personal Account

- No 1. A good dwelling House, Kitchen Smoke House
Stables, Dairy, Smith's Shop with divers
Tools, Husbandry and others, Waggon's Carts
Ploughs, Harrows, and Negroe Houses, Household
Furniture, wearing apparel &c on one No. being
the Homestead worth at least. } 300
- No 2. 3000 Bushels of corn different sorts as 2/4 bushel. 300. --
- No 3. A large grist and saw mill cost built in a 1000. --
- No 4. A large Indian Store with a proper apartment
of Johnson and other Goods just arrived from
Charleston, the latter at 60 cents spread for } 623. 18. --
- No 5. 12 Negroe Men and Women carried away at \$50 each 600. --
- No 6. 47 Head of English blooded Horses, Mares, and
Colts, cost great pains in raising and keeping, so
procure them and of great value in Carolina at \$10. } 470. --
- No 7. 200 Head of cattle 2.20¢ 200. --
- No 8. 250 Head of large Horses English breed at 15¢ 187. 10. --
- No 9. 14 Sheep and Goats 2.20¢ 14. --
- No 10. Buildings on No 2. Entire Estate worth 120. --
- No 11. Buildings on No 3. Saluda Estate worth 15. --
- No 12. 5 Horses carried off 2.40 50. --
- No 13. 16 Head of cattle 2.20¢ 16. --
- No 14. Head 14 Negroes of any own Property worth \$50
each. They were sent into Fort Cornwallis when
besieged by the Rebels to assist in repairing the
Fort as Colonel Brown's Order and Certificate
myself present during the Siege, they were all
taken at the Surrender of the Garrison with
myself Prisoner. } 700. --

Estimate of the losses sustained by Colonel Richard Pearce, a Loyalist during the American Rebellion to his final expulsion from South Carolina (his native country) to East Florida in the year 1783

Real Estate

No 1	10000 Acres of land on Roanoke River South Carolina called by the name of Great Plains, 100 acres of which were under cultivation with apple, peach and plum orchard, now confiscated by the Rebels, worth on the most moderate computation at <u>66¢</u> to acre	3250
No 2	5200 Acres of land on Knoxe River, 120 of which were under cultivation <u>similar to No 1 @ (52¢) acre</u>	1300
No 3	5000 Acres of land on Salado (River?) 15 of which were under cultivation similar to No 1 ^{No 1} to 1/2 acre	1125
No 4	2000 Acres of very fine unimproved land - Parkoatch River in West Florida @ — acre	5675
No 5	1200 acres of unimproved land called Swan Pond in Fredericks County Virginia @ 10/acre	600
Total Real Estate		6750

Account

Colonel Richard Harris's Personal ~~Estimate~~

No 1	A good dwelling house, Kitchen, Smoke House, Stables, Dairy, Smith's Shop with various Tools, Hardware and other, Wagon, Carts, Ploughs, Harness and Negroe Houses, Household furniture, wearing apparel, etc on No 1, being the homestead with at least	L 300
No 2	3000 bushels and grain of different sorts 2 1/2 bushels	300
No 3	A large grist and sawmill with buildings	1000
No 4	A large Indian store with a proper assortment of Indian and other goods just arrived from Charlestown, the latter as per invoice I paid for	623.18
^{typed to know} No 5	The Negroe men and women carried away @ £ each	600
No 6	47 Head of English blooded horses, mares and colts cost great pains, trouble and expense to procure them and of great labor in Carolina @ £10.	470
No 7	200 Head of cattle @ (20/3)	200-
No 8	250 Head of large hogs, English breed @ 15/	187.16
No 9	14 Sheep and goats @ 20/	14
No 10	Buildings on Enoree estate with	120
No 11	" " Salads " "	15
No 12	5 Horses carried off @ £10	50
No 13	16 Heads of cattle @ 10/	16
No 14	Had 14 Negroes of my own property worth £50 each. They were sent into Fort Cornwallis when besieged by the Rebels to assist in repairing the Fort as per Colonel Brown's order and certificate, myself present during the siege. They were all taken at the surrender of the garrison, with myself prisoner	700

Brought Forward

4696.8

No 15	21 Horses & Mares also taken at £10	210
No 16	27 Head of Cattle @ 20/-	27
No 17	Husbandry Tools and necessaries on waggon, cart, ploughs, harrow, iron tools etc valued at	60
No 18	500 Bushels Indian corn in the barn taken	50
No 19	Household furniture, wearing apparel with men and women's taken, not less than Debts	100
		5043.8

No 20 General Nathl Guest £1300 Pennsylvania cur-
rency on execution @ 13 1/6 sterling (—) 277.10

No 21 John Wilson £223 Virginia currency money on account
@ 15% (other?) of the currency 159.15

No 22 Colonel Wade Hampton on note 13.50

No 23 Colonel Jacob Wright (Hite) £2500 Virginia
money on bond @ £ 15 (—) 1875

No 24 John White £350 Pennsylvania currency on bond
on 13/6 236.5

No 25 ~~When these were in home and the largest sum due me /~~
~~having lost his various items during~~
the war almost all my books and papers cannot
assist in the smaller debts, never the less
from the foregoing information and as the law
did, I am sure amounts to at least

3783.10

Personal Estate Total £ 8826.18

Real Estate 6750 —

15, 576.18

Services.

In the year 1755 I was honored with a Company of Provincials in the Virginia Service, as also I was appointed by Governor Dunwiddie to take the Charge of all the Southern Nations of Indians until Mr. Atkins was appointed to superintend them, at which time I was removed into the Maryland and Pennsylvania Service, in order to be more Central in collecting the Indians together. I served under the Command of General Forbes, Stanwix, Monckton, and Boquet to the end of the War, and was the first British Subject who entered Fort Pitt at its Reduction, for which I had General Forbes's Public Thanks, and promise of Reward, these and many other circumstances are well known to Lord Eglington and Governor Thomas of Virginia.

At the beginning of the Rebellion in America I took the earliest Opportunity in exerting myself in behalf of the King and Government by deserting a Body of Rebels to the amount of 700 in the district of Ninety Six in the year 1776. - It was not long after when a Turn of Fortune made me their Prisoner, and I was carried to Charlestown Goal where I lay in Irons Nine Months, at the expiration of which time I was released. I then made the rest of my way from Carolina, (on foot near 700 Miles) to West Florida through

Sufferings.

In the year 1776 (as per No. 1. to 9.) when my Estate was burnt and destroyed, my Wife 2 Daughters and one Son were surprised by break of day by one Colonel Thomas and 400 Militia, beat and abused my daughters and made them all prisoners, after burning, destroying and carrying away the Property, forced them to march thro' Rivers and Creeks on foot 25 Miles in one day, without Victuals or any thing to cover their heads from the Sun; afterwards kept them confined three days without any Provisions, then sent them off in an open Waggon 100 Miles, and turned them out to shift for themselves amongst a Parcel of Rebels without Money or Provisions; they were then obliged for three years during my absence on duty, to be depending on charitable People, added to their own Industry for their Living, and under continual apprehension of being massacred.

My Son is now an Ensign in Colonel Brown's Regiment, whose Reduction is daily expected, Myself and the rest of my Family came by Invitation of Government to East Florida for Refuge on the Lands of a Friend, but by its Cession to the Spaniards, I am again destitute and have no Property or Prospect left for my future subsistence, not a foot of Land remaining for me to retire to under the British Government, and dare not return to an American one.

the country of my friendly Indians, without any provisions or support but what I got from them. - On my arrival at Pensacola, Colonel Stewart gave me a Company under him, and I was immediately ordered to march on the River Mississippi and retake it from the Rebels if possible, which I effected, by storming their chain-guard of 50 Men, and left my Company in the Garrison. - On my return to Pensacola I was ordered, with one Sergeant to conduct Mr David Holmes and the Creek Indians to the assistance of St. Augustine, a distance of 700 Miles as the Rebels attempted to invade East Florida. - After this service was completed, I was ordered by General Priest to join Colonel's Priest and Brown to invade Georgia, and was afterwards ordered by the said General to join General Pattison against Charleston, on my arrival there I was ordered by General Clinton to go to the frontiers of South Carolina, there to raise the friends of Government, which I completed to the amount of 5 or 6000 Men, disarmed all the Rebels from Savannah River to Broad River near the Border of North Carolina, being upwards of one hundred Mills in length, destroyed their Forts and imprisoned their Leaders to the number of 40, took 3000 Stand of Arms, 22 Suits of 27 Blunderbusses, and a quantity of Ammunition, and this service was no sooner completed than Colonel Innes, and afterwards Colonel Balguy arrived to take upon them the Command, and in a short time after they returned the Arms & Ammunition into their hands and released their Leaders. - On seeing this I returned to Georgia, settling my Family near Augusta, where I was again made Prisoner with Colonel Brown (See my account of Lopez from No 16 to 19) these and many other particulars General Priest and Colonel Brown will tell the truth of if required.

the bounty of my friendly Indians, without my provisions, or support that I got from them. - On my arrival at Pensacola, General Stewart gave me a Company under him, and I was immediately ordered to march to the River Mississippi and retake it from the Rebels if possible, which I effected by storming their main guard of men, and left my company in the garrison. On my return to Pensacola I was ordered with one Surgeon to conduct Mr David Holmes and the Creek Indians to the assistance of St. Augustine, a distance of 700 miles, at the request of the Rebels to invade East Florida.

After this service was completed, I was ordered by General Prevost to join ^{Colonel} Prevost and Brown to invade Georgia, and was afterwards ordered by the said General to join General Pattison against Charleston. On my arrival there I was ordered by General Clinton to go to the frontiers of South Carolina, there to raise the Friends of Government, which I completed to the amount of 5 or 6000 men, dispersed all the Rebels from Savannah River to Broad River near the border of North Carolina, being ~~afterwards~~ upwards of ~~two~~ one hundred miles in breadth, destroyed their forts and imprisoned their leaders to the number of 40, took 3000 stand of arms, 22 swivels, ~~2000~~ 2 or 3 hundred ^{barrels} ~~beef~~ and a quantity of ammunition and the service was as soon as completed than Colonel Innes and afterwards General Balfour arrived to take up on them the command, and in a

(over)

short time after they returned the arms and the
ammunition into their hands and released their leaders.

On seeing this I returned to Georgia,
settling my family near Augusta, where I was
again made prisoner with Colonel Brown

(see my document of losses there No 14 to 19).

These and many other portions of loss.

General Prevost and Colonel Brown can

testify the truth of it regarding.

Services

In the year 1755 I was honored with a Company of Provincials in the Virginia Service, as also I was appointed by Governor Dinwiddie to take the charge of all the Southern Nations of Indians until Mr Atkins was appointed to supervise them, at which time I was removed into the Maryland and Pennsylvania Service, in order to be more continued in collecting the Indians together. I served under the command of General Forbes, Stanwix, Monckton and Bouquet to the end of the war and was the first British subject who entered Fort Pitt at its Redirection, for which I had General Forbes's public thanks and promises of reward. These and many other circumstances are well known to Lord Eglington and Governor *Mercer* (~~He~~ was of Living.)

At the beginning of the Rebellion in America I took the earliest opportunity in exerting myself in behalf of the King and Government by dispersing a body of rebels to the amount of 700 in the district of Ninety Six in the year 1776. It was not long after when a turn of Fortune made me their prisoner, and I was carried to Charleston South where I lay in Iron nine months; at the expiration of which time I was released. I then made the best of my way from (on foot near 200 miles) to West Florida through

Journal

Monday, 1st June 1914

In the afternoon I was shown a map of the Province of the Virgin Islands, and also a map of the various islands to be the object of our expedition. It was pointed out that the islands are situated in a series of lines, and that the main island is the largest and most important. It was also pointed out that the islands are situated in a series of lines, and that the main island is the largest and most important.

Monday, 2nd June 1914

At the beginning of the expedition I was told that the islands were situated in a series of lines, and that the main island is the largest and most important.

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At the beginning of the expedition I was told that the islands were situated in a series of lines, and that the main island is the largest and most important.

Sufferings

In the year 1776 (as per Nos 1 to F) when my Estate was burnt and destroyed, my wife and 2 daughters and one son were surprised by break of day by one Colonel Thomas and 400 militia, beat and abused my daughters, and made them all prisoners, after dumping, destroying and carrying away the property, forced them to march thro Rivers and Creeks on foot 25 miles in one day without victuals or anything to cover their heads from the sun, afterwards kept them confined three days without any provisions, then sent them off in ^{an} open waggon 100 miles and turned them out to shift for themselves among a parcel of Rebels without money or provisions. They were then obliged for three years during my absence on duty to be depending on charitable people added to their own industry for their living, and under continual apprehension of being massacred.

My son is now an Ensign in Colonel Brown's Regiment, whose reduction is daily expected. Myself and the rest of my family came by invitation of Government to East Florida for Refuge on the lands of a friend, but by its cession to the Spaniards I am again destitute and have no property or prospect left for my future subsistence, not a foot of land remaining for me to return to under the British Government, and dare not return to an American one.

Thus in my old age, after the various services
hazards and fatigues I have undergone, sacrifice
of an affluent fortune with a view to serve
a just cause. I must perish, yes I must starve
with my family, or after threats to our enemies,
and die boldly unless the British Government
for whom I have fought, bled and sacrificed everything
gives me that Relief which every sense of
honour and humanity points out, and to whom
these few unembellished Truths are submitted by
a suffering loyalist

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I stand in my clutche, after the various
Services, Hazards and Fatigues I have undergone, sacrifice
an affluent Fortune with a view to serve a just Cause,
I must perish, yes, I must Starve with my Family,
or offer our throats to our Enemies, and die boldly, unslay
the British Government for whom I have fought. Belief
and Sacrificed every thing gives me that Relief, which
every Sense of Honor and Humanity points out,
and to whom these few unembellished Truths
are Submitted by a Suffering Loyalist.

Halifax 28. August 1786

X
Evidence on the claim of Colonel
Richard Pearis late of South Carolina.
Claimant Sworn.

Says he resided on St. Johns River Florida in 1783, and in the fall of that year sent his claim to England but the ship in which it was sent was wrecked on the Barr of St. Augustine, about three months after he sent another claim to England by Mr. Thomas Forbes which arrived in London 100 later.

Mr. Forbes left the claim with Mr. James Simpson with directions to present it the first opportunity who writes that the necessary steps would be taken for that purpose.

Colonel Pearis now prays to be heard conditionally should his claim be received, or that the Memorial sent from the Bahamas signed by several Loyalists might be considered as his claim which it was intended to be, - It is dated in December 1785 and was transmitted to Halifax by the first opportunity after the account arrived of the late Act having passed.

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Produced a certificate from Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Brown, that he sent a duplicate of this claim to England in August 1783, but that the ship in which it went was wrecked.

Claimant is a Native of Ireland, came to America many years ago when only ten years of age.

In 1775 he was settled on Emory River on his own Property. - He lived in a remote part of the Country, and had no opportunity of acting in favour of Great Britain until after the Loyalists were overpowered under Bunninghame when he was appointed by 2200 Loyalists to Corn and then near Ninety Six with the assistance of Lieutenant Colonel Robinson and Major M^r. Lauren. When they surrounded the Rebels at Ninety Six, and contrary to Claimant's Opinion made a Truce for 20 days which the Rebels broke and took him prisoner and carried him to Richardson's Camp and to Charleston where they kept him nine months in Goad, when he was released on taking an Oath of Neutrality.

Upon his return to his Family he found his House burnt, his Property destroyed, and his Family drove off, with them he lived for some time, but was so harassed that he was obliged to fly for Protection to Charles Town where Governor Rutledge protected him for some short time, but being there in danger of his life he went into the Country and swore 500 Loyalists to go with him to Florida which being discovered he was obliged to fly to the Indian Nation from thence he went with Six Men through many difficulties to Pensacola where he was received by

who appointed him Captain of the West Florida
Loyalists, and gave him a Commission which is
produced and is dated in 1777. - This was in 1777
and since that time he has been always within the
British Lines and in constant Employment as an
Officer.

The latter part of the War he acted as Lieut.
Colonel of Militia in South Carolina, and mentions
many Instances where he did material Service
He receives no Half Pay.

His present Residence is in the Island
of Spacco, Bahama.

Produces Certificate from Lieutenant
Colonel Thomas Bowen R. C. Rangers to his having
joined the Kings Troops in 1777 after having his
Property destroyed and his Family greatly distressed
and to his serving the Remainder of the War with Zeal
and Spirit and that at the Siege of Fort Cornwallis he
had been nearly assassinated by the Rebels.

And Certificate from Brigadier General
M^r. Arthur to the Truth of the above.

Certificate from Malcolm Brown. Aid de
Camp to Major General Williamson to his being
present when his Property was burnt &c.

He had two Sons in the Service, one is in
the Cherokee Nation, and one is a half-pay Ensign

Produces Instructions from Sir Henry
Clinton to employ the Militia in South Carolina

His Family are in the Bahamas

Halifax 28th August 1786

Evidence on the claim of Colonel Richard Peiris late of South Carolina
Clement Jones.

Says he resided on St John's River, Florida in 1783 and in the fall of that year sent his claim to England but the ship on which it was sent was wrecked on the Bar of St. Augustine about three months after he sent another claim to England by Mr Thomas Frides which arrived in London too late.

Mr. Frides left the claim with Mr James Simpson with directions to present it the first opportunity, who writes that the necessary steps would be taken for that purpose.

Colonel Peiris now prays that he now be heard conditionally should his claim be renewed, or that the Memorial sent from the Bahamas signed by several Loyalists might be considered as his claim which it was intended to be - It is dated in December 1785 and was transmitted to Halifax by the first opportunity after the account arrived of the late act having passed.

Produce a certificate from Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Brown that he sent a duplicate of this claim to England in August 1783 but that the ship in which it went was wrecked.

Clement is a native of Ireland, came to America many years ago when only ten years of age.

In 1775 he was settled on Enoree River on his own property. He lived in a remote part of the Country and had no opportunity of acting in favor of Great ~~Britain~~ Britain until after the Loyalists were empowered under Cunningham

When he was appointed by 2200 Loyalists to command them near Ninety Six with the assistance of Lieutenant Colonel Robinson and Major McLauren. When they surrounded the Rebels at Ninety Six, and contrary to Claimont's opinion made a truce for 20 days which the Rebels broke and took him prisoner and carried him to Richardson's Leap and to Charlestown where they kept him nine months in goal. When he was released on taking an oath of neutrality.

Upon his return to his family he found his house burnt, his property destroyed, and his family drove off. With them he lived for some time but was so harassed that he was obliged to fly for protection to Charlestown where Governor Rutledge protected him for some short time, but being there in danger of his life he went into the Country and swore 400 Loyalists to go with him to Florida, which being discovered he was obliged to fly to the Indian Nation. From there he went with six men through many difficulties to Persimmon where he was received by

line cut off

who appointed him Captain of the West Florida Loyalists and gave him a commission which produced and is dated in 1777. This was in 1777 and since that time he has always been within the British lines and in some constant employment as an officer.

The latter part of the war he acted as a Lieutenant Colonel of Militia in South Carolina and mentions many

instances where he did meritorious service -

He received no Half Pay.

His present residence is in the Island of Abaco, Bahamas.

Produces certificate from Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Brown, R.C. Rangers to his having joined the Kings Troops in 1777 after having his property destroyed and his family greatly distressed and to his serving the remainder of the war with zeal and spirit, and that in the Siege of Fort Cornwallis he had been nearly assassinated by the Rebels.

Find Certificate from Brigadier General Mac Arthur to the truth of the above.

Certificate from Malcolm Brown, Aid de Camp to Rebel General Williamson to his being present when his property was burnt (down).

He had two sons in the Service, one in the Cherokee Nation, and one is half-pay Ensign -

Produces instructions from Sir Henry Clinton to embody the Militia in South Carolina.

His family is in the Bahamas.

Plat No 1

(Page following)

10,000 Acres of land on Beedy River South Carolina known by the name of Great Plains.

Says he has a natural son to a Squaw of the Cherokee Indians who lived with them and procured a tract of 150,000 Acres to be sold by the Indians to the Crown but 100,000 is reserved to his son who was returned.

768
21
1747

He sold 30,000 to Jacob Hart and reserved above 20,000 acres which forms N. 1. 2 & 3. This transaction took place about the year 1768 at which time he moved to South Carolina to this property.

Thinks before he came to settle this land cost him £500 Virginia Currency. ^{Afterwards} ~~Afterwards~~ it cost him £1400 Sterling to make over these lands to himself. He sold the 30,000 acres to Hart for \$2500 Virginia Currency for which he took his bond but never received principal or interest.

He built the House on this land which cost him (\$100?) Virginia Currency and cleared about 100 acres corn land. This was year No. 1

There were other buildings on No. 1 which with furniture apparel etc were well worth \$250 more and were burnt by Colonel Thomas.

There were grist and sawmills on this No. 1, the buildings of which cost him \$1000 Sterling which were likewise burnt by Colonel Thomas.

(Copy from)

10,000 francs, but I had some trouble finding the name of Great Britain.

They do have a national bank of 100 francs. I have taken the bank with the one franc, but of 100,000 francs to be paid by the bank to the bank, but 100,000 is supposed to be 20,000 francs.

continued.

The next report is about the bank and the bank of 100,000 francs. I have taken the bank with the one franc, but of 100,000 francs to be paid by the bank to the bank, but 100,000 is supposed to be 20,000 francs.

There is a bank of 100,000 francs. I have taken the bank with the one franc, but of 100,000 francs to be paid by the bank to the bank, but 100,000 is supposed to be 20,000 francs.

continued.

The bank of 100,000 francs is the bank of 100,000 francs. I have taken the bank with the one franc, but of 100,000 francs to be paid by the bank to the bank, but 100,000 is supposed to be 20,000 francs.

There are other banks in the bank of 100,000 francs. I have taken the bank with the one franc, but of 100,000 francs to be paid by the bank to the bank, but 100,000 is supposed to be 20,000 francs.

continued.

There are other banks in the bank of 100,000 francs. I have taken the bank with the one franc, but of 100,000 francs to be paid by the bank to the bank, but 100,000 is supposed to be 20,000 francs.

10,000 Acres of Land on Kelay River South Carolina, known by the name of the Great Plains.

Says he had a natural son to a Squa of the Cherokee Indians who lived with them and procured a Tract of 150,000 Acres to be sold by the Indians to the Claimant, but 100,000 is reserved to his son who was naturalized.

He sold 30,000 to Jacob Hoyt, and reserved about 20,000 Acres which form N^o 1, 2, & 3. This Transaction took place about the year 1768 at which time he moved into South Carolina, or to this Property.

Thinks before he came to settle this Land cost him £500 Virginia Currency, afterwards it cost him £1500 Sterling to make over these Lands to himself. He sold the 30,000 Acres to Hoyt for £2500 Virginia Currency for which he took his Bond, but neither paid Principal or Interest.

He built a House on this Land, which cost him £400 Virginia Currency, and cleared about 100 Acres Corn Land, this was upon N^o 1.

There were other Buildings on N^o 1 which, with Furniture apparel &c were well worth £200 more, and were burnt by Colonel Thomas.

There were Grist and Saw Mills on this N^o 1. The buildings of which cost him £1000 Sterling which were likewise burnt by Colonel Thomas.

Property No 2

5200 Acres on No 2. about 150 were cleared by Thait and 50 were on the 200 Acres which we shall call No 6.

There were some buildings on No 2. made by Thait valued at £100 Sterling.

No 3

5000 Acres on No 3. in which 15 Acres were cleared, and a small house £15.

All these compose the £20,000 Acres which were worth 10^s Sterling p acre £10,000.

He now claims for the whole of No 1, 2, 3. with Buildings Mills & Improvements £10,000 Sterling.

Says all these were in the possession of the Americans, and some part is sold.

Says that before the war this Property supported his Family and he carried on a Trade with the Indians from it.

Colonel Pearis's name does not appear in the act of Confiscation of South Carolina.

No 11

2000 Acres of Land in West Florida given to him in 1774. - He never took out a Patent or made any Improvement on it.

It cost him £50 Sterling to have it surveyed. - values it at £175 Sterling.

Property No 2 — 5200 Acres on No 2, about 150 were
Cleared by Hoyt and 50 were on the 200 acres
which we shall call No. 6

There were some buildings on No 2 made by Hoyt, valued at \$100 Sterling

No 3 5000 Acres on No 3 on which 15 Acres were Cleared
and a small House at 15 ~

All these compose the 20,000 Acres which
were worth 101 Shilling per Acre £10,000

He now claims for the whole of Nos 1, 2, 3
with Buildings, Mills & Improvements £10,000 ~~5000~~ Sterling.

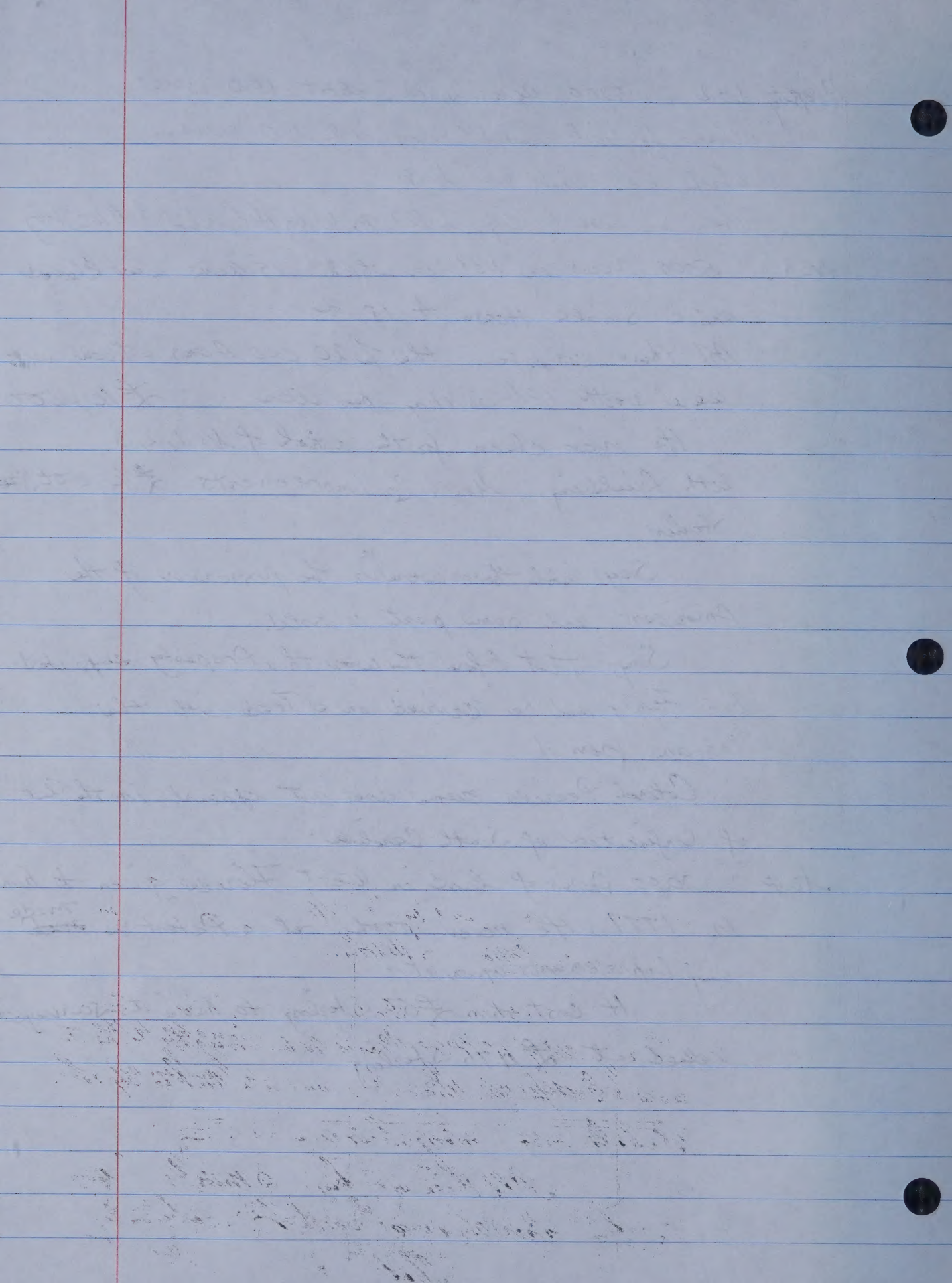
Says all these were in the possession of the
Americans and some part is sold.

Says that before the war this Property supported
his Family and he carried on a Trade with the
Indians from it.

Colonel Peck's name does not appear in the Act
of Confiscation of South Carolina.

No 4. 2000 Acres of land in West Florida given to him
in 1777. He never took out a Patent or ~~made~~ ^{made}
any Improvements upon it.

It cost him £50 Sterling to have it surveyed.
Valued at £475 Sterling



Prospectus No 5

1200 Acres of Land called Swan Ponds in
Frederick Town Virginia.

He took 3 Warrants to Survey Land to this
Amount for a Debt of £500 Virginia Currency about
18 years since. He had it surveyed, and took a
Grant of it from Lord Fairfax, but made no
Improvements. - When he left Virginia he left
the Grant with one Edward M. Guire with directions
to settle it, but he knows nothing of it more.
He could have sold it for 10^s Sterling p^r Acre, which
he now values it at \$600.

No 6. 200 Acres on Enore River, he purchased in
1776 after he had been in Goal, from one Ford. He
gave an English Stallion for them which he valued at,
Fifty Guineas. He bought the Land because he
feared they would take his Horse from him.
He claims the value of his Horse Fifty Guineas.

Personal No 11.

Fourteen Negroes taken at Fort Cornwallis
where they were put by Lieutenant Colonel Brown for
the purpose of making works.

Produces Order from Colonel Brown for
the Negroes of Colonel Pearis to be brought to the Fort,
and a Certificate that they were all taken by the
Rebels mentioning their Names.

All these were men, and thinks that one
with another they were worth £50 each. \$700. All
Four of them were children.

Personal Property
No 5.8

12 Negro Men and Women carried off
by Colonel Thomas in 1776. - They were all sold
by the Rebels. - They were all his Property. -
Three of them were Children. - He values them
at £50 each. - £600 Sterling.

No 5.

A Store with Indian Goods on Peedy
River, part was destroyed by Colonel Thomas
and part in the Indian Nations. He computes
his Loss at - £623. 18. - Sterling.

This was what the Goods cost him in
Charlestown. - He paid for these Goods in
Orders for Goods in the Indian purchase in
Georgia. - He gave these Orders as Security for
payments.

No 6.

17 Head of Horses at £10 - £170
They were taken by Colonel Thomas

No 7.

200 Head of Cattle - £200.

No 8.

250 Hogs @ 15/- - £187. 10.

No 9.

14 Sheep and Goats - £14.

No 12.

5 Horses carried off from Selma
River - @ £10 each - £50.

No 13.

16 Head of Cattle - £16.

No 15 & 16.

25 Horses & 16 Cattle lost at Augusta
£237.

These were collected during the war

No 17.

Housbandry Tools &c at Augusta £60

Property #5 1200 Acres of Land called Jason Park
in Fredrick Town Virginia

He took 3 Warrants to Survey Land to this
Amount for a Debt of £40 Virginia Currency
about 18 years since. He had it Surveyed and
took a Grant of it from Lord Fairfax but
made no Improvements. When he left Virginia he
left the Grant with one Edward McGuire with directions
to settle it but he knows nothing of it now.

He would have sold it for 10s Sterling per acre
which he now values it at £600.

106 200 acres on Enoree River. He purchased in 1770 after he
had been in Good from one Ford. He gave an English
Stallion for them which he valued at Fifty Guineas.
He bought the Land because he feared they would
take his House from him. He claims the value of
his Horse - Fifty Guineas

Person 1014 - Fourteen Negroes taken at Fort Cornwallis
where they were put by Lieutenant Colonel Brown for
the purpose of making works

Proceeds Order from Colonel Brown for the Negroes
of Colonel Peiris to be brought to the Fort and a
Certificate that they were all taken by the Rebels,
mentioning their Names.

All these were his, and thinks that one with
another they were worth £50 each £700
Four of them were children.

Personal Property

- Nos 12 Negro Men and Women carried off by Colonel Thomas in 1776. They were all sold by the Rebels. They were all his Property. Three of them were Children. He valued them at £50 each \$600 Sterling
- Nos 6 A Store with Indian Goods on Sandy River, part was destroyed by Colonel Thomas and part in the Indian Nation. He computes his loss at £623.18 Sterling
- This was what the Goods cost him in Charleston. He paid for these Goods in order for Lands in the Indian purchase in Georgia. He gave these orders as Security for Payment
- Nos 6 47 Heads of Horses at £10 \$470
They were taken by Colonel Thomas
- Nos 7 200 Head of Cattle £200
- Nos 8 250 Hogs @ 15% £187.0
- Nos 9 14 Sheep and Goats £14-
- Nos 12 5 Horses carried off from Schade River @ £10 each £50
- Nos 13 16 Head of Cattle £16
- Nos 15 & 16 21 Horses & 16 Cattle at Augusta £237
- These were collected during the War
- Nos 17 Husbandry Tools ~~valued~~ at Augusta £60

Personal Property

No 18 300 Bushels Corn at Sam Pka £50

No 19 Furniture and Apparel at Setto £100

No 20 Amount of Debts due him £3783.10

of this £ 1875 is a bond from Jacob
Hort for the 30,000 Acres

No 20 23 Head of Cattle furnished the Militia
at Augusta in 1781(?) Producers Certificate
of this from George Deboze
Deboze £6.6

£ 28 Sterling

John Tanner, Witness Sworn

Says he was carried by a Rebel Colonel Thomas upon an
Expedition in the back parts of South Carolina in 1776
and was then on Colonel Peers's Land, he had
a good House and lived well. Colonel Peers was
then a prisoner. The Rebels carried off all they
could, and burnt many things else. —
Carrying off his Cattle and Horses.

He was supposed to be a Man of Property and
was a man of great weight in the Country, and
of great loyalty.

The land was very good, and thinks 100 Acres
was cleared on No 1 and many more on No 2.

^{indent}
→ Clement produced Deed from G. Peers, natural son
of Clement to Richard Peers 27th April 1774 on
Consideration of £500 South Carolina currency and
Love. Conveys 130,000 acres described as
the Great Plains.

Clement says he owes no money in the
States except the Goods to Bugeley.

Major Christopher Nealey, Witness sworn

Says that from the year 1775 Colonel Peers
has been very active in the Cause of Great Britain
and that he has been confined in Goal on account
of his Loyalty and that he was obliged to fly from
South Carolina through the Cherokee Nation into Florida.

And understood that his Property was
destroyed by Colonel Thomas, an American officer.

Says he was on Colonel Peers's Property
before he settled out some years before the war.

He understood that he had this property
from his natural son by a Cherokee woman,
it appeared very good land.

Personal Property

No. 18.

500 bushels Corn at same place - \$50.00

No. 19.

Furniture and apparel at ditto - \$100.00

Amount of Debts due him - \$3783.10

Of this \$1875 is a Bond from Jacob Boet for
the 30,000 Acres.

No. 20

23 Head of Cattle furnished the Militia at
Augusta in 1781.Produce Certificate of this from George
Derlage A. C. C. - \$28 Sterling

John Tannen Minger Swann

Says he was carried by a Rebel Colonel
Thomas upon an expedition in the back parts of
South Carolina in 1776, and was then on Colonel
Pearis's Lands. - He had a good House and lived
well. - Colonel Pearis was then a prisoner. The
Rebels carried off all they could, and burnt every
thing else, - carrying off his cattle and Horses.

He was supposed to be a Man of
Property, and was a Man of great Weight in the
Country and of great Loyalty.

The Lands were very good, and thinks
100 Acres were cleared on N. h. and as many more
on W. h.

29th August 1786.

Claimant procures Deed from
G. Pearis natural Son of Claimant to Richard
Pearis 27th April 1774 in consideration of
£500 South Carolina Currency and Love.
Conveys 150,000 as described called the Great
Plains.

Claimant says he owes no money in
the States, except the Goods to Bugley.

Major Christopher Seelye Witness Sworn,

Says that from the year 1775 Colonel
Pearis has been very active in the Cause of Great
Britain, and that he has been confined in goal
on account of his Loyalty, and that he was obliged
to fly from South Carolina through the
Cherokee Nation to Florida.

And understood that his property was
destroyed by Colonel Thomas an American
officer.

Says he was on Colonel Pearis's
Property before he settled on it, some years
before the War.

He understood that he has the
Property from his natural Son by a Cherokee
Woman, it appeared very good Land.

He was again on the property in 1776, he saw five Mills, a dwelling House, Out-houses and a considerable Quantity of Land Cleared.

He thinks a Tract of Land situated as Colonel Paris's was, he could not value less than 6 Sterling p acre.

Witness says Colonel Paris Traded largely with the Indians.

He saw a large Stock, and his House seemed comfortably settled and to want for nothing.

He had several Negroes, but he cannot say how many.

Says all his Property was destroyed by a Rebel Colonel Thomas.

Colonel Paris's Family afterwards lived near Witness in great Distress.

He has understood that Col. Paris's Estate has been sold by the Americans.

of Claimant	Residence	Age	Value of property at date of death	Value of property at date of death	Value of property at date of death	Value of property at date of death	Value of property at date of death
Cartier Peter	Mass.	18	55		55	22	33
Pearson Col Thomas	Mass.	38.3	190		190	70	114
Finney Col Richard	do	10.5/10	5024		5024	2249/12	3374
Finney Samuel	Mass.	67.4-10	100	400	400	54	340
Finney Richard & Mariah	Connect.	1.0.26.3	400		400		400
Finney Samuel	N. York	41.4-7	135		135		135
Finney William	do	23.3	34		34		34
Finney Christopher	do	17.3	50		50		50
Finney Stephen	do	7.4.5	500		500		500
Finney James	do	60.1	240		240		240
Finney William	do	20.15	70		70		70
Finney William	do	11.21.11	700		700		700
Finney William	do	49.4-7	10		10		10
Finney William	do	49.4-7	220		220		220
Finney James	do	12.7.6	0.5		0.5		0.5

Issue of April 28, 1803

Died on Tuesday last, Mr. Lewis Timmons, for many years past, Cryer of the Superior Courts in this city....

Issue of April 29, 1803

Died, on Thursday the 21st April, at his seat in Manchester on the High Hills of Santee, Isham Moore, Esq....left a large family.

Died, on the 26th instant, Miss Mary Skrine, of this city, aged 30....

Issue of April 30, 1803

Died, on Wednesday the 27th instant, Mrs. Elizabeth Godfrey, of this city, aged 66 years, daughter of Mr. William Chapman, of James Island.... (lines)

Issue of May 2, 1803

Married last evening, Mr. James Hunter to Miss Louisa Provost, of St. Domingo.

Married on Saturday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Munds, Mr. George Harper, to Miss Eliza Harriett, both of this place.

Married on Saturday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Munds, Mr. John Kimbal, to Miss Elizabeth Leger, both of this place.

Issue of May 3, 1803

Married on the 31st March last, at Rocky Point, Prince William's parish, John Marsden Pintard, esq. late Consul at Madeira, to Miss Eliza Smith, eldest daughter of the Rev. Dr. Smith, president of the college at Princeton, New-Jersey.

Died on the 30th ult., in the 45th year of his age, Mr. John Nivison, a native of Scotland....

Issue of May 4, 1803

Died, on the 30th ult., in the 21st year of her age, Mrs. Martha Mair, wife of Mr. Patrick Mair, merchant of this city....

Issue of May 6, 1803

Died, in London, Mr. Daniel M'Guerton, shoemaker....

Issue of May 7, 1803

Married, on Thursday evening last, Mr. Fasthender, to Mrs. Catherine Grose, both of this city.

Died, at St. Mary's Georgia, on the 18th ult., in the 30th year of her age, Mrs. Margaret Pearis, wife of Richard Pearis, and daughter of Gen. Robert Cunningham, formerly of this state.

Issue of May 11, 1803

Married, last evening, by the Rev. Mr. Jenkins, Mr. John Howard, to Miss Mary Elfe.

Issue of May 12, 1803

Married on Tuesday last, by Mr. Azuby, Mr. Aaron Lazarus, merchant, to Miss Hetty Cohen, second daughter of the late Mr.

Gershom Cohen.

Issue of May 14, 1803

Died on the 12th inst., Mr. Jonathan Cape, in his 24th year, youngest son of Brian Cape, esq. of this city...left aged parents, widow and an infant son....

Issue of May 16, 1803

Married on the 3d inst., by the Rev. Mr. Pogson, Mr. John Kennedy, of St. John's parish, to Miss Mary Coon Russ, of St. Stephen's parish.

Died on Saturday evening last, the Rev. Mr. Hammet, of Trinity Church...aged 47 years; he was in the Ministry twenty years the day he died....

Issue of May 17, 1803

Died on Monday last in the 21st year of her age, Mrs. Catherine Williams, wife of Mr. William Williams of this city, portrait painter, and daughter of James Simpson, esq. of Georgetown....left two infant children and husband.

Issue of May 18, 1803

Married on Wednesday the 11th inst., at Chehaw, by the Rev. Mr. Bladen, Mr. Edward Kennedy, of this city, to Miss Elizabeth Hutchinson, of that place.

Married on Sunday last, by the Rev. Mr. Frost, Mr. John Anderson, to Miss Elizabeth S. Clark, both of this city.

Married on Tuesday evening, by the Rev. Mr. Frost, Mr. William Shite of St. John's parish, to Miss Ann Maromet, of this city.

Died, this morning, Mr. Nathaniel Darrell...funeral at the house of Mr. Muckinfuss, in Wentworth-street....

Issue of May 20, 1803

Married, last evening, by the Rev. Dr. Hollinshead, Mr. Stephen Gordon, to Miss Jane Hayes, both of this city.

Issue of May 21, 1803

Married on Thursday the 19th inst., by the Rev. Dr. Hollinshead, Mr. Joseph Chapman, to Miss Jane Flemming, both of this city.

Died, this morning, Mr. James C. Green, in the 31st year of his age...funeral at his late residence, No. 98 Church-st....

Died at Philadelphia, on the 9th inst., Gen. Stephens Thomson Mason, one of the Senators of the state of Virginia in the Congress....

Issue of May 23, 1803

Died, this forenoon, Mr. James M'Bride....

Issue of May 24, 1803

Departed this life, on the 18th inst., in the 32d year of his age, Benjamin Snipes, esq....

Is this the Indian's
plantation?

What does this mean?

Our Richard already deceased
in Bahamas. No Maure
also of them?

Can this be Richard Jr,
half Indian? Where is
St Mary's? Georgia?
see pg 62 (See map
attached)

Died in Barnwell district, on Saturday the 21st of March, in the 45th year of his age, Mr. James Bowie...left a widow and three children.

Died at Calcutta, Mr. James Murray Lillibridge, a native of Exeter, in Rhode-Island....

Issue of April 2, 1807

Married on Thursday the 26th ult., by the Rev. Mr. Clarkson, Charles Gabriel Capers, Esq. of St. Helena, to Miss Mary Y. Reynolds, daughter of Benjamin Reynolds, esq. of Wadmalaw.

Married on Saturday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Marin Detargny, Mr. Thomas Smith, to Miss Charlotte Suder, both of this city.

Issue of April 3, 1807

Departed this life on the 30th ult., in the 55th year of his age, Mr. William Mikell, of Edisto Island....

Issue of April 7, 1807

Died, on Tuesday the 24th March, at the plantation of Richard Pearis, near St. Mary's, Nathaniel Munro, Esq. of the house of Messrs. Forbes, Munro & Forbes, of Nassau, N. P....

Issue of April 9, 1807

Died at his residence in Hampstead, on the 4th inst., David Maybank, Esq. of St. Thomas's Parish, aged 40 years.

Died on the 5th inst, Mr. Peter Bonneau, planter, in St. James's Santee, in the 34th year of his age.

Died at Norfolk, on the 20th ult., Mr. Patrick Burke at the age of 104; a native of Ireland....

Issue of April 10, 1807

Married on Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Bowen, Frederick Kohne, Esq. to Miss Eliza Neufville.

Married last evening, by the Rev. Mr. Simons, Robert Gilmore, jun. Esq. of Baltimore, to Miss Sarah Reeve Ladson, daughter of Major James Ladson, of this city.

Married last evening, by the Rev. Dr. Buist, Archibald S. Johnston, Esq. to Miss Agnes Bolton Ewing, daughter of the late Adam Ewing, esq. all of this city.

Married last evening, by the Rev. Dr. Hollinshead, Mr. William B. Tucker, of this city, to Miss Ann Blake, daughter of Capt. John Blake, of St. James, Santee.

Married last evening, by the Rev. Dr. Hollinshead, Mr. Nathaniel Black, of this city to Miss Elizabeth Dewa, of Christ Church Parish.

Married last evening by the Rev. Mr. Munds, Mr. William Smith, to Miss Eliza Jones, both of this place.

Married in Beaufort, S. C. on the 25th ult., by the Rev. Joseph B. Cook, Mr. Robert L. Holcombe, of Savannah, to Miss Eliza Witter, of Beaufort.

Died on the 29th ult., at his seat at Curles (in Richmond, Va.) Col. William Heth....

Issue of April 11, 1807

Married on the 19th ult., in Laurens District by Robert Hutchinson, Esq., Mr. Joshua Hitch, to the amiable and accom-

plished Miss Elizabeth Compton, both of that district.

Issue of April 13, 1807

Married last evening, by Mr. Suares, Mr. H. M. Hertz, to Mrs. Bella Levy, widow of the late Mr. Hart Levy, of this city.

Married on Saturday evening, by the Rev. Mr. Munds, Mr. Isaac Grant, to Miss Mary Patterson, both of this place.

Married on Saturday evening, by the Rev. Mr. Munds, Mr. William Taylor, to Miss Martha Moore, both of this place.

Married at the city of Burlington, N. J., on Wednesday the 25th ult., by the Rev. Dr. Charles H. Wharton, Nathan W. Cole, M. D., to Miss Rebecca Peace, formerly of this city, now of that place.

Died on the 10th inst., at Mr. Darby's on Charleston Neck, Col. William T. Thomson, of Amelia....

Issue of April 15, 1807

Died, in this city on Sunday last, Miss Louisa Nott, aged 43 years.

Issue of April 16, 1807

Died in St. Stephen's, on the 8th inst., John Peyre, Esq., in the 57th year of his age....

Issue of April 17, 1807

Married, in St. Philip's Church, on Wednesday last, by the Rev. Dr. Jenkins, Mr. Samuel Patterson, to Miss Livingston Smith.

Died on the 18th ult., Thos. Hasell, Esq. in the 56th year of his age; an old and respectable inhabitant of Georgetown.

Issue of April 18, 1807

Married on Tuesday evening, by the Rev. Dr. Hollinshead, Mr. John C. Gilbert, of New-York, to Mrs. Frances Chinnors, of this city.

Issue of April 20, 1807

Died at New-Orleans, on the 12th ult., Richard J. Avery, deputy collector of that port.

Died at Granville (N. Y.) on the 13th ult., Mr. Benjamin Greene...native of Rhode-Island and brother of Gen. Greene...nigh 70 years of age.

Issue of April 21, 1807

Died on Wadmalaw Island on Sunday evening last, John Seabrook, esq. leaving a wife and eight children....

Died at Savannah, on the 17th inst., Mr. Andrew M'Credie, a native of Scotland....

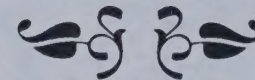
Issue of April 22, 1807

Married on the 27th ult., by the Rev. Marin Detargny, Mr. Peter Robin, Merchant, to Miss Antoinette Laroque, both formerly from the Island of St. Domingo. and now residents in this city.

Married on Tuesday the 7th inst., Edward Simkins, Esq., attorney at Law of Edgefield district, in this state, to Miss

copied Apr 1996 - rjg

MARRIAGE AND DEATH
NOTICES FROM
THE (CHARLESTON) TIMES,
1800-1821



Compiled by
BRENT H. HOLCOMB, C.A.L.S.

F 268 H 64

Baltimore
GENEALOGICAL PUBLISHING CO., INC.
1979

1306
CUMMINGS & COMPANY CO. INC.
CHICAGO

12/10/1871

THEATRE DE L'OPERA
COMPTON ST.

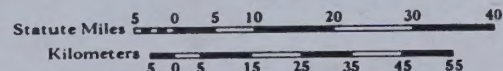
12/10/1871

12/10/1871
THE (CHRISTIAN) TIMES
POLICE FROM
WARRING ROAD DEPT.

12/10/1871



D	Kennesaw, 8,930 B 2
	Lafayette, 3,313 C 1
	La Grange, 25,597 C 1
	Lawrenceville, 16,848 C 3
	Lithia Springs, 9,145('80) h 7
	Mableton, 21,390('85) h 7
	Macon, 106,612 D 3
	Marietta, 44,129 C 2
	Martinez, 16,472('80) C 4
	Milledgeville, 17,727 C 3
	Monroe, 9,759 C 3
	Moultrie, 14,865 E 3
	Newnan, 12,497 C 2
	North Atlanta, 21,340('85) h 8
	North Druid Hills, 4,900('85) h 8
	Pendley Hills, 5,400('85) h 8
	Perry, 9,452 D 3
	Quitman, 5,292 F 3
E	Rome, 30,326 B 1
	Roswell, 47,923 B 2
	Saint Simons Island, 6,566('80) E 5
	Sandersville, 6,290 D 4
	Sandy Springs, 21,120('85) h 8
	Savannah, 137,560 D 5
	Scottdale, 8,770('80) h 8
	Smryna, 30,981 C 2
	Statesboro, 15,854 D 5
	Stone Mountain, 6,494 C 2
	Swainsboro, 7,361 D 4
	Sylvester, 5,702 E 3
	Thomaston, 9,127 D 2
	Thomasville, 17,457 F 3
	Thomson, 6,862 C 4
	Tifton, 14,215 E 3
	Toccoa, 8,266 B 3
	Tucker, 22,250('85) h 8
	Union City, 8,375 C 2
	Valdosta, 39,806 F 3
	Vidalia, 11,078 D 4
	Warner Robins, 43,726 D 3
	Waycross, 16,410 E 4
	Waynesboro, 5,701 C 4
	Winder, 7,373 C 3



Lambert Conformal Conic Projection

The Revolutionary Frontier 1763-1788

by Jack M. Jassin

18. ¹⁴ Background and Setting

the speculators—Johnson was one himself—the susceptible superintendent departed from his initial instructions, and at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in November 1768 he allowed the Iroquois to cede “Indiana” to the “suffering traders” of Pennsylvania. The boundary of the cession by the Six Nations was extended south along the Ohio from the Kanawha to the Tennessee and north from Owey to Wood Creek on the Mohawk. The southern extension apparently was to serve as compensation to the Virginians who would acquiesce in the title given to the Philadelphia group for the land on the upper Ohio claimed under the Virginia charter.¹⁷

The cession by the Six Nations of the region between the Kanawha and the Tennessee rivers gave the Virginians a pretext for undoing the negotiation concluded by Stuart with the Cherokee. Moreover, the example set by the “suffering traders” in obtaining a private land grant from the Iroquois spurred such southern speculators as David Ross, Richard Paris, and Jacob Hite to follow suit. Stuart was able to prevent these agents employed by a group of speculators, the “Land Jobbers” of Virginia, from obtaining private land grants from the Cherokee, but he was unable to prevent Governor James Wright and the merchants and traders of Georgia from extorting from one tribe lands claimed by another. For some years Wright had been eager to open all the territory east of the Oconee River. Between 1770 and 1773 he astutely played off the Creeks against the Cherokee under the guise of canceling debts owed by the Indians to the traders. By the Treaty of Augusta, August 3, 1773, Wright obtained over 2,100,000 acres in the “New Purchase” of Georgia. The episode left the Cherokee and Creeks bitter and resentful.

Virginia land speculators aided by Lord Boutetort, their compliant new governor, were even more quick to take advantage of the negotiations at Fort Stanwix. Although the Virginians contended for a boundary extending west to the Mississippi, Stuart won a compromise by the Treaty of Lochaber, October 22, 1770. The southern boundary of Virginia was extended due west to within six miles of Long Island in the Holston River and then in a straight line to the confluence of the Kanawha and Ohio. When marking this line in the spring of 1771, a survey party led by Colonel John Donelson modified the boundary in order to accommodate squatters in the Powell and Clinch valleys. Donelson departed from the specified line and struck cross-country over the Cumberland Mountains to the headwaters of the Louisa (Kentucky) River and by that stream to the Ohio. This line became the official boundary between Virginia and the Cherokee.¹⁸

Thus was concluded the last major boundary negotiation with the Indians during the British regime. Despite the policy of preserving the peace of the frontier by restricting and channeling expansion, through these negotiations the royal government obtained millions of acres of land on the frontier in the pre-Revolutionary decade. In Georgia alone 6,695,429 acres were acquired. These acquisitions were necessary to meet the pressure of an increasing population within the North American colonies and the continuing tide of immigrants from Europe and the British Isles.

representing men from the entire region from the Broad to the Savannah rivers were present. None of the 1500 assembled joined the Continental Association set up by the provincial Congress. Instead, they subscribed to a counterassociation that had evidently been initiated to appeal to a large neutral element. Some who had formerly supported the Whigs, among them Colonel Moses Kirkland, now went over to the Loyalists. Although numerically strong, the back-country Tories were short of arms and cut off from aid.

Through propaganda, coercion, and economic sanctions the eastern Whigs attempted to eliminate the Loyalist leadership and win over the Piedmont. Ezekiel Polk's company of rangers rode roughshod over the region. Early in August 1775, a band of Sons of Liberty led by Thomas Graham abducted Thomas Brown, a recent English settler from New Richmond to Augusta; they burned the soles of his feet and tarred and feathered him. An outspoken opponent of the Whigs and, according to Patriot propaganda, the son of Lord North sent over to America to “poison” the minds of the people, Brown became an active Loyalist recruiter in the back country. Yet the initiative lay with the Patriots. They would not allow anyone who did not subscribe to the Continental Association to buy or sell at any of the crossroads country stores. In addition, the Whig Council of Safety in Charleston sent William Henry Drayton and two ministers, the Presbyterian William Tennent and the Baptist Oliver Hart, to harangue the settlers. During the summer of 1775 they toured the back country addressing meetings, holding private conversations with the leading men, and inducing settlers to join the Association and the separate military units not controlled by the Loyalist militia officers.

The Whig delegation was able to divide the back country. When Drayton signed a truce with the timid Fletchal on September 16, Brown and the Cunninghams denounced the agreement and fled to East Florida to seek outside support. A large Whig force under Richard Richardson raised by the revolutionary government at Charleston dispersed the outnumbered Tories who retreated toward the Indian country. The Tories were finally defeated at Great Cane Creek on the Reedy River later in the year in the “Snow Campaign.” The Whigs were now in firm control, and Loyalism as an organized force ceased to exist in the South Carolina interior.¹⁹

The decisive victory of the Whigs in South Carolina by the end of 1775 helped to assure the success of the Patriots in North Carolina where Governor Josiah Martin had placed his hopes of holding the province until the arrival of a British army on two groups: the former Regulators, and the recently arrived Highlanders settled along the Cape Fear River. The Regulators had long held grievances against the ver-seaboard magnates who now led the revolutionary movement against the Crown. Martin, on becoming governor in 1771, had toured the back country, conciliated the Regulator leaders, and liberally granted the King's pardon. His studied policy seemed to have born fruit in the spring of 1775 when he received full assurances from the Regulator leaders in Anson, Rowen, Surrey, and Guilford counties of their devotion to the Crown and their utmost disdain of the “profligate and abandoned Republican faction. . . .” The Patriot leaders were apprehensive over the situation in the Piedmont. By what I can find,” complained Samuel Johnston, “the old Regulators are all against us.”²⁰

The North Carolina Whigs on the seaboard employed the same tactics used so successfully by the Patriots of South Carolina. Thomas Polk and his supporters were not above using force, and the North Carolina delegates to the Continental Congress prevailed on the Presbyterian, German-Lutheran, and Calvinist ministers in Philadelphia to ask their coreligionists in the Carolina back country to join the Whig cause. Late in 1775 the Continental Congress appointed two Presbyterian ministers, Elihu Spencer and Alexander McWhorter, to win over the settlers. In addition, the country merchants at Cross Creek (modern Fayetteville) refused to sell supplies to anyone failing to subscribe to the Continental Association.

The Tories, for their part, had not been inactive, but the success of the Loyalist movement depended on proper co-ordination between a British force expected to land at Cape Fear and the poorly armed Highlanders and Regulators who would rendezvous at Cross Creek under the royal standard and march to the coast. Contrary winds delaying the arrival of the British fleet off Cape Fear doomed the Loyalist cause.

- Continued over -

Early in 1775 Governor Martin had hoped to raise two or three thousand former Regulators for the royal cause, but the back settlers were having difficulties. Deprived of their arms after the Battle of the Alamance in 1771, many of them were now driven from their homes by roving parties of Whigs; as "outliers" they were forced to hide in the forests. In small groups some managed to gather at Cross Creek in answer to Martin's call for the Loyalists to assemble under the King's banner, but instead of finding the British troops and weapons as they had expected, they found only a few Highlanders. Some turned back immediately; others deserted on the march to Cape Fear. In all only about five hundred of the former Regulators and Highlanders were adequately equipped for combat when over a thousand Whig militiamen under Richard Caswell—he had played a prominent role in the defeat

others to their former homes, and perhaps as many as four thousand melted away into the wilderness of the southwest, some going as far as the lower Mississippi.¹⁰

Although Kentucky was subject to raids and eastern Tennessee quickly came under the control of the Whigs at the start of the war, throughout the conflict the infant settlements across the mountains were a refuge for those who wished to escape the turmoil of the Revolution. Brown's settlement on the Nolichucky River contained some Tories, but bands of mounted rangers from the Holston and Watauga settlements hunted down Loyalists and those suspected of harboring them. More than seventy suspects were captured and forced to take an oath to be true to the rights and liberties of America, and others were forced into the Continental army and had their lands confiscated by the court of Washington County. After 1778 many who were not in sympathy with the Revolution, fled the Watauga settlements for the lower Mississippi and Kentucky river areas.

Since few questions were asked in the Kentucky settlements, refugees who sought to escape the troubles in the East went there. Attempting to win over these frontiersmen, British authorities offered them 200 acres of land, humane treatment, and protection from the Indians. Despite the efforts of the Whig leaders along the Ohio frontier, some settlers did desert, and individuals and groups who had been captured often accepted the British offer. A few later returned to the Patriot side. The entire population of Martin's and Ruddle's stations who surrendered in 1780 to a British force took up lands about Detroit and Niagara.¹¹ As did many others, they simply made the best of a difficult situation, one not of their own choosing.

Few in the back settlements had a real choice during the Revolution. Most, perhaps, would have preferred to be neutral. But those who did take sides did so for a variety of reasons that cannot be explained entirely by class, religion, or any other factor extending to groups. In many instances the choice was an intensely personal one.

102 - Political Allegiances during the Revolution

of the insurgents at the Alamance in 1771—broke up their march at Moore's Creek near Wilmington on February 27, 1776. The Whigs then took heart. Samuel Johnston boasted that not one influential man or anyone worth more than £100 in property had joined the Loyalists. But quiet was not immediately restored. The former Regulators who had not joined the Highlanders in their march from Cross Creek formed bands on their way home and raided the farms of those who favored the Whig cause. The Patriots retaliated scouring the forests on the upper Yadkin. Many Loyalists were forced to go into hiding.⁹

The initial defeat of the Loyalists in the southern back country condemned them to the position of a persecuted minority, cut off from outside aid and constantly on the defensive before the Whigs, who instituted a program of loyalty oaths to the revolutionary governments along with terror, banishment, and confiscation to consolidate their position. In despair, some Loyalists, particularly those in the South Carolina Piedmont, fled to the British forces in East Florida led by Joseph Robinson, Thomas Brown, and Evan McLaurin. John York, Richard Paris, and Joseph Coffel of anti-Regulator fame led sizable parties during 1777 and 1778. These refugees brought word that a strong, persecuted minority in the upcountry was ready to assemble at a favorable moment.

The initial experience of the British forces invading Georgia and South Carolina in 1779-1780 seemed to confirm these reports. General Archibald Campbell reported that a considerable number of "irregulars from the upper country" under the denomination of "Crackers" had joined the British forces occupying Augusta. Fourteen hundred men swore allegiance to the King and were formed into twenty militia companies. But with every turn in the tide of war, the back settlers changed sides. Expediency and the need for survival, rather than principle or conviction, motivated most of them in the bloody partisan warfare that raged in the back country during the next two years. The British were never able to organize a dependable militia in the interior, and their own regular forces were too small to hold the vast area and at the same time cope with the Continental field army. By the end of 1781 they had begun to withdraw from the South. Many of the Loyalist militia in Georgia and South Carolina deserted to return home and protect their property, and on the way, enlisted in the Whig volunteers. Yet hundreds preferred to leave with the British army. Following the evacuation of Savannah, Governor Patrick Tonyn of East Florida reported that about fifteen hundred white refugees and one thousand slaves had joined the British. Although there were a few respectable families among them, according to Tonyn, they were chiefly "backwoods-men." With the return of the Floridas to Spain by the terms of the peace treaty of 1783, some Loyalist refugees went to the West Indies,

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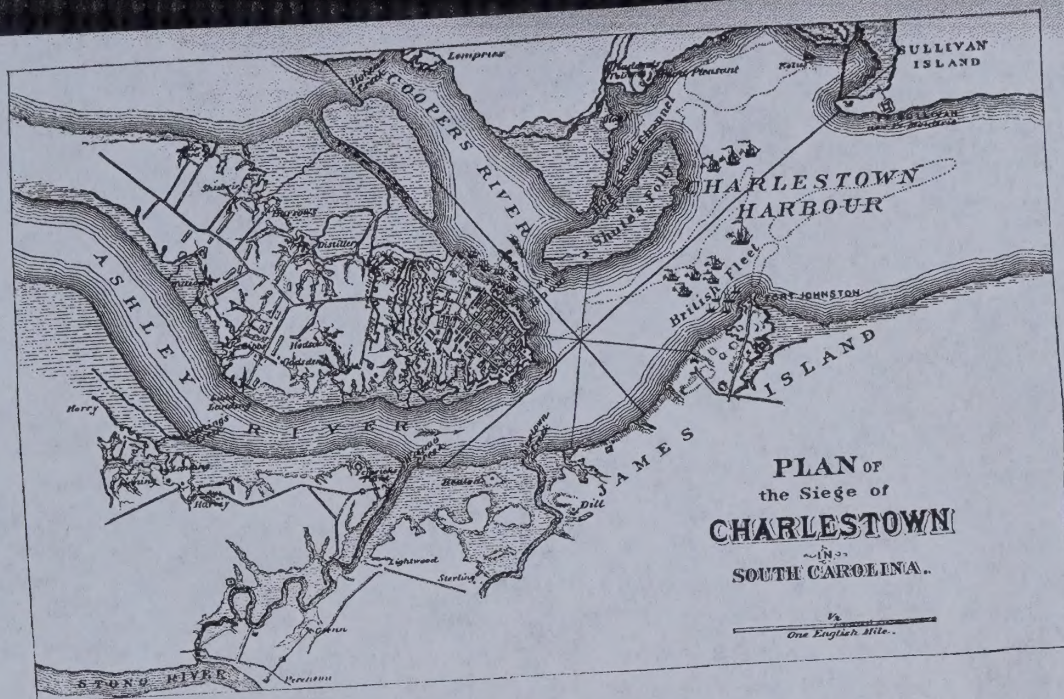


both of whom served as secretaries of war after Congress created a Department of War in 1781, were steady and reliable, and Knox in fact may have been quite superior.

Among the horde of foreign adventurers to descend upon Washington, a handful were of real quality: Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben, Baron Johann de Kalb, Count Casimir Pulaski, Thaddeus Kosciuszko, and the very youthful Lafayette, whose eagerness helped to compensate for the inexperience that was his as a nineteen-year-old reserve captain in the French army. Perhaps Washington's regimental officers were the best single element in the army. The vicissitudes of war eliminated scores of incompetents, and the initial inexperience of the others was somewhat compensated for by their zeal. In 1776, William Howe lamented that the flower of young American manhood was joining Washington's officer corps. Among those officers of quality were Henry Dearborn and Moses Hazen of Massachusetts; Eleazer Oswald and several Trumbulls of Connecticut; Alexander Hamilton, Jacob Morris, and John Lamb of New York; Alexander Graydon and Richard Butler of Pennsylvania; Henry (Light Horse Harry) Lee, William Washington, and John Marshall of Virginia; William R. Davie of North Carolina; and John Laurens of South Carolina.

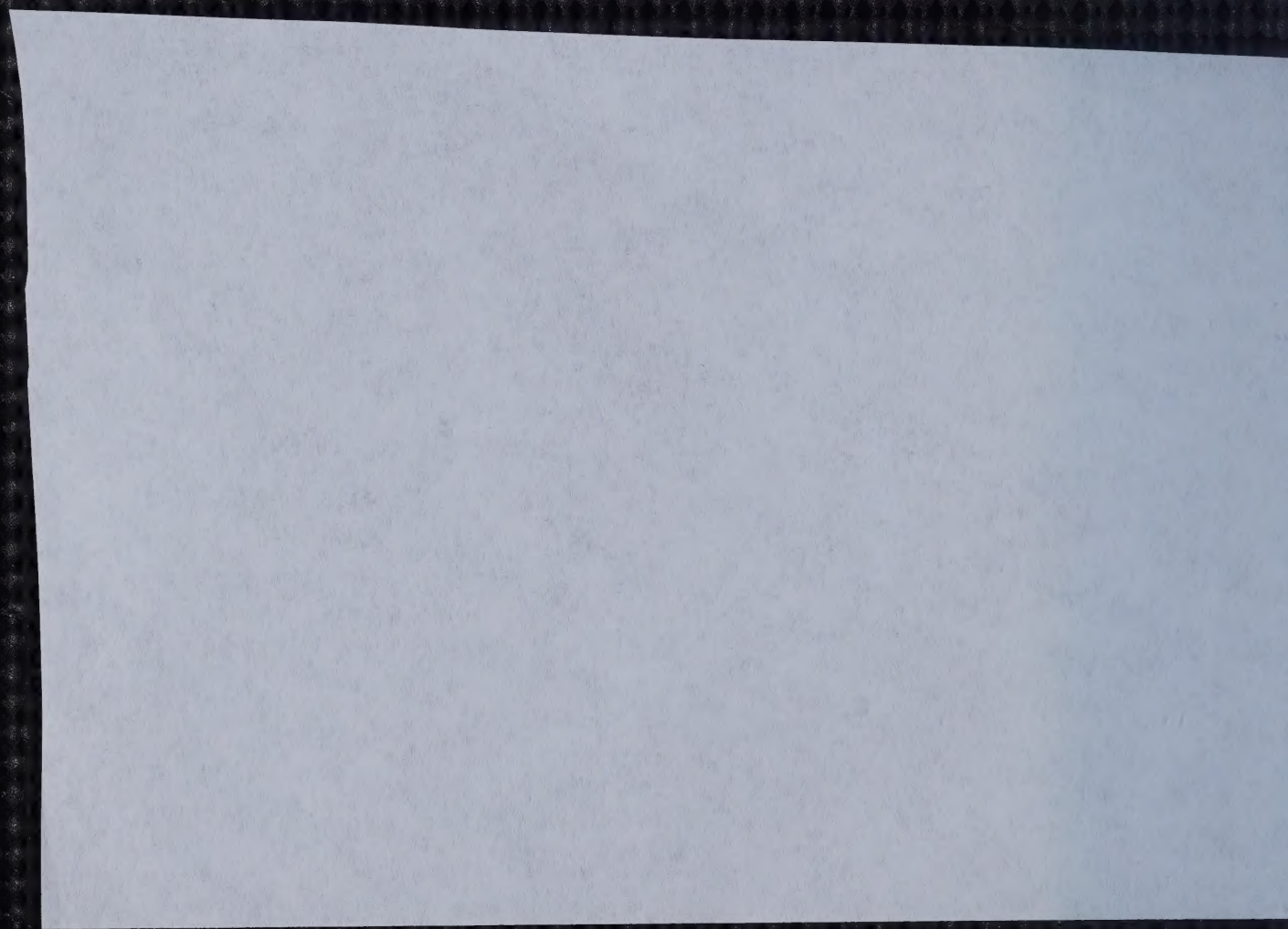
Finally, it was no small advantage to the Americans to be fighting on their own soil and to be more flexible in their military operations than their opponents. If they did not contemplate a massive guerrilla war, if they stood eyeball to eyeball with the redcoats in various "open" engagements from New York to South Carolina, they nonetheless resorted advantageously at times to winter campaigning and night attacks, and they effectively employed backwoods riflemen, light infantry, and irregular or civilian partisan fighters in harassing the flanks, interrupting communication and supply routes, and raiding isolated posts.

In contrast, the British pluses became steadily negated by the frustrations of waging war 3,000 miles from home against an armed population diffused over hundreds and hundreds of miles. The land was forested, ravined, swampy, and interlaced by countless streams and rivers. It seemingly took forever for word of campaign plans to pass from London to British commanders in America, for supplies to arrive, and for naval units to appear to operate in conjunction with land forces. It was discouraging to win battle after battle and see Britain's armies led of men in the process—on a short-term basis in any case—seemed endless. It was exasperating to seize somewhere along the way every single American urban center, including the capital city of Philadelphia, and have nothing to show for it other than the possession of territory, for America had no vital strategic center. Today Americans know from bitter recent experience that to hold the cities in a war in a so-called backward area of the world is not to insure victory in the countryside. Was the Revolution indeed Britain's Vietnam?



from Lincoln, etc.

H. H. Smith in Ann - McCarty



Suggested Editing

Pears

The Chapter about George is very chatty.

- ① Somewhere after we find him on the ~~beach~~ ^{beach} tell the reader that ~~because our knowledge is 50 years~~ ^{because our knowledge is 50 years} there are not ~~so~~ ^{so} much information in the records.

just 117
one day

111 - 238
after any

~~the~~
pages of George
& history

Some Source

Maxwell

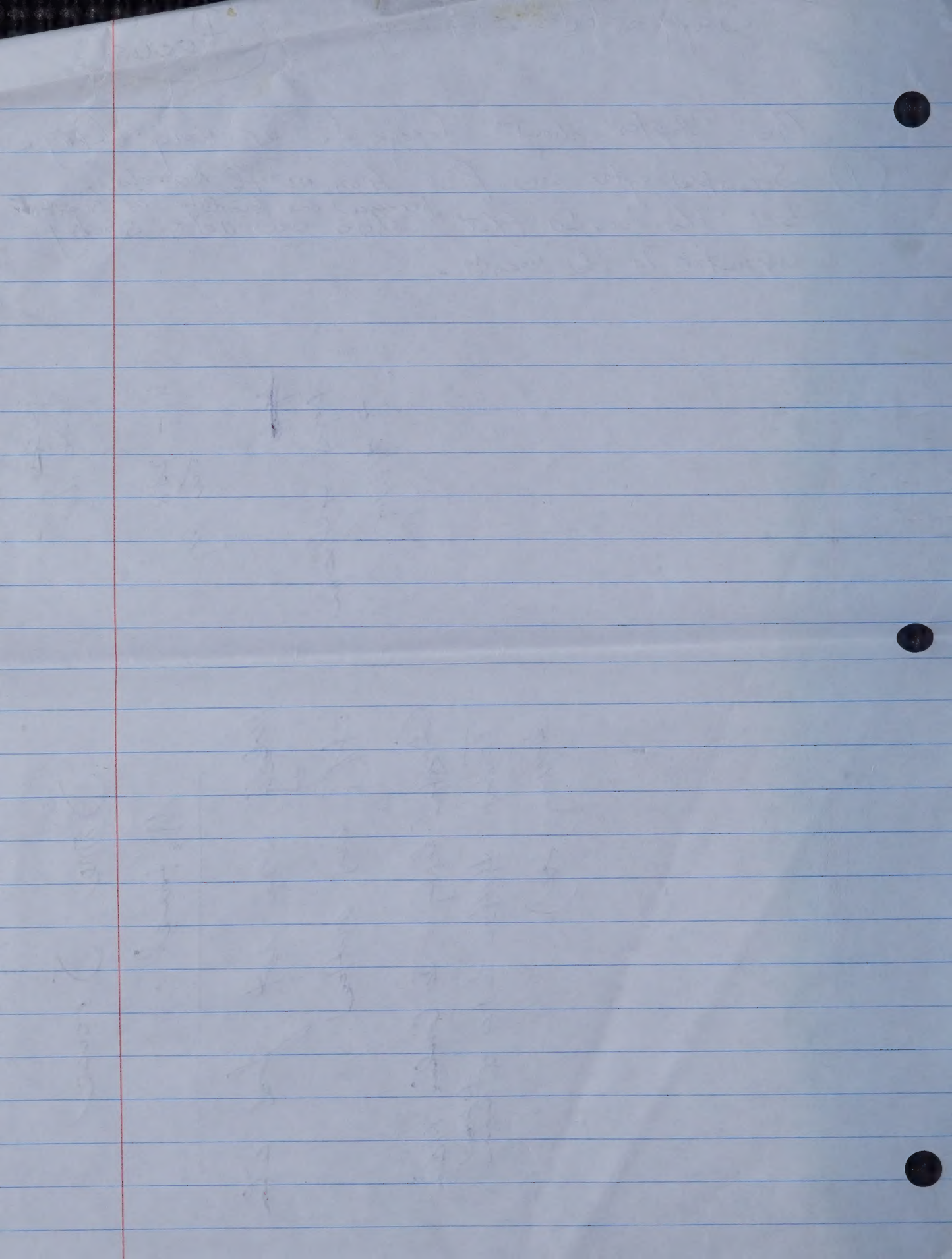
history was not found at the

this was another

Christian history, as Conline Indian

There history date ~~from~~ ^{from}

beginning etc)



PEARIS FAMILY

which was to establish a market for ^{an unobstructed route to} ~~the~~ ^{order} ~~the~~ ^{to} obtain needed
needed supplies ~~of~~ the Ohio River frontier. ^{product ad to}
for benefit of

*which was to
open a route
between the
River ports
and New Orleans*
Choctaw patrols on the Mississippi, he struck the settlers at Manchac on February 21. After plundering the residents, Willing made for New Orleans where he was received by the Spanish governor Bernardo de Galvez. The settlers at Natchez revolted against Willing's men, however, and with the aid of 100 British troops from Pensacola regained control of the lower Mississippi. Willing's expedition achieved the opposite effect of what Congress probably intended. ~~Instead of facilitating supplies to the Ohio frontier (as they wished) it called forth British reinforcements from West Florida and a virtual blockage of the lower Mississippi. *~~

As a result
~~After that~~ the Mississippi settlements grew by leaps and bounds. By war's end there were many thousands of plantations there. In Richard's declaration, he summarized his role ^{as} ~~as~~ "On my arrival at Pensacola Colonel Stewart gave me a Company under him and I was immediately ordered to march to the River Mississippi and retake it from the Rebels if possible, which I effected by storming the main guard of men, and left my company in the garrison." It seems that a reinforced garrison at Manchac was later given the name of Forte Bute. Richard's role in the war at this time was not confined to any particular fort, but for special missions to accomplish specific persons. It seems at this time that he was leader of a Light Horse Troop of Loyal Refugees. *for*



Many genealogies start out by speculating about ancient backgrounds of possible progenitors. We can spare a page for that, but it is not to be taken very seriously. All we know for sure is that our Pearises came from Ireland in 1735 when our Richard was ten. There were three main categories of folks in Ireland in those days.

(1) Celtic Irish, most of them poor and Catholic, who seldom came to America until a century later, and do not include the Pearises.

(2) English and Scots "planted" in Ulster by Queen Elizabeth and King James on through Cromwell's conquering army in the 1640's. This group, or some sent earlier might include some people of Norman descent. As we all know, Normans were Scandanavian but they adopted the French language. It appears as though the name Pearis probably is of French origin. There is a book on that subject, listing names of some early arrivals of such people in England, based on ancient rolls.* The rolls show: William, Roger, Walter and Odaline Paris lived in Normandy during the years 1180-95. Alan, Eguerran, Garin and Giselbert de Paris and also Hugo and Peter de Paris were all in England in 1198.

Alternate spellings of the name Pearis were listed as Parish, Parrish, Paris, Parris, Pariss, and even Piris. The prefix "de" was usually dropped in later centuries. Spellings were seldom consistent, but neither were they in America in the 1700's. In our book you will notice people other than the immediate family or close neighbors seldom spelt the name Pearis. Paris was commonly used by others, and our Richard's descendants gradually went with the flow. Our Sarah's youngest son, who received the surname as his given name, called himself "Paris Teater."

Some of those early folk in England were landed gentry who possessed their own coats of arms, but I do not have access to many of those lists. I did chance upon one instance--Sir Thomas de Peres, a member of parliament living in Essex County (near London) during the reign of King Edward II (1307-1327) bore the following: Vert (green) on a bend argent (silver, depicted white), cotised or (gold).**

(3) Huguenots, a numerous French Calvinist sect persecuted by Catholic monarchs, were murdered by the hundreds of thousands because of their faith before, and especially after, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The Edict, signed 13 April 1598 by a wise king granting clemency was revoked 18 October 1685. Thousands on thousands fled to Holland, Germany, Switzerland, even Africa, England and Ireland. Queen Elizabeth was sympathetic to the plight of the earliest group and tried to help find homes, employment, and food to those destitute victims sheltered only in tents, but was overwhelmed by the numbers of refugees. By the time of the revocation in 1685 there were colonies in America they could go to--though not in Canada where any such would be put to the sword by the French.

*The Norman People, publ. anon., London 1874, reprint GPC 1989, pg 352

**Feudal Coats of Arms, Joseph Foster, 1902 London pg 195

France's loss was all those other countries' gain, for Huguenots were as a rule very talented artisans of the upper middle class, a few of noble descent, with high morals because of their religion. As will be shown later in this book (chapter three) a century ago a then-prominent West Virginia author stated, incorrectly, that our many-great Uncle George Pearis's sons Robert and George III, were descended from a prominent South Carolina Huguenot named Alexander Parris who came as one of the first settlers by way of Barbadoes. As I explain, that is impossible chronologically. However, that does not mean our family does not have other Huguenot descent. We simply do not know.

* * * * *

When I first started researching the Pearis line, I did not expect to find much, maybe fifty pages worth if I were lucky, for Sarah's father, Captain Richard Pearis, was an officer in the French and Indian War. There is usually at least something in the records about such officers, good for a short write-up if One is lucky. But Richard was no ordinary man--the more I read, the more I found. It kept coming and coming. As mentioned earlier, this is the second version. Even more keeps surfacing, but I cannot wait, for I am 80 years old and going blind, so it has to be done now. If important data shows up later, perhaps an addendum can be arranged.

Now the format must be explained. Though meant to be a genealogy, the subject matter does not lend itself to the usual form though an attempt is made in that direction. Because the story is so unusual and because we are dealing with a time gone by when customs were very different than they are today, copious documentation must be furnished throughout, to prove its authenticity. The only way to tell our story in all its ramifications is as a documentary, quoting Captain Pearis's contemporaries like, for instance, George Washington who was well acquainted with him, and many, many others. Such historic literature abounds, so I've tried to sort it chronologically, and weave it together in as interesting a manner as I can. The aspect that bothers me most is that inclusion of old deed and court records, state archives, and letters of old windbags like Sir Edmund Atkins, for example, might make our narrative choppy in places--yet they need to be included for the sake of completeness. I've tried to get around this a little by putting some of this in small type. YOU MAY SKIM OVER ANYTHING IN THIS BOOK WRITTEN IN SMALL TYPE! That stuff is there mainly as documentation or to prove a point.

People, even Washington, spelled phonetically in those days. Even the calendar was different as the colonies gradually switched from the old Julian to the Gregorian calendar reluctantly, using double-dating. To make sense, this story must be told from Richard Pearis's point of view. He and his beloved Cherokees opted for the losing side in the Revolutionary War. Both suffered the consequences. But he was ahead of his times in other ways, especially regarding the Indians, as modern man is just now coming to realize.

CHAPTER TWO - THE IMMIGRANT FAMILY

George Pearis, Sr., born perhaps about 1690, and his wife Sarah, born perhaps about 1695, sailed from Ireland to America in 1735 with their partly-grown children, probably headed for the Port of Philadelphia. We do not know where they resided in the first few years after they disembarked. According to a genealogy to be mentioned later, their oldest son married the daughter of a family named Pepper, which resided in those years in the vicinity of Lancaster PA. It could be that the young couple married there, but that is by no means proven.

Another possibility is that our family was recruited in Ireland by Jacob Hite, known to have gone there sometime in the very early 1730's seeking families to settle in a large new frontier Virginia land grant in the Opequon River Valley belonging to his father, Jost Hite. His scurrying about was a matter of some urgency, for the grant had been purchased from the VanMeters, the original grantees, and the clock was already ticking on the amount of time left to have families with cleared land living there before the deadline expired. Jost Hite had many married sons and daughters who led a large wagon train of prospective settlers there. The trek was rather arduous, but they managed to be ensconced there by 1732, though they were still seeking more families.

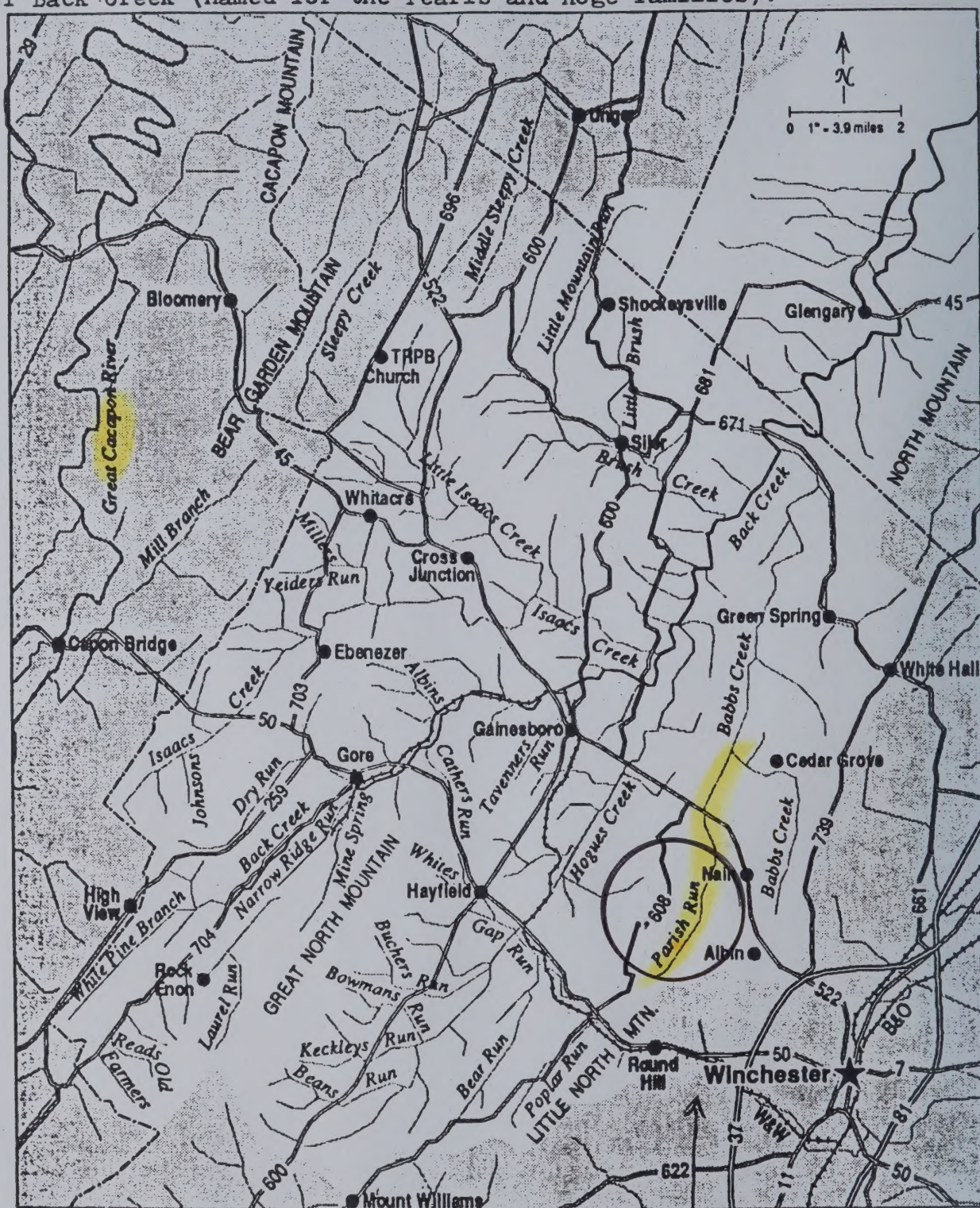
This is the locality where the Pearises later settled, but they were not in America that soon, and there is no proof that they came at the urging of Jacob Hite. One reason it seems plausible is that Jacob had a profound effect on the life of young Richard Pearis by hiring him at a rather tender age to assist in an Indian fur-trading venture, thus introducing the lad to his life-long vocation. Even if Jacob met the family in Ireland, they would not necessarily have come to America right away. Jacob also visited Lancaster many times. Pennsylvania land was already becoming scarce and expensive in the part not still owned by Indian tribes. There is no evidence our family ever purchased any land from the Hites!

Unbeknownst to the Hite family, they had a powerful hidden rival in the person of Lord William Fairfax. In April 1736, Fairfax convened a meeting of settlers at the residence of Jost Hite. He had come to Virginia armed with an English court order, forcing the colony to cease any further distribution in that area. He claimed it infringed on a royal grant which he had inherited. Fairfax made only one concession--patents already issued to settlers would remain in effect. All this is being told because this is where our Pearis family lived, and the sons later purchased Fairfax land and associated with him. This is the first spring they lived in America. They resided northwest of the new Winchester settlement--but they were not there yet.

To learn when a family arrived in a certain area, one first consults land records. Land grantees, (like Hite, Morgan, Ross, Fairfax etc) issued patents once the land was surveyed, which I have not seen. Deed records commenced only when that land was finally sold. Deed records do not help in our case, because the earliest ones have not survived.

PEARIS FAMILY

George Pearis, Sr., resided at "Parish" Run of "Hogues" Creek branch of Back Creek (named for the Pearis and Hoge families).



From: Settlement and some First Families of Back Creek Valley
Back Creek and Its Tributaries

PEARIS FAMILY

13

Location of the Pearis Family homestead (upper left) shows clearly in a modern Virginia atlas. Shenandoah River and Blue Ridge mountains are at far right.



When the settlers first came, this unpopulated area was considered to be part of Spotsylvania County, itself part of the frontier. Then Orange County, at first very huge, was created in 1734. In 1738 Frederick County (which it still is) was created, but no Frederick County deeds before 1743 are in existence. Not that Orange County early records are perfect, but at least some exist. All this might be due to several causes, but knowing that so many Virginia records were destroyed during the fighting in the Civil War, and that many battles were in the Winchester area, that seems to be about the likeliest cause. It is just our rotten luck that the deed records we desire most are those that did not survive. After 1743 the situation improves.

Proof, albeit negative, that they were there before 1743 is in the will of George Pearis, Sr., who willed his son Richard the land he had purchased from Peter Helton, ~~Other land which he had purchased from Richard Morgan~~ went to George Pearis III, young son of his son George Jr. Both these tracts and others were purchased and recorded somewhere (probably in a missing volume) before the 1743 deeds start. The earliest mention of our family in Frederick County Deeds was on 11 February 1747/8, when Richard witnessed a deed in which Emanuel Grub of Newcastle, Delaware, sold 115 acres (bought from Jost Hite) to Benjamin Grub, bordering on land of John Grub. By then our family had probably been there for about a decade. Richard was about 23 at the time, already with wife and children, trading with the Cherokees.

As of 12 November 1750, George Pearis, Sr. of Frederick County purchased from William Hoge, Jr., of Bucks Co. PA, a 200-acre tract a part of Hoge's late father's estate.* This was a particularly nice piece of property. The mansion-house thereon became the family homestead. Deed books do show the origin. William Hoge, Sr., got it from Isaac Parkins who received it by patent from original grantee Alexander Ross in March 1735. Ross, a Quaker, had sponsored a settlement of Hopewell Quakers a little northwest of the Hites.

Some land bordering on the new Pearis homestead had been sold to the Quaker Babb family who hung onto it. Our map on the previous page shows "Hogues" Creek, "Babbs" Run, and "Parrish" Run, named for these families. Time has twisted the spellings, but it is still easy to see where these families lived as pioneers. Perhaps before that our family lived on land from Helton or Morgan. Generally creeks are named for the earliest settlers who lived along their courses. Maybe George Pearis had some acreage along "Parrish" Run even before he purchased the fine Hoge property. (It is puzzling that his will was dated 15 Nov 1749, yet Frederick Co. deed books show the purchase to be a year later, as above. How could he will land he had not yet received?)

*Frederick County VA Deed Books 1743-1776 abstracts by Amelia C. Gilreath (1989) Book I, page 389 of the original records.

Frederick County Virginia Will Book 2, pages 64, 65, & 66,
(abstracted) Dated 15 Nov 1749, admitted to record (probate) 1 Sep 1752: Will of George Pearis, Senior:

Debts to be paid.

One daughter, Christian Nealy, one English Crown--has received child's part already.

Eldest son, George Pearis, one English Crown.

Second son, Richard Pearis, tract of land I bought of Peter Helton, in which he now dwells, my best riding horse, and my wearing apparel.

Third and youngest son, Robert Pearis, that tract of land which I bought from William Hoge, whereupon I now dwell.

I give and bequest to my loving wife, Sarah, one end of my dwelling house everwhich end she thinks best, to choose during her lifetime or widowhood; and also I do order and allow her 20 bu. wheat, 20 bu. Indian corn, to be paid to her year by year by my said son, Robert Pearis, during her lifetime, etc., together with 1/3 part of all my moveable estate.

One tract of land bought of Richard Morgan in care of son Robert for seven years, sold and principal and interest to be paid to my grandson, George Pearis's oldest son, at 21. If he doesn't live to be 21 years, that tract to my second son, Richard.

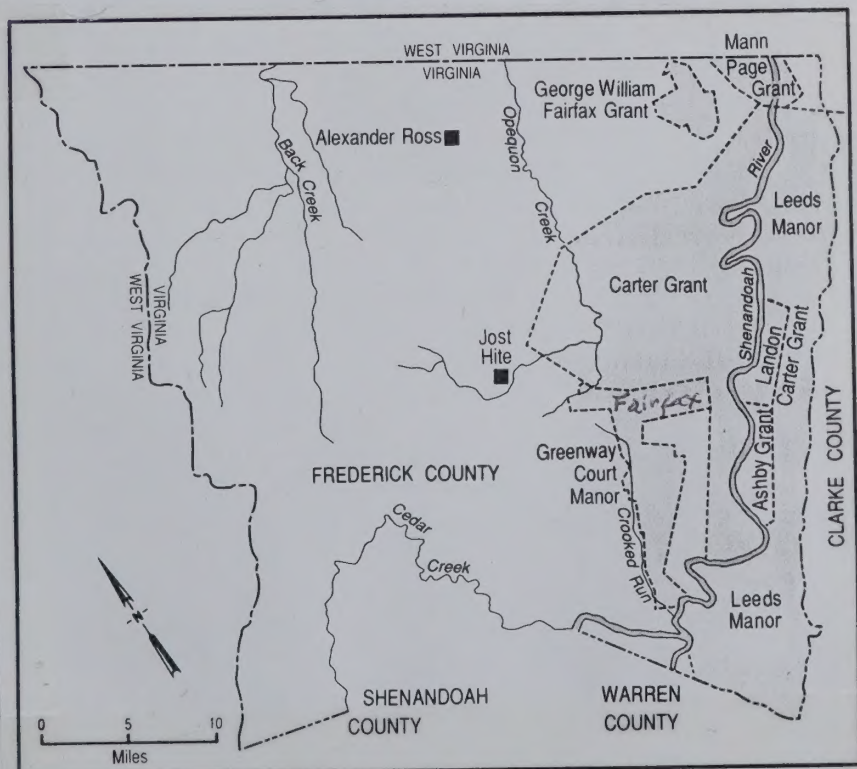
John Nealy, 75 pounds current money at 21 years, and discharged to him in horses and mares by my son, Robert Pearis.

Executrix--wife, Sarah. Executor--Robert Pearis.

Frederick County Will Book 2, page 89.

Estate of Sara Pearis: dated May 1753.
George Pearis, administrator of his mother.

Ross and Hite issued more than a hundred patents, with many more planned for settlers already in place when Fairfax arrived. Nearly all were on the West Side of the Opequon.



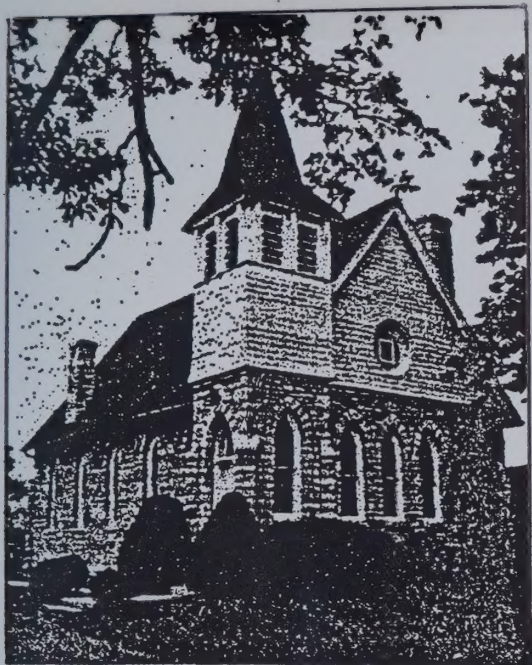
George and Sarah Pearis must have believed that the frontier offered splendid opportunity for the advancement of their children and themselves. The shortsighted policies of the English parliament had been a disaster for Ireland. Many poor people were starving there. The Pearises were not poor, but none could thrive in Ulster, so they left, only to find Pennsylvania crowded and land too pricey. The soil in this new place was amazingly fertile with new markets for produce with all the new arrivals. Somehow they were able to provide their children with good educations for the times. In those days nearly everyone spelled phonetically. You will see samples of some of Richard's correspondence later on. He did not write like a Cambridge scholar, but he managed to express his ideas quite well.

The will of George Pearis, Sr., took up three pages of the county will book, so it probably contained much more detail which might be revealing. I have made no attempt to search for it on microfilm though that probably exists. It is the type of will that a conscientious, prosperous oldfashioned gentleman would have made. He was concerned for the welfare of his widow and children. Christian and George had already received their portions, undoubtedly at the time they married and set up their own households. Richard and Robert now received land. As we know, Richard was gone much of the time so Robert received the mansion-house and was to care for his mother who, as it turned out, did not have long to live.

The most striking aspect is something learned later, by research. The wording would lead one to suppose there were only two grandchildren at the time, George Pearis, III and John Nealy; but such was not the case. Those two were only the oldest sons of the two oldest children. Christian may have had other children. George had two sons by then and perhaps a daughter. Richard had at least one daughter, our ancestress Sarah Pearis named for her grandmother, possibly two other children though they were part Indian, living mostly in Cherokee country. Probably Robert did not yet have children. At first blush this seems to smack a bit of the outdated rules of primogeniture. Tidewater Virginia's original practice of entailed estates was now dying out--but that is how Fairfax got his land there, which he desired to run as a fief. In Colonial America boys usually got land and girls doweries.

Books about early tidewater Virginia often refer to the "seasoning" of new arrivals from the mother country, who more likely than not came down with endemic diseases in this warmer new climate. Besides dysentery, the most common was malaria, especially in low-lying areas; but it also occurred in newly-opened areas while the undergrowth was being cleared away, thus disturbing mosquitos and other vermin. One cannot help but wonder whether something like that caused the rather early death of the Pearis parents and others like them. They must have been about sixty years old when they died. The children seem to have adapted better.

If it is true that you can tell about people by the company they keep, consider that our ancestor, George Pearis Sr., bought and lived in the same house the aristocratic William Hoge, Sr., and his wife, a Hume (probably of Royal descent) had lived in. I do not know our family's circumstances in Ireland, but they clearly were upper-class citizens.



Left - 1987 photo of the Presbyterian church donated by the Hoges.

Right - Hoge family coat of arms. The blue boars have red tongues. The crescents & cross suggest an early ancestor was in the Crusades--probably a Norman who fought Saracens.

George Pearis, Sr., purchased his homestead from the estate of William Hoge, Sr. The whole community owed a debt of gratitude to Mr. Hoge, son of Sir James Hoge of Musselboro, Scotland*. At age 20 he emigrated for religious freedom aboard the ship Caledonia, where he met the Hume family. Her parents fell sick and died, leaving him to care for young Barbara, age 10. He left her with relatives but later married her and they raised a large family. In old age the elderly couple and their progeny moved to Jost Hite's settlement. In 1736 he had a large church built which he donated to the community with the proviso that all faiths be allowed to worship there and especially any itinerant minister who should come along to visit the new settlement. The couple and many descendants are among those buried in the churchyard. His grandson, Rev. John Hoge, was ordained a Presbyterian minister in 1755 and became pastor there. Our Pearises and Teters worshiped there, as did George Washington and many others. The church was damaged in the Revolutionary and Civil Wars and a 1873 fire. This is how it looks now after many remodelings.

Information from a genealogy, Hoge, Hogue and Hogg by Lola Gentry Hoge et al (1987)

*Musselboro is a suburb of Edinburgh.

As in many genealogies, in this book, after telling what we know of the parents, we will attempt to chronicle the lives of the children. In this case we will start with the oldest child, daughter Christian, telling immediately below what little we know of her life, then devote a chapter each to oldest son George Jr. and youngest son Robert. Then the greater part of the rest of this book will tell of the life of our ancestor, Richard Pearis.

Christian Pearis, born probably in Ireland sometime between 1717 and 1720, married a Mr. Nealy. If the earlier of these dates is the case, she may have been married in Ireland. Maybe others of the Nealy clan came to America with them or about the same time. If younger, she would have married in this country. All we know for sure is contained in her father's will, that a bequest was made to her oldest son, John Nealy.

The given name of her husband was not mentioned, but probably he was William Nealy (surname spelled variously in the records). A "Willm" Nealy witnessed her father's purchase of land from William Hoge in November 1750, also a sale by her brother Richard in May 1763. (See deed records later.) Richard witnessed a sale of property from John Nielly to George Nielly in 1764. The estate of William Nealy furnished provisions for the "Minute Men" (of Frederick County?) during the French and Indian War. *

The name Christian, popular in England and in Colonial America, is usually spelled Christine nowadays. We are certainly interested in her, but the name Nealy with all its spellings was so common in the Valley of Virginia and in the Carolinas that sorting it all out would be an overwhelming task. The following may or may not apply. We may assume that she, like her brothers, was a strong, independent person. A number of settlers of the name lived on the Forks of the Roanoke at the same time as her brother George.

Rowan County, North Carolina deeds shown in fine print in Chapter Four show that as of 10 July 1766, William Nealy, tavernkeeper acquired commercial lot #6 on the south side of the downtown square of the new commercial town of Salisbury, purchased from her brother Robert, and they bought more land nearby later. Business would have been brisk in those years, with many travelers passing through. Brother George also owned much property there, and brother Richard visited occasionally. But three years later Christian and William started selling out. By 19 July 1771 they were already living in Camden County, South Carolina. Whether they remained there or later moved nearer to Richard who had acquired a huge plantation at the site that later became Greenville SC I cannot say. Though not really close, that was considered to be in the Ninety-Six court district. During the Revolution, records of Loyalists in that district included Christopher Nealy and George Neally. Those sound a lot like family names?

*Shenandoah Valley Pioneers and Their Descendants, T. A. Cartmell, pg 517, quoting Hening's Revised Statutes Vol 7.

CHAPTER THREE - GEORGE JUNIOR ON THE
FORKS OF THE ROANOKE

George Pearis, Jr., born around 1720, came to America with the rest of his parents' family, but you couldn't tell that from Frederick County deed books which, replete with details of the many land transactions of his two younger brothers, do not mention his name at all, not even as a witness for someone else. The only records there concerning him are his father's will and the filing of his mother's estate when she died a little later.

Though his father's will left him only "one English crown," we may assume that was because he had probably received his "child's portion" earlier, very likely as a wedding gift when he set up his own household, which was customary. George's oldest son, then a minor, who carried on the family name as George Pearis III, was to receive the proceeds from a tract of land his grandfather had bought from Richard Morgan. (This is another purchase not mentioned in Frederick County deed books, and yet another reason to think the family probably got there before 1743!) The child's youngest uncle, Robert Pearis, was to care for the land for seven years, then sell it and give principal and interest to the lad, though if he died before reaching maturity the land was to go to Uncle Richard.

The wording of the will makes one wonder why George Jr. was not selected to manage his own son's legacy. Was he incompetent to manage the estate, or dishonest? Was that why he received no land himself? Probably he was neither of those things; a more likely explanation is that he simply was not there to manage his son's legacy, for we can see that he managed to be present a few years later to act as administrator of his mother's estate when she died. An incompetent or untrustworthy man would probably not have been selected by his mother for that task, and events ~~which will~~ detailed later show that he was in Virginia in Spring 1753, and that the boy survived.

Though it is not unlikely Uncle Robert continued to manage the estate as long as he remained in Frederick County, the interested parties must have agreed to a different arrangement among themselves, for another book about the area says*:

"Jost Hite had 175 acres 'on the east side of Opeckon' Creek surveyed by Robert Brooks on 23 December 1734. Hite assigned this tract to Richard Morgan who sold it to 'George Pearis the elder' who devised by will (15 November 1749) to his grandson George Pearis who has assigned his interest in the same to Jacob Hite 10 October 1765 for the consideration of 80 pounds."

*Pioneers of Old Frederick County, Virginia by Cecil O'Dell (1995) page 82. This book lists as sources Robert Brook's Book of Surveys at VA Hist. Soc. and Hite/Fairfax Lawsuit, British copy pp 162-3, neither of which I have access to. There is a map showing the tract location.

PEARIS FAMILY

So where was George? A Pepper genealogy (see sketch next page) suggests he may have been in Lancaster Co. PA where it is supposed he married Sarah Pepper, born 1725, daughter of Dr. Robert Pepper and his wife, Sarah Patterson, who had come from Ireland a few years earlier. About the time of the 1744 marriage, Colonel James Patton, partner in a huge new land company seeking to entice settlers to populate their holdings in SW Virginia, was in Lancaster where he visited many settlements, even including those of the Dunkers near Ephrata--many of whom accepted his offer to settle on New River. *

By 1751 the company had fertile land on the upper forks of the Roanoke River, in those days called "Goose Creek." ** The records say,

"March 21, 1753, Grants by deed from James Patton, parcels of land from 4470 acres patented April 10, 1751, North Fork Goose Creek, John Robinson, Sr., 300 acres, corner John Robinson, Jr.; John Robinson, Jr., 872 acres, corner John Robinson, Sr., and Jas. Gorrell; William and James Gorrell, 620 acres corner James Gorrell and George Pearis; George Pearis, 271 acres, corner Tobias and Erich Bright; Elijah Isaac, 378 acres, corner Erich Bright and Thos. Hill; Erich Bright, 207 acres, corner to Geo. Pearis and Elijah Isaac; Thomas Hill, 70 acres, corner to Elijah Isaac and Benj. Ogle; Benj. Ogle, 200 acres, corner Thomas Hill and Elijah Isaac; William Pepper, 580 acres, corner to Francis Cyphers; Francis Cyphers. 400 acres, Barrens, corner to William Pepper."

The map following reflects where this land was located, though names changed from time to time as the land changed hands. The discrepancy between 1751, the patent date, and 1753 when titles to the land was given, is because titles could not be issued until surveys (usually paid for by the owners) were accomplished. Sometimes busy surveyors could not get around promptly. Thus it is possible George could have been there by 1751. The first years were frantically busy during the rush to clear a few acres and erect dwellings. We know George was busy settling his mother's estate in May, 1753. The books say, "In the spring of 1753 the inhabitants of the North Branch of Roanoke petitioned that they be relieved of road work on the road down Cottage Creek. Among these petitioners were Thomas Ingles, William Ingles, Tobias Bright, George Pearis, William Pepper, and Jacob Brown."

*History of Wythe County Virginia, Mary B. Kegley. Pp 16-7 & 26 tell about Patton, his visit to Lancaster, the Dunkers and their SW VA settlements & Patton's murder by Indians.

** Kegley's Virginia Frontier, Joseph B. Kegley, pg 102; also Augusta County Deed Book 5:64-114 (Vol III:309) of the extracts by Lyman Chalkey

NOTE: It is claimed that the soft drink, Dr. Pepper, is named for George Pearis's father-in-law, Dr. Robert Pepper, by some of the Pepper descendants.

PEPPER FAMILY SKETCH

Dr. Robert Pepper (ca 1690-17__) a surgeon, married Sarah Patterson in Ireland. They came to old Lancaster Co. PA about 1730. One son stayed in the east, but the others migrated to Pepper's Run, North Fork of the Roanoke (No. of present Blacksburg VA). His death date is not known, but Sarah lived to be about 100 years old, last living with son Samuel at Peppers Ferry near where, around 1800, she wandered into the woods, became disoriented, and died. Their children were:

1. Joshua Pepper (18 Jan 1720/1-28 Dec 1808) m. Elizabeth McCauley and last lived on a farm near Georgetown, Delaware (Delmarva Peninsula) having been in Hampshire Co. VA in 1784. 3 children.
2. William Pepper (ca 1722/3- ?) m. _____ and received a land patent from Col. James Patton in March 1753 where he lived near sister Sarah and brother-in-law George Pearis, Jr. on No. F Roanoke. On 25 June 1756 he was taken captive by Indians & never heard from again. (Some speculate that he was eventually released in Ohio where he raised a new family--unproven. The Indians killed Col. Patton.) His daughter Sophia later married a cousin.
3. Robert Pepper, Jr. (ca 1724-7 Oct 1780) though wounded that day was not captured. He and a son Elisha were killed at the famous Battle of Kings Mountain-Revolutionary War. Son John lived in Guilford Co. NC. Catherine, his widow, on 5 Apr 1787 was living in Burke Co. NC when the census was taken by Capt. William Neil. Jonas Griffith, believed to have been our ancestor, was listed as a neighbor, and both families migrated to old Madison Co. KY the next year.
4. Sarah Pepper (25 April 1725- ca 1768?) married George Pearis, Jr., and they tried hard to raise three children in that very dangerous place. It appears they were plagued with disasters--see text.
5. Ruth Pepper (ca 1730?-) m. John Carson & lived in NC.
6. Samuel Pepper (20 Mar 1734-26 Oct 1804) b. Lancaster Co. PA, established Peppers Ferry across New River (present Radford VA). He was named in lawsuits involving his brother-in-law George Pearis. (Author Johnston said he married Malinda Pearis, daughter of Robert, probably a fallacy, for later Peppers can find no evidence this is so.) He did marry Naomi "Ami" Burke b. 1 Feb 1746, dau. of James Burke b. Limerick, Ireland, and Polly Bane. (Mr. Burke was discoverer of "Burke's Gardens, presently in Tazewell Co. VA and stepfather of Morris Griffith² (Methusalem¹)).

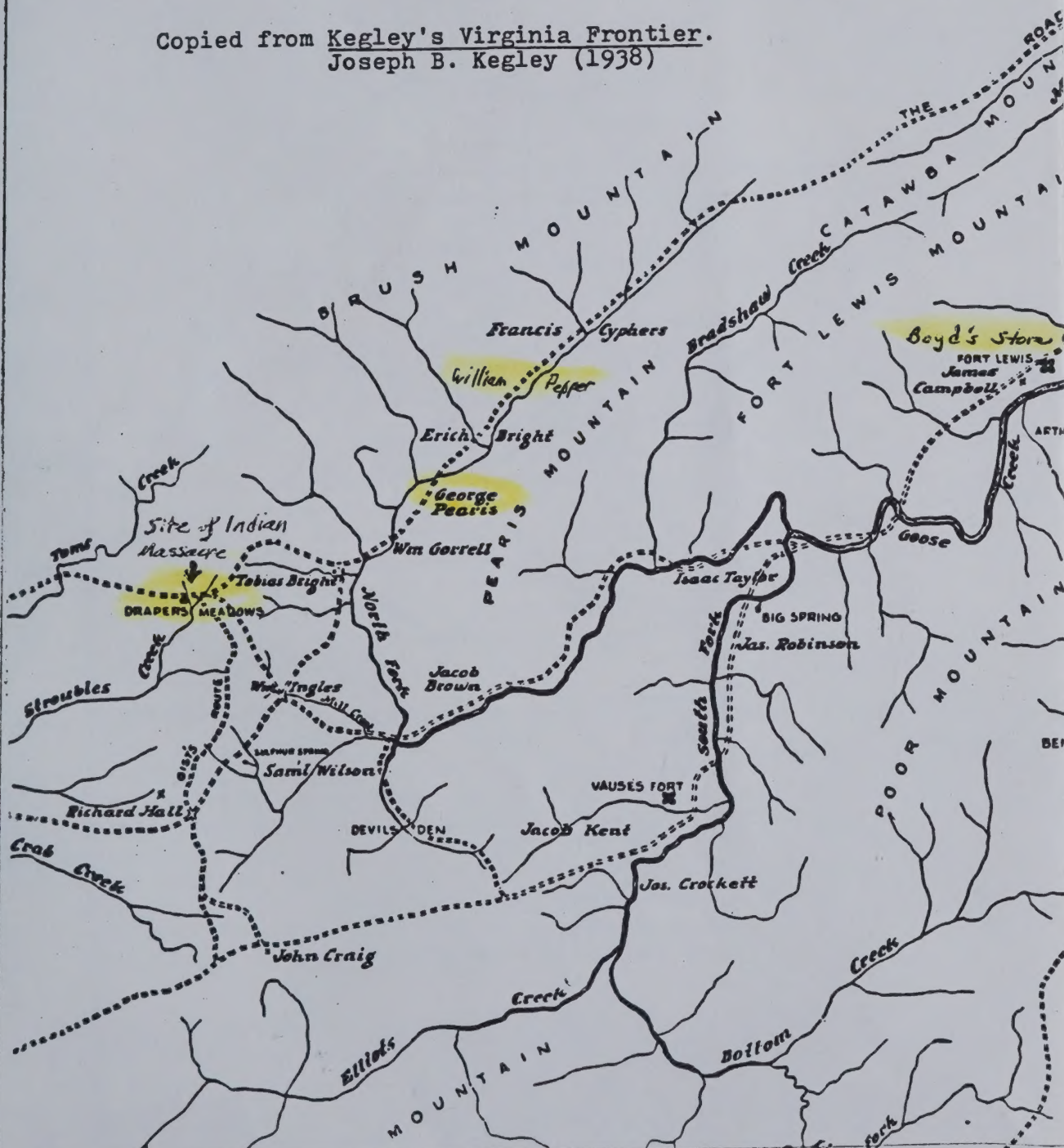
Data on the Peppers for this sketch was extracted from: History of the Pepper Family in America and Allied Families by Florence Pepper Raya (1974) pages 13-14.

George Pearis, Jr.'s first settlement was as shown below, a very dangerous location near Drapers Meadows, scene of an Indian massacre.

MAP OF THE ROANOKE COMMUNITY

1740-1760

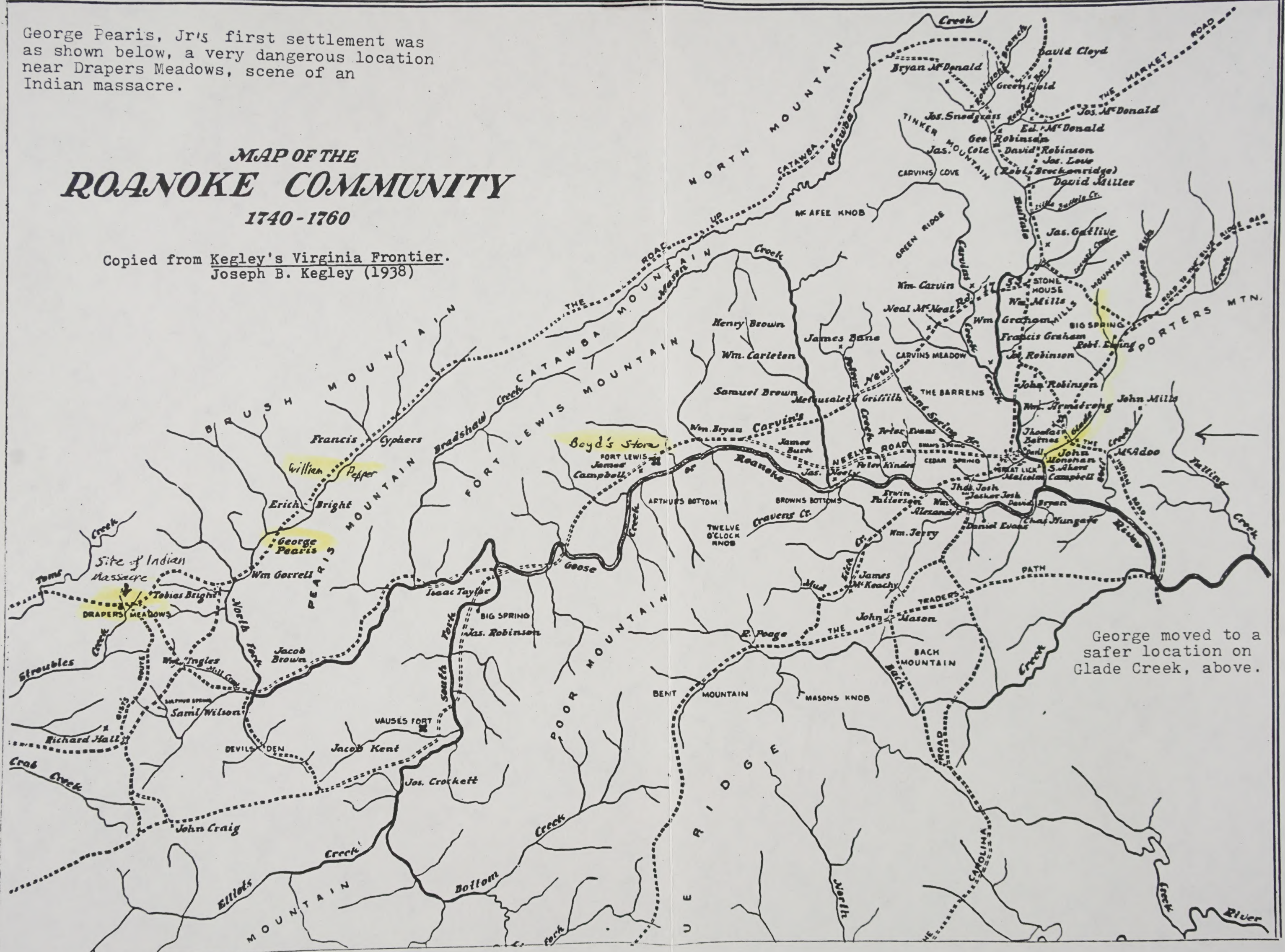
Copied from Kegley's Virginia Frontier.
Joseph B. Kegley (1938)

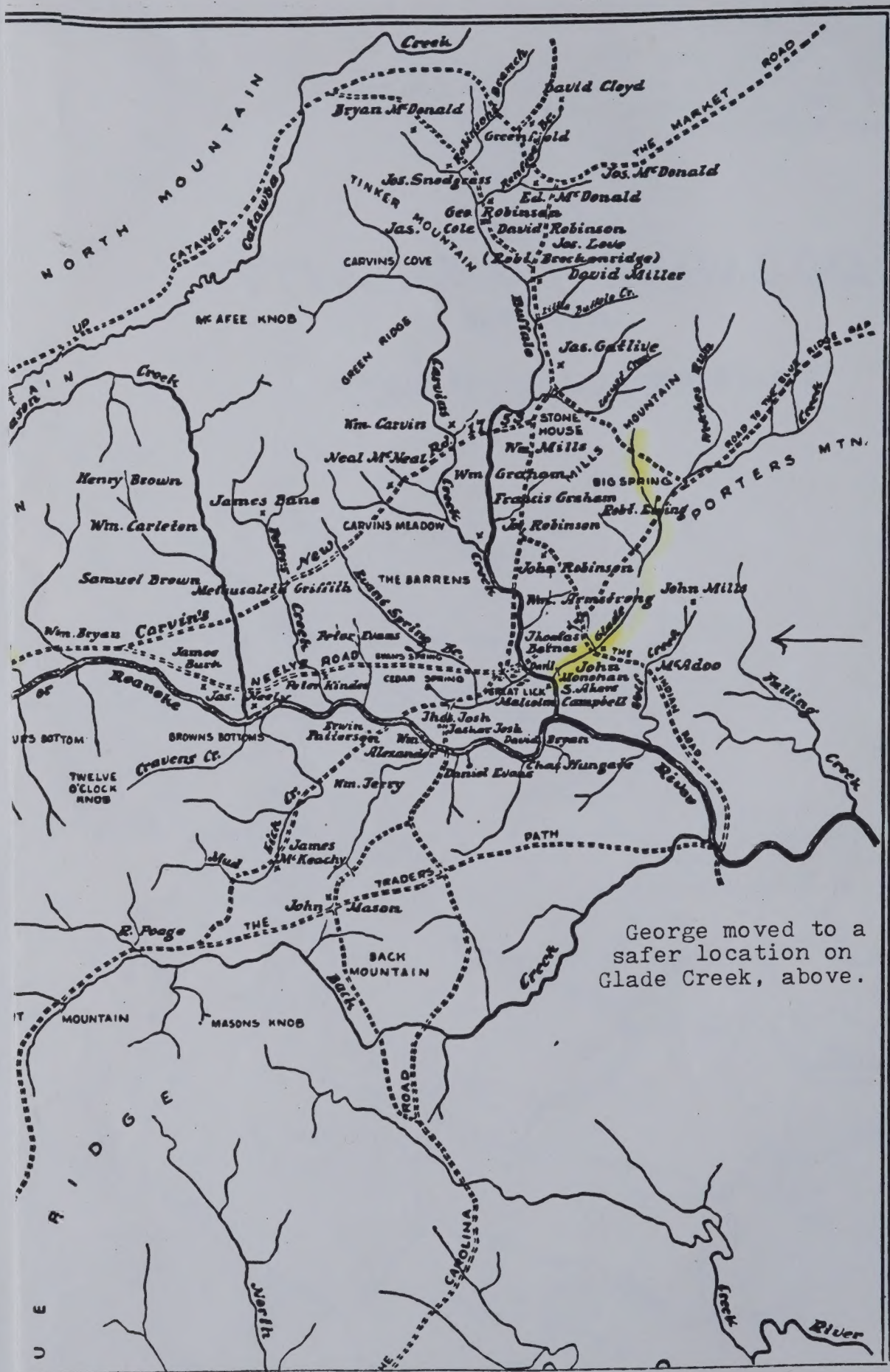


George Pearis, Jr's first settlement was as shown below, a very dangerous location near Drapers Meadows, scene of an Indian massacre.

MAP OF THE ROANOKE COMMUNITY 1740-1760

Copied from Kegley's Virginia Frontier.
Joseph B. Kegley (1938)





George moved to a safer location on Glade Creek, above.

On 9 Oct 1754 Joseph McDonald acquired Erich Bright's 207 acres for £54, corner George Pearis, thus becoming the new neighbor between him and William Pepper. On 29 January 1755 George Pearis had 35 acres next to his patent land surveyed, raising his acreage to 306.

In 1755, the year of Braddock's defeat on the Monongahela, life suddenly changed for the worse. Our people lived on the most perilous of all frontiers, the westernmost edge of white civilization. French-led or inspired northern Indians immediately started infiltrating all the creek valleys and mountain passes.* On 5 July several people were killed on nearby New River. The famous Draper's Meadow Massacre followed on 8 July 1755, in which their community leader, Colonel James Patton was killed, as were Casper Barrier, Mrs. Draper and one child. Mrs. Ingles and two children, Mrs. Draper Jr., and Henry Leonard were taken prisoner. James Cuill was wounded. On 12 August Morris Griffith** was taken prisoner but escaped, afterwards becoming an extremely bitter Indian fighter. Nine people were murdered in February and March.

As you will notice on the map, Drapers Meadows was just west of our George and his neighbors, in easy walking distance and connected by a narrow road which gave the savages easy access to their cabins. Being in so much peril, inhabitants started taking refuge at Fort Vause, which was not at first really a fort but an extra-strong dwelling built by Ephraim Vause as his own home.

Needless to say, by now the colonial governments were becoming alarmed by the situation on the frontier. George Pearis, Jr., did his part in the defense of his country, though it is not mentioned in many books, and mostly consisted in assistance to the endeavors of his brother Richard. Rudiments will be mentioned here, with more details in later chapterstelling of Richard's life. Just how soon he began assisting his brother is not known, but trade with the Indians could at times be quite lucrative though on occasion dangerous. They were involved in one such incident in Spring 1754 near the Cherokee Towns. In a letter to the Governor of South Carolina the source called him "a young man Paris, his (Richard's) hireling." *** The danger had been caused by renegade Cherokees influenced by the French.

In the fall of 1755, by the influence of VA Governor Dinwiddie, Richard had been commissioned captain of Cherokee Indian troops on a special mission. That winter of 1755/6 the braves were encamped on Pearis Mountain, just east of George's home (see map). Whether his brother stayed with him that winter was not divulged, but the records mention George's assistance with the Indians. The Governor also desired help from the North Carolina Catawba tribe if he could get it. (This seems strange because the two tribes did not ordinarily get along well.) Two captured Catawba children were being held by some Cherokee braves at the time.

*History of Southwest Virginia. Lewis P. Summers. pages 56-60

**Morris Griffith is mentioned in our Pepper Family sketch, and on a later page as an "Associator."

***Documents Relating to Indian Affairs/South Carolina Archives, William L. McDowell, Jr., Editor, Vol. III - see index

A message was sent off to the Catawba Nation "by George Pearis, Richard's younger brother, and a young Indian, Kerorostekee, for whom Col. William Preston bought a new shirt." * (Preston was Col. Patton's nephew, doing what he could to take over his duties.)

Why both of these books called George Richard's younger brother is a little puzzling, but it seems possible he may have been of smaller stature and young looking. Still more likely is that he was just helping his brother and did not desire a greater role. They could not have meant his son, little George III, born in 1746.

Details of the planned expedition, poorly planned by government "experts" turned out disastrous through no fault of Captain Richard Pearis nor the brave Cherokees, who now lost much respect for the Virginians. French-led Shawnee Indians, feeling more empowered as a result, became even more dangerous. Frightened and unused to this type of warfare, and clueless as to proper means of defense, settlers were no match for the crafty and cruel depredations.

Proving its vulnerability, Ephraim Vause's house was attacked on 25 June 1756 by more than a hundred Indians and about 25 French Canadians led by Francois-Marie Picot de Belestre. The defenders, no more than 25 men led by Capt. John Smith, were soon forced to surrender, and the place burned to the ground.**

Captain Smith, Peter Looney & William Bratton were taken prisoner but eventually got away. Those taken prisoner who did not escape were Joseph Smith; William Pepper; Mrs. Vause herself with two daughters, a negro, two young Indians and a servant man; Ivan Medley & 2 daughters; James Bell; Christopher Hicks; Cole, Graham; Benjamin Davies; and Mrs. Mary Ingles. Killed were Lt. John Smith, John Tracey, John Ingles & John Robinson. Wounded were William, Thomas & Samuel Robinson and Robert Pepper. (Robt. Pepper lived to fight again at Kings Mountain during the Revolution, but in that battle he and a son were killed.) Vause was away at the time.

Soon all kinds of bad things started happening to George Pearis, but the cause is a mystery. It appears as though he and most of his family must have contracted some serious illness that may have been fatal, possibly to his wife Sarah or at least one child, a daughter. We really cannot read between the lines, but Augusta County Court Records 3 March 1759 indicate the case of Yuille (Cuill?) vs. Parrish drug on & on--Thos. Yuille testified on 22 Feb 1762. (signed Wade Netherland, Cumberland County--see if he can be got at Bedford.) This is too hard to interpret, and sounds as though George were trying to evade judgment. George could not have been all that hard to find, for Augusta County Deed Book 9, page 497, shows that he had moved to a more crowded and thus safer place. On 09 June 1761 he had purchased 220 acres on Glade Creek of the Roanoke from John McFall for £39. This was in a crossroads thickly-settled community, though he still owned the other place, and the war was winding down. This land had been patented in 1756 by John "Boen."

*William Preston and the Allegheny Patriots, Patricia Givens Johnson, pp 30 & 33.

**The Papers of George Washington, Vol 3:260-1 which also tell of the exciting escape of Peter Looney & rescue of Capt. John Smith.

George witnessed a deed for a neighbor on nearby Buffalow Creek on 17 May 1762. Borden's executors to James Davis, husbandman, for £165, 436 acres corner to patent line & William Todd, Robert Young's & patent line, Buffalow Creek, Low Todd's line, corner to Peter Wallace. Witnesses: George Pearis, John Neily, Joseph Gray. (Could this John Neily have been his nephew? Some Neeleys owned much land in the area.)

But the Augusta Court Order Books mostly just provide captions. We wish they were more specific. On 05 July 1763 Samuel Pepper vs George Pearis. (His brother-in-law is suing him and it gets tangled up in other cases.) 27 March 1764 Boyd's Estate vs. George Pearis, at Bedford Store. (It was customary in those days to run up a tab at the market and pay it later. In this case Boyd, who lived near Fort Lewis, ran a huge trading post. The heirs were now trying to get customers to settle their debts.) 22 June 1764 County Court proceedings show a long list of people who cannot be found, among them George Pearis. The economy has gone sour after the war. Some residents have lost their shirts; some have left their land and debts behind and taken off for North or South Carolina where there are still cheap and fertile acres awaiting settlement.

Augusta Court Judgments (B) August 1768 George Pearis, debtor to Archibald Fresher, for sundries and labor. To cooking and washing for six months for him and his daughter, at 6/. Credit by one wagon body at 6/. (This must have been a substantial wagon body to compensate for all that work. How we wish we knew what occasioned the need for that service. Could she have been the mysterious unaccounted-for Malinda Pearis? Though of course she could not have been her own Uncle Samuel Pepper's first wife mentioned in Pepper Family lore.)

10 March 1764. Garnishment vs John Henderson, in behalf of Alexander Boyd vs Samuel Pepper. John Henderson swears that he bought two tracts of land, through Robert McGee, from George Pearis, North Fork of Roanoke, alias Goose Creek, in 1766. Kegley, page 616, helps us understand this sale. He says that, according to Henderson's testimony, he bought the land in 1766, but first received the deed for the 271 acres in 1774, from George Pearis, Jr., acting as his father's Attorney. (This does not include the extra 35 acres surveyed separately.) This is the little grandson mentioned earlier in his grandfather's Frederick County will. We will soon tell more about him and his brother.

Originally I had not thought that George went to North Carolina, even though such was hinted at in the second paragraph above, and I thought younger brother Robert also had a son George, who was with him in Salisbury NC. That may still be the case, but records show that brother Richard and brother-in-law William Nealy were also present there for a while. It would be logical for him to go too. Abstracts are, therefore, shown on next page. Whomever that George Pearis was, he was kin.

PEARIS FAMILY

Salisbury, North Carolina extracts (verbatim, spellings original) regarding George Pearis: *

22 Oct 1768. Deed from Robert Pearis to George Pearis for $\frac{1}{4}$ lot #5 in N Sq., lots 5, 13, 6, 14, 7, 15 and personalty 20 Apr 1767, proved by William Cole.

17 Jan 1769. Frances Palmer vs George Peares Case #6, Evidence: Moses Reffel, James Baxter, Will McConnell Jr. & Sr. Jury.

13 May 1769. Deed from George Peares to Alexr Martin Esq for $\frac{1}{2}$ lot #7 in S Sq 14 Sep 1768 proved by Geo Magoune. Another 13 Sept 1768 for lots 21, 22.

12 Aug 1769. Deed from George Pearis & Robert Pearis to Daniel Little & John Beard for lots #14, 15 in S Sq of Salisbury & $\frac{1}{2}$ of lot #7 Apr 3 1769 prvd by George Felton. Power of Attorney from George Pearis to Robert Pearis 16 Sept 1768.

The town of Salisbury was first platted in 1755 by early settlers most of whom came via the valley of Virginia. It goes without saying that some of them came to escape from Indian attack, At that early date few of the lots were actually inhabited but were purchased by nearby planters for speculation purposes. ** One would suppose that by 1768 actual businesses would have been in place, but the data above sounds a lot like speculation, doesn't it?

Surry Co. North Carolina extracts ***

16 Aug. 1774. Bill of Sale from Martin Armstrong to George Parris, lot #2 in SW sq. of Richmond where Parris now lives for 3 proc. Wit: Jno Armstrong. Recorded Feb Ct 1775.

I:26. 8 Aug 1774. Bill of Sale from John (J) Burke to Abraham Creson for L20 NC money an improvement of land & grist mill, livestock, personalty. Wit: David Enyart, Henry Speer. Rec. Aug. Ct. 1774.

I:55 27 Aug 1773. Peter Meiar & Mary (X) Meiar to Lanier & Williams for L30, land on Treces Crk where Jno Lowe now lives. Wit: Isaac Mabry, George Paris. Rec. Aug. Ct. 1775.

I:61a. 25 Mar 1775. William Shepperd has writ of fieri facias (execution) from Johnston Co NC to sell goods of James Obryant to satisfy suit by Isam Safold, sold 2 lotts in Richmond to John Snead as highest bidder. Wit: Jno. Armstrong. Bill of sale made over to George Paris by Snead.

*Abstracts of the Minutes of the Court of Pleas & Quarter Sessions Rowan County, North Carolina 1762-1774 by Jo White Linn, 1970 Vol III pp 59, 84, 110, 124

**Carolina Cradle, Settlement of the Northwest Carolina Frontier 1747-1762 Chapter 14, Robert W. Ramsey. This does not mention Pearises, who came too late to be included, but does mention many of the abovementioned people.

***Surry County, North Carolina Will Abstracts

I:179. 16 Nov 1784. Robert Poage of Montgomery Co. VA to Joseph Cloud of the same place, power of attorney. Wit: Jo. Williams, Wm Colvard, Rebekah Williams. Prvd. by Williams. (Note: the 1785 Surry Co. tax list of Capt. Gains shows Isaac Cloud with 267½ A in Surry & 1960 A in Green Co. 1786 tax list shows Jos. Cloud with 360A & 1 wp.....etc.)(I think this is Joseph Cloyd who was Capt. George Pearis III's Major--see later pages this book. NZ)

2:1. Will of James (IB) Burke, 4 Nov 1782, Wife, Lucretia. children: Mary Murphew, Sarah Wilson. Joseph Burke, Neomi Pepper. Wife's dau: Lucretia Wilson. Grandson Thomas Burke gets negro girl Hannah when he is 21. granddau Honora Burke gets negro boy when she is 16. Son-in-law William Brookshire gets L10. Dau-in-law Mary Burke, and her living children, Josiah Burke, Samuel Burk, Elizabeth Burk, John Burk & Benjamin Burke get L5. Eldest son, James Burke - "I have just cause to deny him or his heirs any part." Granddau: Sally Oleman. Exr: Samuel Pepper of Botetourt Co., VA & Moses Baker of Surry. Wit: Andrew Speer, John Thos. Longino. Prvd by witnesses & rec Feb Ct. 1783. (Note: Surry Co. Min. of the Court of P&QS 11 Feb. 1783 show the will was prvd by oath of Andrew Speer; on 13 May 1783 Samuel Pepper qualified as executor. On the 1774 Surry tax list, James Burke has 1 poll. 1782 tax list shows him with 220 A. The 1785 & 1786 tax lists of Capt. Carson show Lucretia Burk with 200 A & 1 wp.)(Lucretia Burke's first husband was Methusalem Griffith! See map Page 22 Right half, for his residence.

Though it seems as though the Salisbury George Pearis was he, there isn't any doubt that the Surry County man was. All the people mentioned above relatives of his sons (Burkes and Poages and Peppers) or served in the army with them (Cloyd). Surry County is directly south across the border from their homes on New River.

Kegley, page 551, says "200 acres patented to John McFall 1753, sold to George Pearis 1761, and to John Howard in 1787 by Robert Pearis, son of George." This proves two things, that George had died by 1787, and that he had a son Robert as well as a son George. By now these two sons were living on New River, where Uncle Samuel Pepper was running his famous ferry. In fact, George III also had one, but a bit further north in present West VA. Their first cousin, our ancestress Sarah (Pearis) Teeter had lived on Crab Creek where it joins New River, but was now in Kentucky, where Robert later went.

It was not the original intention to tell much about the sons of Many-Great-Granduncle George, but if this is not done there may be those who claim this whole story is incorrect, citing a popular history. It is no fun to debunk that book, whose author knew so very much more about the region than I, but we must prove these were Uncle George's sons, not descendants of a rich South Carolina Huguenot! *

*A History of the Middle New River Settlements and Contiguous Territory, David E. Johnston, 1905, Reprint 1988, Heritage Books p 444-448 and others, see index.

The following short review refutes historian David E. Johnston's claim that the Southwest Virginia Pearises were of South Carolina Huguenot descent.

A History of Middle New River Valley and Contiguous Territory
by David E. Johnston (1906) page 445, says -

"John McCrady, in his History of South Carolina under the Proprietary Government (1670-1719) gives considerable prominence to Col. Alexander Pearis, whom he shows to have been Commissioner of Free Schools, Commissioner for Building Churches, Member of House of Commons...a military officer and one of the judges to try pirates, and as commander of militia in the revolution of 1719.

"Col. Alexander Pearis had a son, Alexander, who made..conveyance of property in 1722-26. Alexander Jr. had a son, John Alexander, as shown by his will probated August 1752...last mentioned John Alexander had a son Robert who spelled his name as did his father, John Alexander "Pearis." This Robert Pearis died about 1781; and he had a daughter Malinda who married Samuel Pepper who moved to the New River Valley prior to 1770, and located in the place where, about 1780, he established a ferry, and which place has since been known as Peppers. His two brothers-in-law, George and Robert Alexander Pearis, sons of the preceding Robert, came with him on or about the same time.... An examination of the Pearis Bible discloses that George Pearis was born February 16th 1746, and was married to Eleanor Howe Feb. 26th 1771. Robert Alexander Pearis was probably two years younger than his brother George. He married also a daughter of Joseph Howe and...moved to Kentucky..."

South Carolina Historical & Genealogical Register Vol XXVI #3 pp.137-145 (July 1925) esp. pp. 144-5 has a short history of of the descendants of Col. Alexander Parris. Many issues of this periodical tell of this gallant Huguenot's career, but do not really concern us, for the following information has been extracted.

Col. Alexander Parris (1661-1736) m. Mary Collins (-1698) & had 5 children-

1. John Parris (d.1728) m. His son John Alexander died as a minor.

2. Alexander Parris Jr. (16 -19 Feb. 1754) m (1) ca 1720 Elizabeth Stanyanne (1704-1738) and had by her:

I. James Parris (1724-) m. 29 June 1743 Sarah Benison

II. John Alexander Parris(bp 1727-1752) m. 25 Jan 1750 Elizabeth Collins (a cousin?). They had only one son:

A. John Alexander Parris, Jr., born after 1750 (and thus about the same age as "Robert Alexander Pearis" and younger than George Pearis born 1746, said by Johnston to have been his son!

III. Elizabeth Parris (1727-1729) died young

Alexander Parris Jr.(-1754) m (2) his mistress Mary Cahill & had:

IV. Mary Parris (bp. 1738-illegitimate per St. Helen's register.)

V. Jane Parris (June 1741-)

3. Ann Parris m. John Davis

4. Parris m. Peter Boynton

5. Jane Parris m. before 1724 John Dela Bere.

It would be interesting to us if this family really spelled the name "Pearis" sometimes, but I could find no indication this was true. Where Mr. Johnston got his mistaken information would be interesting to know-McCrady did not give that lineage, for I read part of his book. To be fair to Johnston, such data is easier to obtain now than it was in 1906.

Many people were taken in by that book, including DAR Members, as one can tell from lineage books. (e.g. Vol 129:285, entry #128,905) Even the scholarly Mrs. Kellogg quoted it in one of her books. * The Peppers, through Mrs. Raya, corrected two mistakes but accepted the Huguenot premise because so noted an author said so; but they recognized that George's sons were his, not some Robert Alexander Pearis's, whom they did not trace. (They were tracing Peppers, not Pearises.) Also, they could find no Malinda Pearis, said to have been that man's daughter and to have married Samuel Pepper-- pretty ridiculous, for that would have been her own uncle! They knew whom he really did marry.

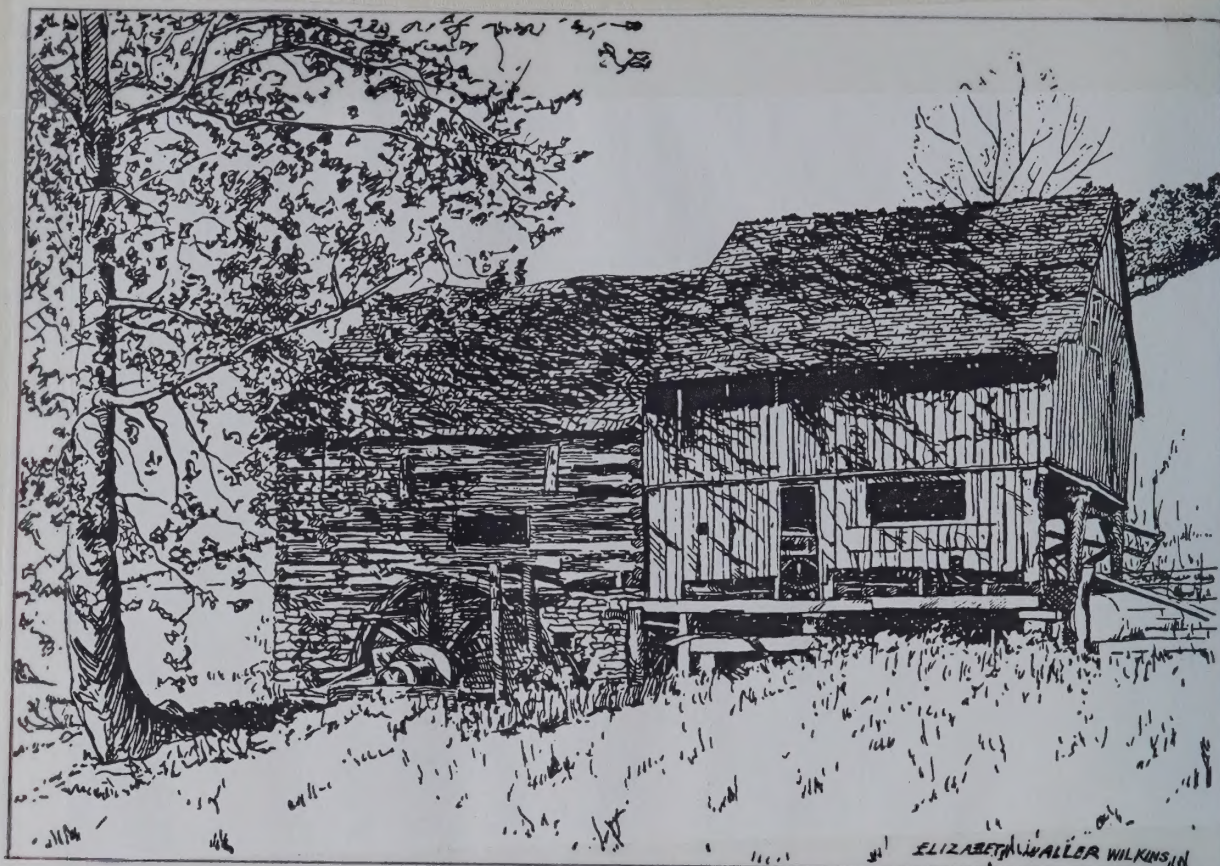
Please pardon me for being ANGRY because of all the time I wasted searching for the mythical Huguenot ancestor brave or dumb enough to buck the tide of people coming south, and migrate north to rocky mountain valleys on the then Indian-invested Southwest Virginia frontier when there was so much fertile, cheaper, safer unclaimed land waiting for the taking for hundreds of miles in between there and eastern South Carolina, where he was supposed to have come from.

If Johnston had lived long enough to read Kegley's Virginia Frontier (1938) he would have known better. He did do a pretty fair job of telling about later generations, for after the Revolutionary War some very good local records were kept. Both he and the Peppers also consulted family Bible records. Much more was told about son George than son Robert, because the latter moved to Kentucky taking his Bible with him, which they could not then consult.

George Pearis III (16 Feb 1746-4 Nov 1810) unlike his unlucky father, became a leading man in his community. The middle name "Nealy" which he gave to his son George IV is added proof he was indeed of our family, and was commemorating some descendant of his aunt Christian (Pearis) Nealy. Now I will quote Johnston's account of him, putting some incorrect or questionable data in brackets. He gives some fascinating Revolutionary War data about him, pages 445-6:

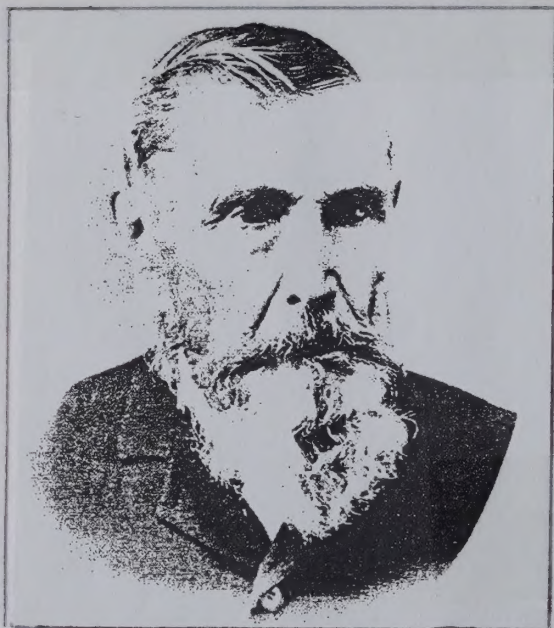
"Samuel Pepper removed to New River Valley prior to 1770 and located to the place where about 1780 he established a ferry..which has since been known as Peppers. His two (brothers-in-law) George and Robert (Alexander?) Pearis (sons of the preceding Robert) came with him, or about the same time. At the date of the coming of the Pepper and Pearises, in fact before that time lived..a gentleman by the name of Joseph Howe, who had some pretty daughters, and it did not take long for these young (Huguenots) to fall in love with these girls, at least two of them.

*Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio 1778-1779 by Louise Phelps Kellogg (1916) pages 274-5, prints a letter of 4 April 1779 from Col. William Preston to Col. William Fleming in which he mentions Major Cloyd, also "I am doubtful if Pearis's Fort on the River will be evacuated." (This was during a perilous time when British-inspired Cherokees and Tories were actively raiding the area. But she quotes Johnston in a footnote, calling Pearis a Huguenot.)



Old McDonald Mill

This old mill was situated on North Fork of Roanoke on property of Joseph McDonald acquired 9 Oct 1754. His farm separated those of brothers-in-law William Pepper and George Pearis, Jr.
-Kegleys Virginia Frontier page 616.



CAPT. GEO. W. PEARIS

LINEAGE OF THE MAN AT LEFT

1. George Pearis I (ca 1690-1752)
m. in Ireland Sarah
2. George Pearis II (ca 1720-ca 1786)
m. ca 1744 Sarah Pepper
3. George Pearis III (1746-1810)
m. (2) 5 Oct 1784 Rebecca Clay
4. George Nealy Pearis IV (1786-18__)
m. 9 Apr 1808 Elizabeth Howe
5. George W. Pearis V (1810-1898)
never married. He is the man in the photograph.

Photo

From Johnston, History of Middle New River Valley & Contiguous Terr.
 (1906)

"An examination of the Pearis Bible discloses that George Pearis was born Feb. 16, 1746 and was married to Eleanor Howe Feb. 26, 1771. Robert (Alexander?) Pearis was probably two years younger than his brother George. He married also a daughter of Joseph Howe, and about 1790 removed with his family to Kentucky and settled in what now is Bourbon County, and from whom it is said that the town of Paris is named. He had a son who in the early history of that state was a member of the Legislature.

"George Pearis remained in the vicinity of Pepper's Ferry until the spring of 1782; prior to that he had been made a Captain of one of the militia companies of the County of Montgomery. On the advance of the British Army into the Carolinas, in the fall of 1780, there was a Tory uprising in Surry County, North Carolina, of such formidable proportion as to impel General Martin Armstrong, commanding that military district, to call on Major Joseph Cloyd of the Montgomery County militia to aid in its suppression. About the first day of October, 1780, Major Cloyd with three companies of mounted men, one of which was commanded by Captain George Pearis, marched to the State of North Carolina, where he was joined by some of the militia of that state, augmenting his force to about 160, men which he, on the 14th day of the month, attacked the Tories at Shallow Ford of the Yadkin,*defeating them with a loss of 15 killed and a few wounded, among them Captain Pearis, severely, in the shoulder.

"This fight cleared the way for the crossing of General Greene's army at this ford, which the Tories were seeking to obstruct. Captain Pearis returned home wounded and, in addition to his suffering from his wound, had the misfortune to lose his wife by death in a few days after his return, she dying November 14th. Captain Pearis' wound disabled him from performing further military service and, having purchased from Captain William Ingles about the year 1779 for £70...a tract of 204 acres on the New River, whereupon is now situated Pearisburg...in the spring of 1782..erected his dwelling there...two or three years after Captain Pearis made his location, he had a ferry established across the New River and had a stock of goods, and later kept public entertainment. On October 5, 1784, he married Rebecca Clay."

This gives the names of his children of the two marriages and some of their children, but that is beyond our scope. One can read the book if these are desired--but you can look at the photo of his grandson on another page for any family resemblance. This adds "...George Pearis, the settler, was long a magistrate of Montgomery and Giles Counties, and sat in the courts of both...The first court of Giles was held in a house belonging to him. The land for the county buildings and town was given by him, and the town of Pearisburg took its name from him. He died on November 4, 1810, and his ashes repose in the burying ground of the farm on which he died... His widow married Philip Peters & died April 15, 1844."

* Shallow Ford is presently near Huntsville, Rowan Co. NC on the Forsyth Co. line. It is said that during that battle, Capt. Pearis killed a Tory, a cousin named Burke, with his own sword. They did delay Gen. Cornwallis, who was pursuing Gen. Greene.

CHAPTER FOUR - CAPTAIN ROBERT PEARIS

Robert Pearis, born about 1727 and still living in the 1770's or later was the youngest son. Less is known about his descendants than those of his brothers, for he moved to Carolina in 1764, where such records are sparse. Most likely there was a son George and maybe an Ely, perhaps others. He would have been the kind of ancestor one could have been proud of--brave, enterprising, and successful, and a captain in the French & Indian War.

After his father's will was proved in court in 1752, in which Robert inherited the family homestead and was entrusted with his mother Sarah's care, Robert does not appear in the record until three years later. By that time he was married to Elizabeth Lemon and possessor of a valuable, strategically-located 7-acre commercial lot in Winchester, fronting on the famous Great Wagon Road from Philadelphia to the south. The road bifurcated when it neared the Roanoke, where a gentle slope crossed the Blue Ridge. The east branch went south to Carolina. The west branch continued southwest up the valley until it reached Long Island of the Holston. Business on such a heavily-traveled road could not have helped being brisk, with all the people needing provisions. He sold beef and other foodstuff, what else I don't know. His father-in-law, James Lemon, owned two lots there, willed to his two sons.

As told in the previous chapter, when Braddock's Army was defeated on the Monongahela in early July 1755, the vengeful savages poured in waves down upon the settlers through every road or path and every opening in the mountains. A sketch on page 23 shows that an extension of Braddock's Road went through Winchester on its way to Cumberland, Maryland, crossing Babb's Run, Pearis Run, and Hogue Creek as part of the route. Northern Indians led by French officers took quick advantage of this easy access to plunder goods and livestock, burn homes, and murder the terrified populace. At this point in time hordes of frightened settlers fled, either to Carolina or back to more populated areas farther east.

Governor Dinwiddie reacted by appointing Colonel George Washington as head of Virginia Colonial forces, his headquarters to be in Winchester, as the worst-hit part of the frontier closest to the enemy. The Colony was totally unprepared for this crisis, with antiquated laws that obstructed the Colonel's duties in recruiting and maintaining an effective army. (Space does not permit a long discussion of that topic here, but many of the problems are told in the Teter Family story, a companion to the Pearis Family.) Published writings of Washington show that in October 1755, Robert Pearis was employed to do scouting work. He was also paid small amounts to provision troops, as shown in several quotations on the following page*

*The Papers of George Washington (1983) by W. W. Abbott, editor Vol 2 page 119 and Vol 3 pages 122-3, 230-1, and 384. Also see Vol 2 pages 234-8 and repeated in this present book. Pearis' engagement with the enemy on Cacapeon River, possibly about him instead of brother Richard.

Garrison Orders by Washington

Winchester, October 16, 1755.
Parole Cumberland.

Captain Lewis the Day, to-morrow. One Subaltern, one Sergeant, one Corporal, one Drummer, and twenty-five private men, the Guard to-morrow. The Troops now quartered here, to hold themselves in Readiness to march to morrow. The Waggon ordered down to Fredericksburgh, to set out immediately; and the Commissary to see the rest of the Waggon (except three which are to carry Provisions &c.) loaded with Salt.

Major Lewis to Detach a Subaltern and twenty men, to morrow morning to Philip Bebbs, there to receive some publick

Cattle, which they are to Guard to Pearis's, and wait there until the whole Body joins them. All the Soldiers of the Light-horse, &c. who do not belong either to Major Lewis or Captain Waggeners Commands, are to wait upon the Aid de Camp to morrow morning at 8 O'Clock, to receive their Orders. Officers who want Haversacks for their Men, are to apply to Mr. John Dow, Merchant, for Linen, for which they are to give their Receipts. The Soldiers who brought down, or have any of the Country Horses, are to make a Return of them immediately, and to deliver them to the Aid de Camp.

Footnote says "Philip Babb (1731-1762) and John Dow (d. 1763) were both residents of Frederick Co. At time of death, Babb owned the plantation Great Marsh, and a home and lot in Winchester. Dow lived in the town. The home of Robert Pearis, an officer in the Frederick Co. Militia, was a few miles NW of Winchester. GW ordered march of the cattle guard put off a day on 17 Oct. and again on 18 Oct."

Memorandum Concerning the Militia - Winchester 13 May 1756

An express came from Colo. Peyton informing that a Sergt & 14 men deserted last Night from him at Paris's Fort and desireing a Reinforcement. I was oblig'd to Countermand the Orders to King George Militia &..send them to join him with orders to remain in Ashby's Fort...Many complaints from the officers of Militia about insufficiency of allowance of provisions for their men, (tho they have lb. meat & like qty of flour wch is same as the soldiers have)...

Footnote says "Pearis's (or Paris's) fort was probably the home of Capt. Robert Pearis of Frederick Co. militia. Pearis owned land and a substantial house a few miles west of Winchester near a gap in the mountains. The fort was..near the new road to Hog-creek, a tributary of Back Creek. The 1754 printing of the Fry-Jefferson map shows "Paris" in this area."

Orders - Winchester Monday 28 June 1756

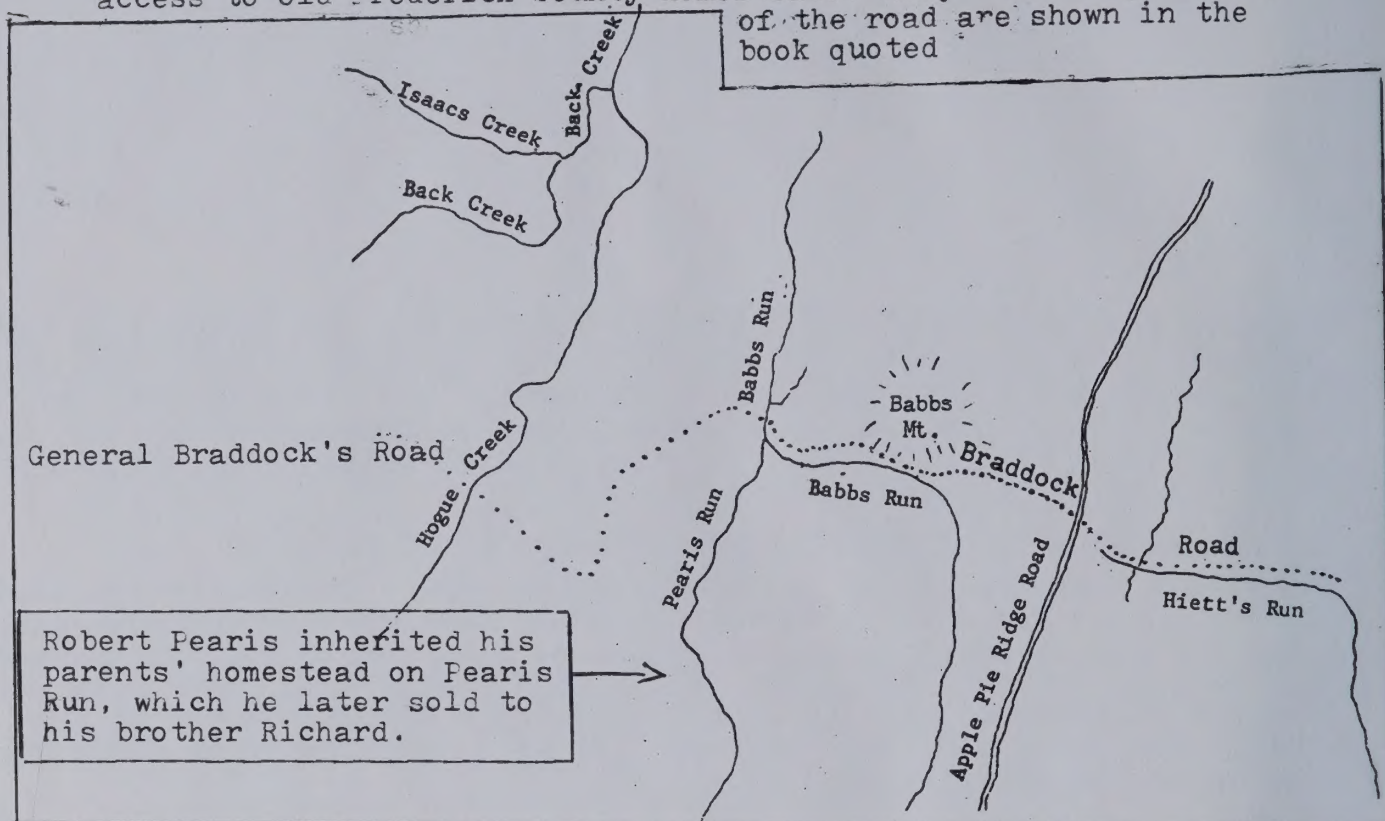
The troops are not to march until to-morrow morning at five o'clock... A Court of Enquiry, to consist of all the Captains in town and subalterns to sit immediately to examine into the dispute between Adjutant Livingston and Commissary Rutherford--Ensign McCarty and Mr. Paris. All evidences to attend--the Court will sit at ten of the clock....

Footnote says "Although it is not known what was at issue or how the men divided, it is not surprising that Denis McCarty was involved. He clearly was the most contentious officer ..from the time he volunteered in fall 1755 until he resigned his commission in Nov 1756."

From Thomas, Lord Fairfax - Sep. the 1st 1756

Yours I receivd last night with the melancholly account of the People on Potomack deserting their Plantations. I had ordered Captain Paris to relieve Cap. Caton with 36 men from several companies..as I had notice of disagreement between him & Captain Sweringen....Cap. Paris is to meet his detachment at John Hytes on Friday next to proceed to Potomack..

This sketch demonstrates how the French & Indians had such easy access to old Frederick County homesteads. Many other segments of the road are shown in the book quoted



From: Braddock's Road Through the Virginia Colony - by Walter S. Hough (Vol. VII, Winchester-Frederick County Hist. Soc Publ 170)
Pages 44-6

"Before the road to the West was officially opened it was traveled by early settlers going into the wilderness. In Frederick County the road was known as "The New Road," "The Great Road," and later "Red Stone Road"; the latter referred to its use by Friends (Quakers) on route to their first meetings west of the Allegheny Mountains, namely Westland and Red Stone near Red Stone Creek a few miles east of Brownsville. After Braddock's Expedition it was sometimes called "Sir John's Road."

"Washington no doubt traveled the road when he went over the Allegheny Mountains to the Forks of the Ohio on a mission sent by Governor Dinwiddie in the autumn of 1752. He states, "From thence (Alexandria) we went to Winchester and got baggage, horses, etc., and from thence we pursued the new road to Wills Creek."...On May 27, General Braddock ordered a captain's guard and 30 wagons to return from Fort Cumberland to Winchester to get provisions that were previously stored there. It is highly probable that the wagon came into Winchester by the shortest road available from Back Creek, namely the Wappacomma road through Indian Hollow. This might account for the frequently repeated legend that Braddock's army went through Winchester and Hollow. It is probable that the arriving Seamen used that road to get into Winchester Aug. 5 when on their way back to embark at Hampton. The Wappacomma road is the only road leading to the west from Winchester shown on the Jefferson & Frye Map issued in 1754 ... Braddock's army marched westward from the Gainesboro area over a road opened only a few years before 1755.

"Babbs Run and Pearis Run Confusion seems to exist in naming Pearis Run and Babbs Run...Pearis Run has been known as "Parrish" Run, Parletta Run and now at the bridge where US 522 crosses the stream is a highway sign calling it "Babbs Run"...Babbs run turns eastward at a point near the south end of present artificial Lake St. Clair. It passes Cedar Grove and Babbs Mountain before turning south and does not extend to the highway. Babbs Run gets its name from Thomas Babb, one of the earliest landowners, 600 acres, along its banks. His will was probated Nov. 4, 1760. Pearis Run continues southward from the artificial lake, crosses US 522, and originates on the farm formerly known as the County Home, hence the name "Parrish" Run. Pearis Run derived its name from one of the earliest settlers along its drains, George Pearis who died in the early 1750's."

An old voting list shows that on 11 December 1755 Robert Pearis, James Lemon, and many others voted for George Washington for the Virginia House of Burgesses. Robert also voted for Capt. Thomas Swearingen, as did his wife's relatives of some sort-Robert & Nicholas Lemon, his sister's husband William Nealy, and nearby neighbors James Hoge and Thomas Babb. Nevertheless, Mr. Hugh West won by a landslide the position desired by Washington. Putting this all in perspective, we must remember that though he had just participated heroically in the fateful war on the Monongahela, he was still a very young man in his early 20's. What's more, he probably was not there to campaign for himself, so badly needed as he was to defend the colony with the enemy even now committing so many atrocities in that very area.

And while we are on the subject of elections, anyone who imagines they were free and open in colonial days needs to study history a little more. There were such strict property qualifications back then that only the well-to-do could vote for such important posts as that. Small farmers were considered too ignorant of worldly affairs. The process was that men stood in long lines and when their turns came publicly announced their choices loudly so all could hear as clerks recorded each individual vote. Then they got into other lines for other posts in succession. The voting took all day, but the atmosphere was festive, with expensive liquor and treats provided by the candidates.

We do not have the date of Elizabeth and Robert's marriage. They seem to have cared deeply for each other, but one can easily see that the course of true love did not always run smooth for this couple, and that her father was much put off by the situation. James Lemon, like George Pearis, Sr., seems not to have been long-lived. We can tell his demise must have been rather sudden and caught him off guard, by the dates shown, unless war had something to do with it. (Though King's probate does not coincide with O'Dell's on next page.) The will abstract shows: *

LEMON, James

Will, 1 June 1757, proven 9 June 1757.

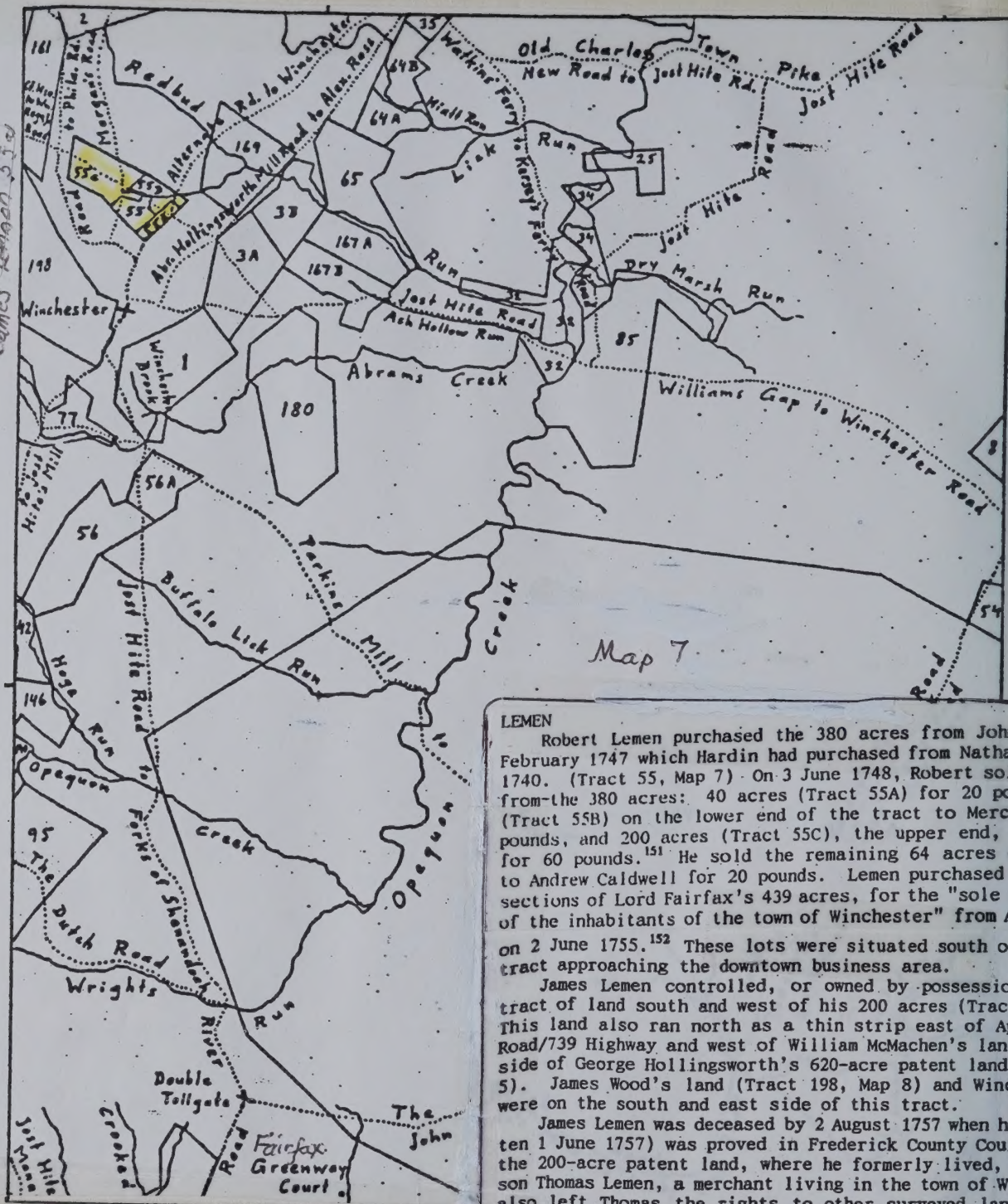
Wife Lucy to have one-third of the furniture and one dozen silver spoons. To son Thomas (oldest) a plantation. Youngest son William to have a lot in Winchester. Daughter Elizabeth Pearis to receive 100 pounds of currency. If Elizabeth returns to her husband, Robert Pearis, then 100 pounds currency to youngest daughter Mary.

Executors: Wife and son Thomas Lemon

Witnesses: Thomas Carroll, Robert Lemon, Isabel Lemon

Robert and Elizabeth did make up, and I suppose the money which would have supported her had she stayed single went to Mary. It seems James Lemon must have previously made provisions for his heirs through wedding settlements, etc., not mentioned in the will.

*Abstracts of Wills, Inventories & Administrations of Accounts of Frederick County, Virginia 1743-1800, J. Estelle Stewart King (1982) GPC page 20



Map 7

LEMEN

Robert Lemen purchased the 380 acres from John Hardin on 24 February 1747 which Hardin had purchased from Nathaniel Thomas in 1740. (Tract 55, Map 7). On 3 June 1748, Robert sold three tracts from the 380 acres: 40 acres (Tract 55A) for 20 pounds, 80 acres (Tract 55B) on the lower end of the tract to Mercer Babb for 42 pounds, and 200 acres (Tract 55C), the upper end, to James Lemen for 60 pounds.¹⁵¹ He sold the remaining 64 acres on 3 June 1755 to Andrew Caldwell for 20 pounds. Lemen purchased Lots 7 and 28, sections of Lord Fairfax's 439 acres, for the "sole use and benefit of the inhabitants of the town of Winchester" from Andrew Caldwell on 2 June 1755.¹⁵² These lots were situated south of the 380-acre tract approaching the downtown business area.

James Lemen controlled, or owned by possession, a 529-acre tract of land south and west of his 200 acres (Tract 55C, Map 7). This land also ran north as a thin strip east of Apple Pie Ridge Road/739 Highway and west of William McMachen's land to the south side of George Hollingsworth's 620-acre patent land (Tract 2, Map 5). James Wood's land (Tract 198, Map 8) and Winchester Common were on the south and east side of this tract.

James Lemen was deceased by 2 August 1757 when his will (written 1 June 1757) was proved in Frederick County Court. He willed the 200-acre patent land, where he formerly lived, to his eldest son Thomas Lemen, a merchant living in the town of Winchester. He also left Thomas the rights to other surveyed land (529 acres) joining the 200 acres, in addition to Lot 3 in Winchester. He willed a one-half acre lot with improvements where he (James) lived, and a five-acre lot¹⁵³ to his youngest son William after "he becomes 21 years of age." He left 100 pounds to his eldest daughter Elizabeth Pearis with the stipulation that if Elizabeth returned to her husband Robert Pearis, the 100 pounds would be paid to his youngest daughter Mary Lemen. He appointed his wife Lucy and son Thomas as executors.¹⁵⁴

Thomas Lemen of Pennsylvania received a Fairfax grant on 30 August 1762 for the 529-acre inherited land.¹⁵⁵ He and his wife Margaret mortgaged the lots, houses, the 200 acres and the 529 acres to John Glassford and Company (merchants in Glasgow, North Britain) on 9 April 1760 to cover a debt of 459 pounds, 2 shillings, 7 pence half-penny sterling currency of Great Britain owed to Glassford.¹⁵⁶ Thomas and Margaret Lemen of Pennsylvania sold the 529-acre tract to Thomas Lord Fairfax for 200 pounds on 22 October 1762.¹⁵⁷

From- Pioneers of Old Frederick County, Virginia by Cecil O'Dell (1995)

The homestead of James Lemen, father-in-law of Robert Pearis is indicated in the plat map, top left, just north of Winchester (tract 55c + strip.)

On a later, this time alphabetical, list of voters, 24 July 1758, Robert Pearis and the Lemons voted for Mr. Hugh West and Colonel F. B. Martin. He had, about this time or late 1757, become a captain in the Frederick County militia, organized for local defense and not a part of the regular army led by Col. Washington, even now in slow progression toward Fort Duquesne. The countryside was in a state of terror and confusion due to severity and constant threat of Indian raids. Misplaced court martial records of that period have been uncovered, showing activity of the county militia while the regular troops were away fighting in General Forbes' army.

"At a Court Martial held for Frederick County on Friday the 27th of October 1758..

Present: The Right Honorable Lord Fairfax - County Lieutenant
Thomas Bryan Martin - Lieut Colonel
John Hite - Lieut Colonel, William Vance - Gentleman Major
Captains: John Funk, Isaac Parkins, John Hardin, Robert Pearis,
Thomas Speak, Thomas Swearingen, Jr., Henry Spears,
Marquis Colemus.

At this meeting Robert Rutherford was appointed clerk and took the oath, then they proceeded while he took the minutes. From them we can see that, though they were in the midst of a perilous war, with people everyday being murdered or property destroyed by marauding French-inspired Shawnees, military discipline and frontier rugged individualism did not mix. If farm work needed done, or any other excuse, many of military age did not bother to show up for muster (military drills) or were insubordinate when they got there. History tells us that even Colonel George Washington of the regular army had much difficulty at first in forcing his army into shape. Severe public whippings of miscreants, conducted before new recruits as an example of what could happen if they did not shape up, sometimes had the desired effect in the regular army.

Lord Fairfax's local group relied more on stiff fines for non-attendance at muster. Many of the surviving minutes list each man, his offense, his penalty, and his captain. The penalty appears to have been ten shillings for each muster missed, for example, "ordered that Henry Hains of the company commanded by Marquis Colemus be fined Forty Shillings for absenting himself from Three private and one general Musters wirhin twelve months last past."

Captain Robert Pearis must have received more than average cooperation from his men, for fewer were fined than in most companies. Sample entries were, "Ordered that Richard Sturman of Captain Robert Pearis's Company is fined three shillings for appearing at the last General muster without a Gun." and "Ordered that David Forbes of Capt. Robert Pearis's Company, on motion of the sd. Capt., be discharged of further duty at Muster."

But all of this was a huge improvement over the minutes two years before, when Robert was not yet a captain. The minutes read. "The 11th April 1756. Present: The Right Honble the Lord Fairfax, County Lieutenant. John Hite, Major. Captains: John Lindsey,

Richard Morgan, Edward Rodgers, Thomas Caton, Isaac Parkin, Samuel Odell, Jeremiah Smith, Paul Long.

"Proposals having been sent to the several Captains of the Militia signed by the Commanding Officer of the said Militia & dated 7th April 1756...and the said Captains, finding the Number of Men insufficient to go out against the Enemy..its Confident that the Men be Discharged being only Fifteen." It is unfathomable why Fairfax's eight captains would raise only fifteen men, for at that very time the Indian attacks were so brutal and frequent the whole populace was in terror, many fleeing permanently leaving their life-savings behind.

One of the captains, Jeremiah Smith, next to last on that list, vowed to do something on his own, and raised a 20-man militia, apparently from the Hogen Creek-Back Creek area, that very spring. Samuel Kercheval tells about this battle in his book, History of the Valley of Virginia (1833). He and his militia surprised a company of French officers with 50 numbers of Indians, a much greater force than they. Smith killed a French captain and found a valuable intelligence note in his pocket telling where to meet a party of 50 men who were to assist in blowing up Fort Frederick. Several lives were lost on both sides, but a great many frontier lives were saved by their brave encounter, as well as the fort.

It is supposed that Captain Jeremiah Smith is the balding man in the upper right of the picture, preparing to swing a tomahawk.



Captain Smith Wins French and Indian War Battle at Lost City

Jeremiah Smith appears to have been a Pearis Family neighbor, for several of his men (see preceding map) lived on "Hogues" Run of Back Creek, this area being much distressed at the time. Though Jeremiah raised only twenty men or so, this small force was able to defeat a much larger force of French and Indians during a fierce encounter near Lost River, in what is now Hardy County, West Virginia, but then part of Old Frederick Co., VA. A roadside marker near there now gives details of the Battle. Five Hogues Creek Julian families, among them men who fought under Smith that day, soon fled to North Carolina, never to return.

During the war much destruction and damage was done to homes, barns, and cattle of early settlers. A rare historical document, (see photocopy on previous page) is housed at the archives of the Historical Society at Winchester. It lists amounts of damages done by Indians to several inhabitants of Frederick County. Some of these claims, including two of Captain Jeremiah Smith and one of Captain Robert Pearis, were approved by Commissioners James Wood Sr. (ancestor of a future VA governor) and Robert Rutherford, mentioned previously as clerk of the 1758 court martial meeting, and submitted to the Virginia Assembly for reimbursement.

It is a little hard to decipher the names on the old copy. They were Jackson Allen, Joseph Allen, John Blessard, Christopher Baumgardner, William Clark, William Carroll, William Carfoot, John Carrier, John Dillener, John Funk, Joseph Funk, Adam Fox, Benjamin Grible, Philip Lawrence, Thomas Looker, Andrew Mackay, Richard Morley, Jacob Moore, Daniel Newlan Jr., Conrad Peter, Ulrick Peter, Samuel Pritchard, Jacob Soneer, John Stewart, Jeremiah Smith (two claims), Moses Smucker, Griffith Thomas, William White, William White, Jr., Robert Pearis, and Thomas Walters. Many of these farmers' names sound German.

Dr. Thomas Walker, of Castle Hill, Albemarle County VA, Loyal Land Company agent and early explorer of Kentucky, had early been appointed by the Colony as official provisioner of food for the armed forces, and he let out contracts for beef to various suppliers. That Robert Pearis was one of them is implicit in the following letter to Washington from Walker:*

Dear Colo: Winchester August the 14 1758
This day the Waggon set off from Pearises and about five Hundred Beef Cattle are to set off tomorrow. I am surprised at Colo. Bouquets Paragraph as I have Letters from Mr Hoops of very Late Dates in one of which he writes that he has 600 Beef Cattle of 500 Each & in another that Yeiser has Sent up 400 that I need only send those gathered there not being an occasion for so much expedition as he had desired & I have no orders for any further Purchase as yet.....

(Footnote says "Robert Pearis's place was outside Winchester in the direction of Fort Cumberland. Conrad Weiser (spelled Yeiser above) the prominent Indian agent, had been active in Berks Co. PA assembling wagons to carry supplies to Raystown. Adam Hoops of Carlisle PA was a subcontractor for Forbes's forces.")

LIST OF HOUSES AND INHABITANTS AT FORT PITT

[B. M., Add. MSS. 21646, f. 139, D.]

A Return of the N ^o of Houses, of the Names of the Owners and N ^o of Men Women & Children in Each House						
Fort Pitt April 14 th 1761						
N ^o	Houses	Owners names	men	Women	Children	Upper Town
N ^o 9	1	Emty House	—	—	—	
10	1	Michael Long ⁴⁶ sold	1	2	—	
11	1	Charles Boyle ⁴⁷	1	1	2	
12	2	Patrick M ^c Quaid ⁴⁸	1	—	—	
13	2	Thos. Small ⁴⁹	2	—	—	
14	1	John Meatcalfe ⁵⁰	2	—	—	
✓ 15	1	Robert Parris ⁵¹	2	2	—	
16	1	Hugh Read ⁵²	2	2	—	
17	1	Tho ^s Brighton ²	1	—	—	
18	1	Conrad House ²	1	—	—	
19	2	W ^m . Splane ⁵³	3	—	—	
20	1	Robert Read ⁵⁴	1	1	1	
21	1	Neil M ^c Collon ⁵⁵	1	1	1	
22	1	John Work ⁵⁶	2	—	—	
23	1	Dennis M ^c Glautin ²	1	1	2	
24	3	George Snigh ⁵⁷	1	1	2	
25	1	John Nial ⁵⁸	1	1	—	
26	1	Emty House	—	—	—	
27	1	Authur Current ²	1	1	—	
28	1	Dennis Hall ²	1	1	1	
29	1	Coupers 2 Sol ^d 3 Cont ^r ores	5	—	—	
30	1	Patrick M ^c Carty ⁵⁹	1	1	2	
31	1	Christopher Miller ⁶⁰	1	1	1	
32	1	John M ^c Cantash ⁶¹	1	1	—	
33	2	W ^m Hath ⁶²	1	—	—	
34	2	W ^m Vinston ⁶³	1	1	—	
35	2	Woodrow Ramsey & Com ^y ⁶⁴	2	1	—	
36	1	George White ²	2	—	—	
37	1	Christopher Nigty ²	1	1	—	
38	1	Martain Smith ⁶⁵	2	—	—	
39	1	Ellenor Crawford ⁶⁶	—	2	—	
40	1	James Gilbey ²	1	1	1	
	40		43	23	13	
	8	Bro ^t over	12	5	2	
	48		55	28	15	

Richard would have been in a position to have given his brother's career a boost if Robert had needed it, but it appears he did pretty well on his own. Many families and businesses soon sprang up at the site of future Pittsburgh for the convenience of the garrison there. Bouquet Papers* show that on 14 April 1761 there were 160 houses there, mostly at the "Lower Town" and the "Upper Town" plus a few outlyers. Robert "Parris" had a house on Lot 15 in the Upper Town, in which dwelled two males and two females, no children mentioned as such. Whether his wife Elizabeth was one of the women, or he lived officially in Winchester and had helpers dwelling in that house cannot be determined without more data. The population, not including military personnel, was 219 men, 75 women and 38 children in the small but rapidly growing village.

This source says, "Robert Pearis was Capt. Richard Pearis's brother ...He was paid small amounts for provisioning and scouting work by Washington during the October, 1755 operations that covered the frontier after Braddock's defeat and in 1758 he was in the Frederick County, VA military company. He was appointed in June 1761 by Bouquet to be one of two militia captains at Pittsburgh. It seems to have been Robert, not Richard Pearis, who was associated with William Thompson and George Croghan in a sub-contract from the official provisioners, Plumsted and Franks, for meat at Fort Pitt in 1762."

The French & Indian War wound down in Maryland and Virginia and other southern states sooner than in Pennsylvania (by early 1762 if not earlier soldiers were let go) but the situation in Pennsylvania was precarious for many years after the 1763 peace treaty signed by the European participants. Indians across the Ohio River did not lay down the hatchet for decades later, but we went on since it is not part of our story. Robert was still doing business with Thompson in November 1762 and probably later, but was winding up his affairs in Spring 1764 in preparation for relocating to North Carolina.

Seems strange Augusta County Court became involved in the following unless by change of venue because some parties relocated. Perhaps their company had operations with SW Virginia garrisons as well as the one at Fort Pitt? It might help to know "Mr." Charles Lewis was also a military officer (later a Col. who died at the Battle of Point Pleasant) and brother of Major Andrew Lewis (later a general in the Revolution) Richard's first commanding officer. David Robinson was a one time Botetourt Co. Lieutenant. William Thompson was an early settler in Beverly Manor on the Forks of the James River.

*Papers of Henry Bouquet Vol. V pg 404. which also cites Pearis's Receipts to Washington 10 May & 22 June 1756 in George Washington Papers, Series 5 Vol. 8 pp. 26, 31. Lib Cong; Chalkey, ed. Records of Augusta County I 325, 485; Crozier, ed, Virginia Colonial Militia 72; Plumsted & Franks to Bouquet 15 May 1762 B.M.; Add MSS 216-48 f. 156.

Augusta Court Order:

March 1764 (B)

Lewis & Robinson vs. Pearis & Co. - Capt. Robert Pearis & Co. to Mr. David Robinson & Co., debtor.

9 November 1762.

to 15,113 beef @ 28/ per hundred. P. C. £211.11.7.

Contra: same date, by George Elder's* pay as manager at slaughter house, six days @ 5/; by William Bills, a butcher, six days @ 3/9 a day; by William Marshal, assistant butcher, @ 1/3 per day; by Stephen Allinger, assistant butcher, @ 1/3 per day; by a corporal and four privates @ /6 per day for six days; by cash at Hoit's (Hite's?); by cash at Fort Pitt; by cash paid John Fleming's expenses; by cash advanced at Staunton.

Captain William Thompson (is to?) pay the bearer hereof, Mr. Charles Lewis, the sum of 138 pounds Pennsylvania money, which we stand indebted to him, and place the same to the account of your humble servant.

(Signed) Robert Pearis. Teste: (witness) John Stewart,

It appears that after credit was given for cash payments at "Hoits" (at Winchester?), at Staunton in the Valley, to John Fleming, and more cash at Fort Pitt including wages. Robert agreed to pay a net of 138 pounds remainder and proceeded to do so. (This is an interesting example of the cost of living in the 1760's, and what they ate. Though pork became increasingly popular on the Frontier, the English then and now have always loved their beef. And how would you like to pay 28 shillings per hundred pounds for beef TODAY? We would all become great beefeaters.)

This lawsuit had commenced in November 1762, after the disbanding of the army on the ending of the War; but wars cost money and leave the economy in recessions. The French & Indian War was typical in that respect.

And in America, until there was no longer any new territory to be had, the ends of wars usually coincided with a surge in migration, Robert, by no means a poor man, had the money to pay the debt and paid it, though evidently it took this lawsuit to resolve just how much he actually owed. Still, like others, he was looking for greener pastures.

Robert had already sold most of his considerable real estate in Frederick County Virginia to his brother Richard by March 1764, and he and his wife Elizabeth were now citizens of the new trading town of Salisbury, Rowan County, North Carolina. They expected business would be more profitable in the "Province of North Carolina."

* Bouquet Papers V:404 says at one point during early 1760's George Elder was employed as forage master at the post of Stony Creek and worked for Pearis & Co. at Fort Pitt in Nov. 1762. He was an early settler of what became Hopewell Twp., Huntington Co. PA. He died Mar. 1800 in Bedford Co. PA

FREDERICK COUNTY DEED BOOK ENTRIES - Regarding Robert Pearis

Bk 9, pg. 95 - 25 Oct 176-

WHEREAS Robert Lemen and Isabella his wife by their Deeds of L and R the 2nd & 3rd Sept. 1762.. Sold unto William Heath..a certain Tract of Land in County of Frederick containing one Hundred and Sixteen Acres..Isabella Lemen now releases Right of Dower to same../s/ Jas. Keith

2 Dec 1763 - Elizabeth Lemen relinquished her Right of Dower to said land.

Recorded: 7 Feb. 1764

Wit: Rich. Pearis, David Shepherd

Bk 9, pg. 106 - 2 Feb 1764

KNOW ALL MEN by these presents that I Robert Pearis of Rowan County in Province of North Carolina for Divers Good Causes and Considerations..appoint Richard Pearis of Frederick County in Colony of Virginia my true and lawful attorney for me and in my name..

Wit: Wm. Fowler, Robt. Wm. Kendrick

Recorded: 6 March 1764

Robert Pearis

Bk 10, pg. 1 - 3 Feb 1764

(Lease) Between Robert Pearis and Elizabeth his wife of Rowan County in Province of North Carolina (to) Richard Pearis of Colony of Virginia..consideration of Five Shillings..four Sundry Tracts of Land situate lying and being in Frederick County..beginning at the Tract of Land sold George Pearis by Wn. Hog and said George Pearis to said Robert ..Containing 200 Acres.., another of the said tracts containing 325 Acres for which said Robert Obtained a Deed from the Proprietor of Northern Neck November 9th 1752...another of said Tracts containing 229 Acres for which said Robert obtained a Deed from the Proprietor of Northern Neck Nov. 9th 1752..the other Tract of Land containing four Hundred and forty one Acres for which said Robert obtained a Deed from the Proprietor of Northern Neck the 12th April 1753..Rent of one Ear of Indian Corn on the last day of said term..

Wit: William Fowler, George Neilly, Robt. McKendrick

Recorded: 4 Sept. 1764

Robert Pearis

Bk 10, pg. 2 - 4 Feb 1764

(Release) Between Robert Pearis and Elizabeth his wife of Rowan County in Province of North Carolina (to) Richard Pearis of Colony of Virginia..consideration of One Thousand Pounds.. Four Tracts of Land (same as above)..

Wit: same as above

Recorded: 4 Sept 1764

Robert Pearis

Bk 10. pg. 54 - 18 Oct 1764

(Lease) Between Richard Pearis Gent. of Frederick County Attorney in Fact for Robert Pearis late of said County but now of Salsburry (sic) Town Rowan County in Province of North Carolina (to) Christopher Aldred, Baker in the Town of Winchester County of Frederick..consideration of five Shillings..a Certain lot of Land Situate lying and being in Town of Winchester known by the No. 7..being 19,740 square feet..part of a Tract of Land Granted to James Wood dec'd by Deed from the Proprietors Office and by him devised in his last will and Testament to Mary Wood who sold and Conveyed said Lott of Land to said Robert Pearis by Deed the 1st March (illegible Roman numerals)..Rent of one Ear of Indian Corn at last day of said Term..

Wit: Adam Haymaker, 1 wit. signed in German, Archd. Wager

Redorded: 4 Dec. 1764

Robert Pearis

Bk 10, pg. 55 - 19 Oct 1764

(Release) Between Richard Pearis Gent. of Frederick County Attorney in Fact for Robert Pearis late of said County but now of Salsbury Town Rowan County and Province of North Carolina (to) Christopher Aldred, Baker of Town of Winchester..consideration of Thirty Pounds.. Lot No. 7 in Town of Winchester (same as above)..

Wit: same as above

Recorded: 4 Dec. 1764.

Robert Pearis

As shown above, at time of removal, our Robert Pearis owned 1195 acres of rich land, and he bought all of it from Lord Fairfax except the 200-acre inheritance. His father had bought that and other land from Hite or indirectly from Ross. But Robert and Richard, astute businessmen, took no chances.

Abstracts of the Minutes of the Court of Pleas & Quarter Sessions
Rowan County, North Carolina 1762-1774 (Vol II) Jo White Linn (1970)
(& III) Excerpts-njhz 5/1998

Book page-vol.-#-pg.-#-date SPELLINGS ORIGINAL

24- II:519 13 Apr 1764. Lease & release from Francis Quine to Robert Paris for $\frac{1}{2}$ lot in Salisbury 14-15 Mar 1764 prvd by Wm Cabeen (5:465). Same from Francis Quine to Robert Pearis for lots #27, 28 in Salisbury 14-15 Mar 1764 (5:466).

28- II:536 14 July 1764. On motion of Mr. Dunn order that Robert Pearis have a license to keep an ordinary at Shallow Ford on Yadkin River. Sec. John Dunn & Francis Lock. Granted.

30- II:541 9 Oct 1764. On motion William Harrison Esqr Orderd that Henry Baker, in right of his wife have Letters of Adms. of all & Singlur the goods & Chattles rights & Credits of Barnaby Bower Deced Securities. Robert Pearis & Wm Nassery in the sum of £ Pro. money & Qualified according to Law &c. Court adj. to tomorrow.

30- II:543 11 Oct 1764. Orderd that Wm Nassery have a Licence to keep an ordinary at his Now Dwelling House & Complying with an Act of Assembly in Such Case & Provided & security Andrew Allison, George Magoune, Richd Pearis.

31- II:547 12 Oct 1764. Deed from Carter & Forster to Robert Pearis for lots #21,22,29,30 in N Sq of Salisbury (5:562).

35- II:562 9 Jan 1765. Deed from Foster & Carter to Robert Pearis for lots #5, 6, 13, 14 in Salisbury 6 Jan 1765 (6:40), also lots #21, 22 on 6 Mar 1765 (6:41), and lots #7, 15, in Sq. 6 Jan 1765 (6:42).

36- II:564 9 Jan 1765. Over Seers of the Roads appointed for 1765; (long list includes) Moses Pearis from Grants Creek to South Yadkin at James Andrews.

53- II:637 10 July 1766. Lease & Release from Robert Pearus & wf to Wm. Nealey for lot #6 in S. Sq of Salisbury 10 July 1766 (6:274).

53- II:638 11 July 1766. (Jury trial--jury includes) David Black, Jas Erwin, Wm Morgan, Martin Armstrong, Moses Pearus, et al

54- II:639 11 July 1766. Pearus Ass of Pearus vs Andrew Pitts (Tay)
II:642 12 July 1766. Robert Pearin vs Joshua Husband, Evidence: Will Steel, Wm McConnell, John Dunn. Deft. did not assume.

II:643 12 July 1766. Robert Pearin vs Peter Johnston. Same jury. £8.12.2.

56-II:649 15 Oct 1766. Robert Pearis vs Jacob Arrant on an Ex. Peter Phagley the Security. Surrenders the Principall in Custody & disch.

57- II:653 16 July 1766. Robert Pearis vs Saml Ridgway. same jury.

64- II:686 14 April 1767. Robert Peares & wife Elizabeth to John Boone Jr. for $\frac{1}{2}$ lot in N. Sq. formerly granted by Francis Quinn to Parris.

67- II:700 18 April 1767. John Mitchell Ass vs Robert Peares

II:701 18 April 1767. Robert Pearis sits on essentially the same jury on another case (Midnight vs McClover?)

69- II:711 15 July 1767. Moses Peares Appointed Over Sear of the Road in Roome of Thomas Carson.

II:714 16 July 1767. Robt Tellson vs Robt Peares (July trial) £14.13.8 & Costs.

71- II:718 17 July 1767. Thomas Cook charged in Custody as the Suites of Robert Pearin, Wm Nassey & Others Petition the Court to be Admitted To the Benefit of Act of Assembly he having made a Skedual of all his Personal Estate which Petition was Granted & he the sd Thomas Cook Took the Oath by Law , (etc)

80- III:24 21 Apr 1768. The King vs John Bone & wife Petty Larceny. Evidence for King: Rob. Pearis, Eliz. Pearis, Hem. Horah; for plaintiff: Cath Foley, Fred Long, Hen Page, John L. Beard, John Holand.

82- III:36 21 July 1768. John Mitchell vs Robert Pearis, Trespass. Evidences: Hen Horah, Dan Little, Ann Bashford. Jury.

83- III:43 22 July 1768. Deed from Robert Pearis to Jacob Guyer for lot #99 in E. Sq.-Salisbury 14 June 1768.

84- III:50 18 Oct 1768. Deed from Robert Pearis to Henry Sloan for lots #67, 68, 75, 76 in N Square of Salisbury 21 July 1768 prvd by Wm Martin (7:24).

85- III:52 21? Oct 1768. Robert Pearis vs Peter Johnson. Evidence: Francis Lock.

86- III:59 22 Oct 1768. Deed from Robert Pearis to George Pearis for $\frac{1}{2}$ lot #5 in N Sq., lots 5,13,6,14,7,15 and personalty 20 Apr 1767 prvd by Wm Temple Cole (7:19).

87- III:67.15 Jan 1769. Alexander Jarvis vs Robert Peariss Case #2 (July, same as first jury)

90- III:84 17 Jan 1769. Frances Palmer vs George Peares Case #6. Evidenc e: Moses Reffel, James Baxter, Will McConnell Jr&Sr.Jury.

94- III:105 13 May 1769. Robert Pearis & Wm McConnell vs Joseph Robinso: Evidence: Wm Temple Coles. Jury

95- III:108 13 May 1769. Deed from Wm Neely to Hugh Magoune Minor for lot #7 in W Sq Salisbury 22 Apr 1769., prvd by Wm Temple Cole Esq (7:110). Deed from George Peares to Alexr Martin Esq. for $\frac{1}{2}$ lot #7 in S Sq 14 Sept 1768p.rvd by Geo Magoune (7:111). Another13 Sept 1768 for lots #21, 22 (7:110).

96- III:124 9 Aug 1769. cases incl. Robert Peares vs Wm. Taylor

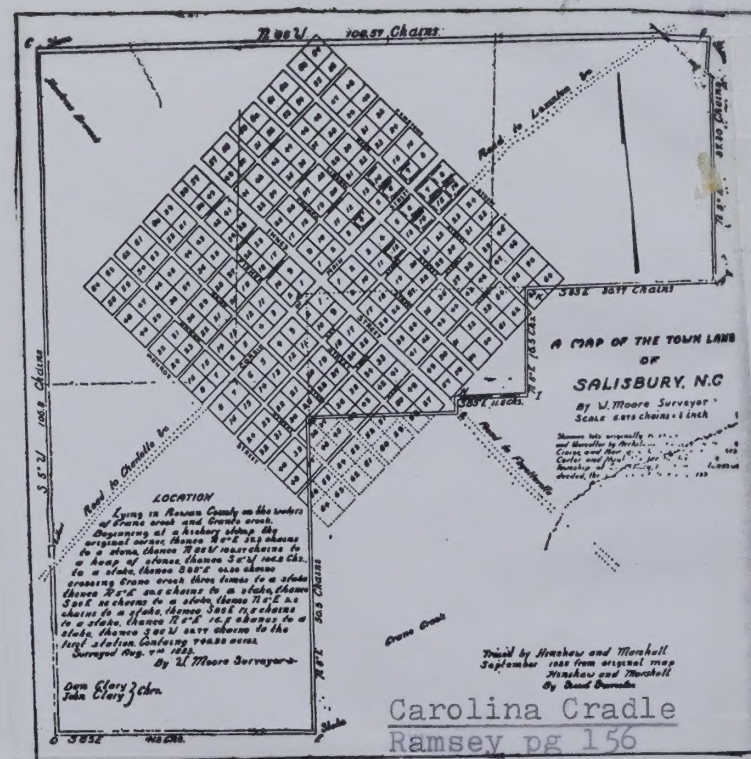
99- III:136 12 Aug 1769. Deed from George Pearis & Robert Pearis to Daniel Little & John Lewis Beard for lots #14,15 in S Sq of Salisbury & $\frac{1}{2}$ of lot #7 Apr 3, 1769 prvd by George Felton (7:153). Power of attorney from George Pearis to Robert Pearis 16 Sept 1768. (7:152).

101- III:145 15 Nov 1769. Deed from Hugh Foster to Robert Pearis for 4 lots in N sq of Salisbury, #67, 68, 75, 76. 25 Apr 1768 (7:168)

121- III:261 (1770?) Stock marks registered for 10 people including Moses Pearis.

Book pg/Deed Boord/page/date/data Spellings original

141- 8,516. 5 Aug 1778. John Lewis, Bon? & Peter Little Abasel Wm. Taylor
lot #15 in S. Sq Salisbury & $\frac{1}{2}$ lot 7, being part of lot formerly held by
Robert Pearis....



(DE 15) 79. p. 117. 21 Jun 1797. James Pepper of Montgomery Co. VA, as attorney-in-fact for George Parris, the heir of George Parris, dec'd, to Henry Giles of Salisbury for £25, lots #5, 13, 27 and 28 in the N Sq. of Salisbury and $\frac{1}{4}$ of a lot that was part of lot #5(?) ad / John Patton, Peter Faust, and Corbin St. Wit: Jacob Utzman, do, Barnet Cryder. Prvd by Cryder at Aug Ct 1797. (the names Mrs. Linn could not decipher were probably written in German script--common in that locality. NZ)

CHAPTER FIVE - RICHARD PEARIS, INDIAN TRADER

Richard Pearis, second son and third child of George, Sr., and Sarah Pearis, born 1725 in Ulster, came to America with the family in 1735 at the age of ten. It is supposed that they arrived at the Port of Philadelphia, then spent a while in (Lancaster County?) PA. Five years later they were living in the frontier Opequon Valley, not far from the site where a trading village, Fredericksburg (later called Winchester) sprang up. Boys grow up early on the frontier, this one especially. He was strong, energetic, full of curiosity, more than commonly daring and ambitious. Starting in childhood he knew that the most lucrative field he could get into was trade with the Indians. He must have learned the ropes by assisting an older trader like Jacob Hite, who would have been glad to outfit an entrepreneur, at a high rate of interest.

According to archeologists, when the first settlers came in 1732, the whole valley had been a huge hunting ground (like Kentucky later) frequented by many tribes but inhabited by none. Occasional fires had been set to create forage for browsing animals like deer. The fact that it was uninhabited made settlement easier for Whites. Those Indians still hunting nearby would have been quite willing to sell pelts to traders like Jacob Hite, looking for a new way to make money when the Hites were no longer permitted to sell land. Jacob, a stubborn man, moved some distance north of the rest of the clan, to what is now Berkeley County, West Virginia, nearer to the Potomac, and thus a water route for his goods. There he planned to be "big man" and dominate the area. He became very irate when Col. Adam Stephen thwarted those plans.

To engage in his chosen field, it was necessary to have a source of Indian goods (made in England) such as cheap clothing, blankets, utensils, hunting weapons, trinkets and so on, as well as a place to market furs and hides destined for the mother country. There may have been other such places, but the most obvious seems to have been Fort Cumberland, constructed and run by the Ohio Company's explorer Christopher Gist, agent for the territory to the northwest--a few years later Richard was much indebted to them.*

By the time Richard was in his teens, many sizeable land companies had peddled homesites much further up the Valley, driving out animals and thus the tribesmen. Thus, it became increasingly expensive to carry on the trade. To go so far, one needed to bring more goods, necessitating more gear, more packhorses, and extra laborers to assist in the grunt work. It was much desired to have a partner to share the cost, the work, and to carry on business while the other needed to be elsewhere for some reason.

* There were a number of stockholders, not the least of which were Washington family members, Lord Fairfax, and members of the Governor's Council - See Kegley, page 132.

Richard was certainly in the trade by the time he was eighteen, eagerly learning their language, with the linguistic facility many youngsters possess and oldsters don't. This made for greater trust on both sides. In 1743 Cherokees and a few other tribes were still present, hunting on the forks of the Roanoke and Pearis Mountain. Perhaps this seems farfetched, but do you suppose he was there at the time with his packhorses, trading Indian goods to them in exchange for pelts and deer hides? And giving the mountain his name then, instead of it's being acquired later as some conjecture? No records were yet being kept there. And could it be that he was the one to tell his brother George and the Peppers about the place?

Though Col. Patton was unable to have the general area surveyed so soon, it is claimed that in 1742 he allowed the Ingles and the Drapers to select homesteads at Drapers Meadows, to be surveyed and registered later. Supposedly James Burke was at "Burke's Gardens" in 1742, though probably not at the site of the same-name "gardens" of subsequent fame. The first official purchase in the region was by the Dunker sect on the west side of Woods (now called New) River that same year, but the surveys were completed in 1746. Of course there could have been squatters on the land, who would have had to move on but, to get to the point, there was not enough activity in that wide area to drive the peaceable Indians away--only the lack of game would have done that.

To prove that this is so, in August 1746 Indian trader Samuel Stalnacker was one of the few residents, including the Dunkers, who were ordered to assist with road work by the government. * By 1750 he had removed to a more isolated spot along a fork of the Holston River (then called Holstein) where land agents for the Loyal Land Company, Dr. Thomas Walker and his companions, searched him out and gave him a hand in erecting a new cabin/trading post. They tried to induce him to guide them to the Cumberland Gap so that they could explore Kentucky, hoping for a land grant there. Stalnacker told them that he was unable to go because of a prior commitment with the Cherokees, but he gave them such good instructions that they found it without incident. **

Richard Pearis was not so conservative. Five or six years before Stalnacker removed to the Holston, he had several times journeyed hundreds of miles further, all the way to the Overhill Cherokee Towns, and in the process had lost his heart to a lovely halfbreed. Her name was Rhoda Hatton.

And now we need to describe the Cherokees as a people, for there is much misconception. All tribes were not alike, and the Cherokees were among the very most civilized. By then they were adopting many of the ways of the white colonists.

*Kegley, prev. cited, pages 116-7

**Journal of Dr. Thomas Walker

According to a well-informed source,

"even before the coming of the white man they were to begin with an agricultural people* growing much corn, squash, and many vegetables. They had known better homes, food, and clothing than many of their contemporaries in Europe in certain areas. Indeed, they were better fed than some of the hill people who now occupy some of their old homes. Before 1750 they had suffered much from the white man, but along with smallpox, rum, and other offerings of white civilization, they had adopted many of its ways. The Cherokee, Creek, and Chickasaw were rapidly becoming nations of farmers with many fine horses and cattle. Some tribesmen now built their homes of logs as did the white man, used his tools and weapons and often wore his clothing. Some top leaders could usually understand if not speak English, and there were many half-breeds."

As to their women, "Many of the Indian women dressed in the manner of white women, but no sunbonnets or housecaps, and usually bare feet or moccasins (in their own country). Wives and mistresses of the traders would have been resplendent in silks and satins of the latest fashion; beautiful, for according to most who saw them, all of the Cherokee women had features formed with perfect symmetry and countenances cheerful and friendly, and were tall, slender, erect, and of a delicate frame, moving with grace and dignity." It was also written, "The Cherokee women are elegantly formed, have sprightly eyes, accompanied with modesty and chastity, which renders them far from uninteresting subjects." One of the problems of the race was that the Indians were less fertile than the whites. Warfare and white men's diseases against which they had no natural immunity were decimating their population. Indian women had far fewer children than had the wives of southern settlers. Generally the settlers' wives could move with little grace for they were constantly pregnant, except for those with suckling children and toddlers clinging to their skirts; and their men did not treat them as equals. Indian women occasionally took long sight-seeing or hunting trips with their husbands, a luxury denied to most frontier wives, and had decision-making powers within the tribe.

A very early missionary wrote of staying overnight in a Cherokee home. Before he left in the morning, the Indian wife served him a breakfast of corn cakes, syrup, eggs, and venison steak--hardly Stone Age fare. (And this is a generation later, but it is told that Cherokees temporarily kidnapped Mrs. Bean, a pioneer East Tennessee housewife, telling her they were taking her to their town to teach their women how to make such delicious cheese as she did, Mrs. Bean probably did not care for the idea, but in a way it was a compliment to both races, showing both had sophisticated tastes.)

Notwithstanding all of the above, the cultures certainly were dissimilar. The Cherokees were fierce warriors, not only sometimes against whites, but against certain other neighboring tribes,

*Seedtime on the Cumberland, Harriette Simpson Arnow (1960)
pages 184-5 and 302

Nevertheless, there is a conflicting tradition that will not go away* of prehistoric Welshmen who married into the tribe, having come up from the Alabama coast. Legends say their leader was Prince Madoc who founded a colony about 1170 AD. Early explorers (Spaniards) reported seeing blue-eyed Indians who used elements of the Welsh tongue. Modern historians give little credence to such tales, but those pervasive stories will not go away. Even if they are not true any thinking person will recognize that it is not impossible other ships in more modern times than that could have been off course, shipwrecked on the Atlantic or Gulf coast, and the occupants assimilated with the natives before migration began. Whether all this happened before the Cherokees moved South is a moot point, but even Daniel Boone, in his early East Tennessee peregrinations (later than Richard's) said that he ran across a group of blue-eyed Indians he felt was "of the same kith and kin as the Welsh, though I have no means of assessing their language." One might argue that by the 1760's there had been enough mixing of the races, whether or not sired by Welshmen, that the blue-eyed Indians could have been half-breeds. There are still other tales of the lost English colony on Roanoke Island planted by Sir Walter Raleigh in the 1580's, alleged to have mixed with the Croatan Indians; and also the mysterious Mellungeons. But that is getting too far off our topic. We are interested only in Richard Pearis, his wife Rhoda, and their associates.

In the years Richard was trading there, he thought Long Island was in Augusta County, Virginia; in fact for the next score of years everybody thought that was Virginia. A more modern map of Sullivan Co. Tennessee, presented here, shows it really isn't all that far from the border. The Colonists all got there down the Indian trail between forks of the Holston River, not over the mountains from Carolina, though it is very possible the Indians crossed the mountains, for they lived in them and on both sides of them. Another author, who did not much care for Cherokees because of later events, wrote another version.**

"The Cherokee tribe of Indians, at the time of the settlement of Southwest Virginia, inhabited one of the most attractive sections of the American Continent, occupying the banks of the Catawba, Savannah, Yadkin and Tennessee rivers on the east and south and several of the feeders of the Tennessee on the west. There were no fortresses to be found among them. Their settlements were rude huts scattered irregularly along some waterway convenient to good pasture land and hunting and fishing grounds. They usually had small clearings which were cultivated by the women and children in Indian corn and beans.

"But little of the history of the Cherokees can be gathered from their traditions. The existence of this tribe of Indians was noted by the historian of the expedition of DeSoto when traveling in the South, and it is said that they came originally from east of the Alleghany mountains.

*Early Times in the Cumberland Valley, James A. Crutchfield (1976)
page 36

**History of Southwest Virginia. Lewis P. Summers, pages 31-2

"They were relatives of the equally fierce Iroquois tribes of New York, with whom they retained close ties regardless of the distance between them, having some of the same enemies such as the Shawnees. Some scientists think that early in time they had migrated southward. They disclaimed any knowledge of the prehistoric Indian ruins in Tennessee, claiming those were already there when they came....Their principal town or capital city was Chota, located about five miles from the ruins of Fort Loudoun, in Tennessee. They were the mountain people of America, and loved their homes and their liberties.

"They frequently aided the early settlers of this portion of America in their wars with the French and English, a company of Indians from this tribe having participated in the siege of Fort Du Quesne under Captain Pearis, but much often er did they carry death into the homes of the early settlers of the Carolinas and Virginia.



Cherokee Indians brought to London in 1730 by Alexander Cuming, left to right: Onacarana, Categusta, Caulunna, Oukah Olah, Tathowe, Clogoitta, and Ukwaneequa who grew up to become great chief, Attakulakulla (also known as the Little Carpenter because of his diplomacy in bringing peoples together, a builder of good will). The finery they are wearing consists of gifts, not native costume except that a chief might wear a feather in his hair.

- From a Smithsonian Museum painting based on engraving in the British Museum by Isaac Basire after Markham's painting.

"The tribe, previous to 1769, were numerous and exceedingly quarrelsome and arrogant. At this time they quarreled with the Chickasaw Indians and undertook an invasion of their country, but were overwhelmed by the Chickasaws after a great battle at the Chickasaw old fields...there can be no doubt that this occurrence contributed much to the rapid settlement of this (SW) settlement of Virginia. For thirty years following the advent of the first settlers into this country the Cherokees killed and scalped the Inhabitants at every opportunity.

"The population in 1735 was considerable. Adair says that they had sixty-four populous towns, and their fighting men numbered above six thousand. In the year 1776 the number of warriors pertaining to this tribe was two thousand four hundred and ninety-one." The underlining is mine. So much for the beneficial effects of the "civilized" white man on the Cherokee Tribe!!

To say nothing of the infamous "trail of tears," when greedy whites finally stole their land, with United States troops on horseback in 1838 forcing Cherokee men, women, and children to walk on foot to barren land in Oklahoma during inclement weather -- 4,000 of them died on the trail. And now, thanks to the Tennessee Valley Authority dams completed a little over a half-century ago, our ancestral villages have been inundated. Don't try to go to visit Chota or Toquo. They are no longer to be found on dry land. But those forced to go west were our cousins. Rhoda lived elsewhere as a white man's wife, and leaving all this aside, it is time to take up a new topic.

We do not know as many of the details about Rhoda (Hatton) Pearis's parents as we would like to.* Perhaps an addendum can be contrived to add to all this later. There is not room in this book to do more than skim over the career of her father, Captain William Hatton. He was extremely bright, courageous and hard-working, and he, like his son-in-law Richard Pearis (whom he never met because he died the year before the boy arrived in America) developed a strong affection for the Cherokees. Both men were ahead of their times in wanting to do more than they could to improve the lives of the tribesmen, but thwarted by governors of their respective colonies, preferring to exploit them.

All we know about Rhoda's mother is that she was a full-blooded Cherokee, probably daughter of a somewhat influential leader or possibly chieftan, because that is the way it was done then, around 1725 or so, when William, then a widower, took her as his wife or mistress according to Indian custom.

*I have at this time (Jan 2004) exhausted about as much as there is at the Wisc. State Historical Soc. Library in Madison, which lacks some volumes of the SC Archives of Indian Affairs. Perhaps they will be in the Mormon Library at Salt Lake City when next I am able to go there.

William Hatton was born between say 1675-90 in Oxfordshire, England, based on his will, probated in Charleston, South Carolina in 1734, mentioning copyhold land he still possessed in Cowleigh. Modern maps spell it Cowley and show that it is now a SE suburb of Oxford. We haven't yet searched for his ancestry in England, but do know that the town itself is very old. The name means what it sounds like, a clearing where cows graze, a meadow or lea. In Saxon times, 1004 AD, it was spelled "Couelea." Domesday Book, 1086, spelled it "Couelie." It has been suggested that the clearing may have been made by a man of the name of Cofa or Cufa, back in the days when Britain was mostly forested.

As to the name Hatton, back in the days not long after the Conquest, landed gentry looking for a surname had a habit of adopting the name of the manor as their own. There are a half-dozen villages called Hatton in England, none in Oxfordshire, so the family must have moved to Cowleigh from elsewhere.



PEARIS FAMILY

William Hatton was not a rare name. For instance, though we doubt he was a relative, one of the name in 1662 got himself arrested in Virginia for expressing his opinion that the justices of York County were "Coopers, Hogg trough Makers, Peddlars, Coblers, Tailors, weavers." 'Tis true that few of them had legal training-- he may have been right.*

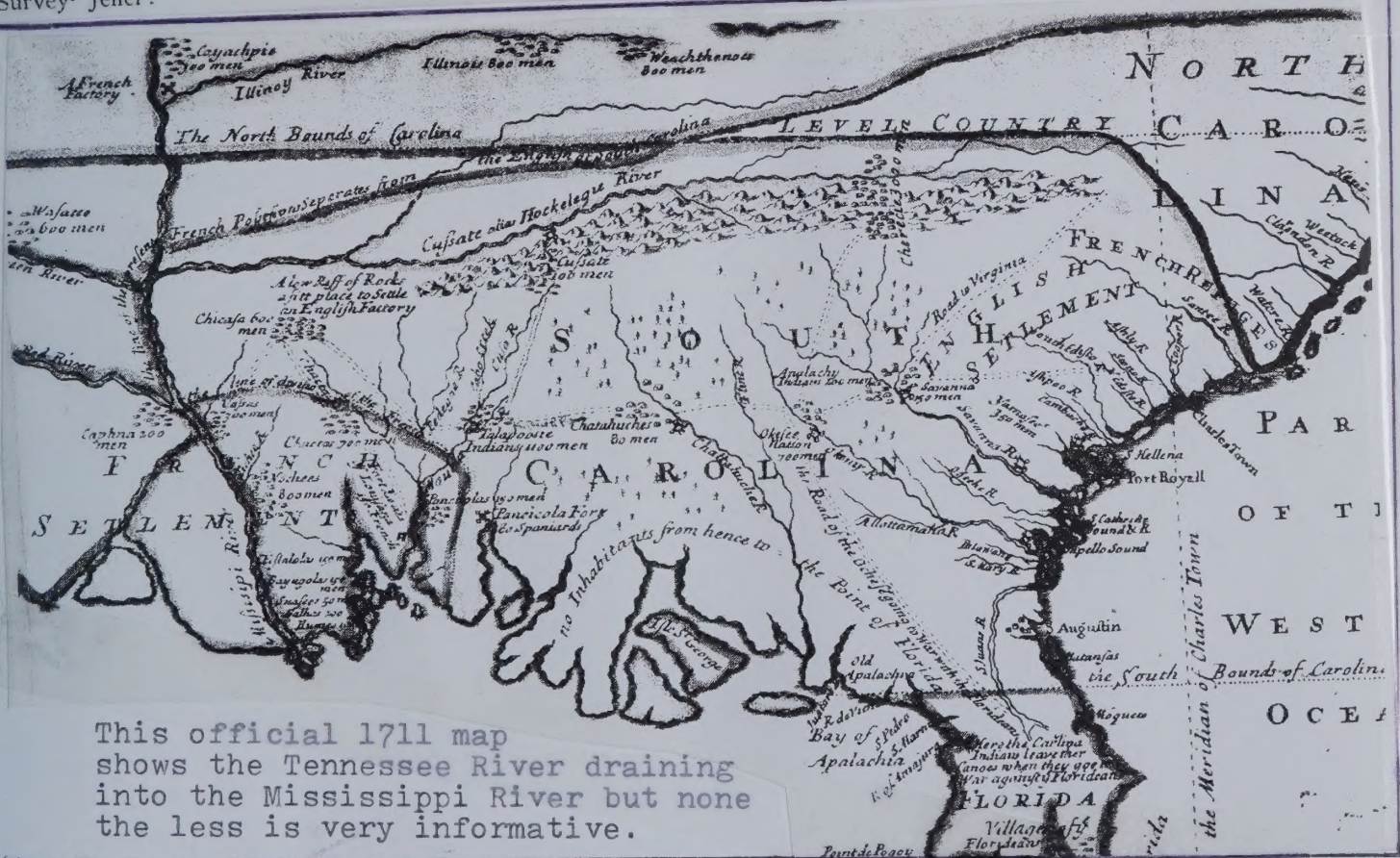
But was the following early colonist his father? There is not enough data to prove the point, but his plantation abutted those of leading colonial gentry. Such a man could probably afford to send his son to Oxford to be educated, or the land might have been inherited.**

Carrollina

You are forth with to admeasure and lay out for Will: Hatton one of y^e. free p^{er}sons of this Province one hundred seventie accres of land in some place not yett laid out or marked to bee laid out for any other p^{er}son or use and if y^e same should happen upon any navigable River or Rivers Capable of being made navigable yo^u are onely to allow y^e fifth p^{er}te of y^e depth by y^e watter side and a Certificate fully speciefieing the situation and bounds thereof yo^u: to retorne to us with all Convenient speede Dated this second daÿ of November 1678/
To Cap^t: Maurice Mathews Richard Conant Joseph West
Survey^r Jener: And^w: Percivall John Godfrey

Carolina SS:/

You are in pursuance of an order of Councill of y^e 11th of Dec Instant to Admeasure and lay forth unto John Ellis planter one hundred acres of Land Scituat and butting upon Newtowne Creeke and Adioynceing unto y^e Land of Will: Hatton to y^e Westward and Thomas Drayton to y^e North=ward and Somtimes in y^e possession of Michael Henshawe des^d: and a Certificat fullie speciefieing y^e bounds and Scituacon thereof to retourne to us with all convenjent speede Given und^r o^r hands att Charles towne y^e 14th Dec: 1679:
To Cap^t M: Mathews Survey^r J: West
generall./



This official 1711 map shows the Tennessee River draining into the Mississippi River but none the less is very informative.

* York County Records No. 3, page 175

**Warrants for Land in South Carolina 1672-1679, A.S. Salley, Ed (1910)

Many-Great Grandpa William Hatton was well educated, maybe at Oxford? We do not know when he went to South Carolina, nor when or where he married his first wife. She seems to have predeceased him by a number of years. By her he had two children, Sophia about whom nothing else is known, and John Hatton who was born in Cherokee country and lived his whole life there. John was fond of his brother-in-law Richard Pearis and loved his little half-sister Rhoda. Knowing no other life, he was much upset when skirmishes began to occur between Cherokee factions egged on by French forces vs. English forces in the early 1750's. After his mother died, he was cared for by his father William and his Cherokee stepmother. And though she was not our ancestress, one cannot but feel sympathy for this lady, reared in a comfortable upperclass home, then spending the rest of her life in a primitive Indian village.

We wonder most about the Cherokee squaw, our flesh and blood. What was her name? Probably it was some Indian word we could not pronounce, for English-speaking tongues were seldom able to repeat the guttural Indian words correctly. In Virginia in 1755, Cherokee warriors told Governor Dinwiddie that Richard Pearis's wife was the daughter of William Hatton, an Indian trader, and that before she came north with him she lived with a powerful warrior of Toquo, and that one reason they so much admired Richard was his "devotion for his woman," for he had risked his life many times to go to her.* One supposes this powerful warrior must have been either her grandfather on her mother's side or her stepfather, for does it not seem likely that Rhoda's mother would have remarried after William died? It was said that in 1760 a Cherokee named Rachel Hatton was living. Probably our ancestress had died by then, but suppose this could be her. Or John's wife? **

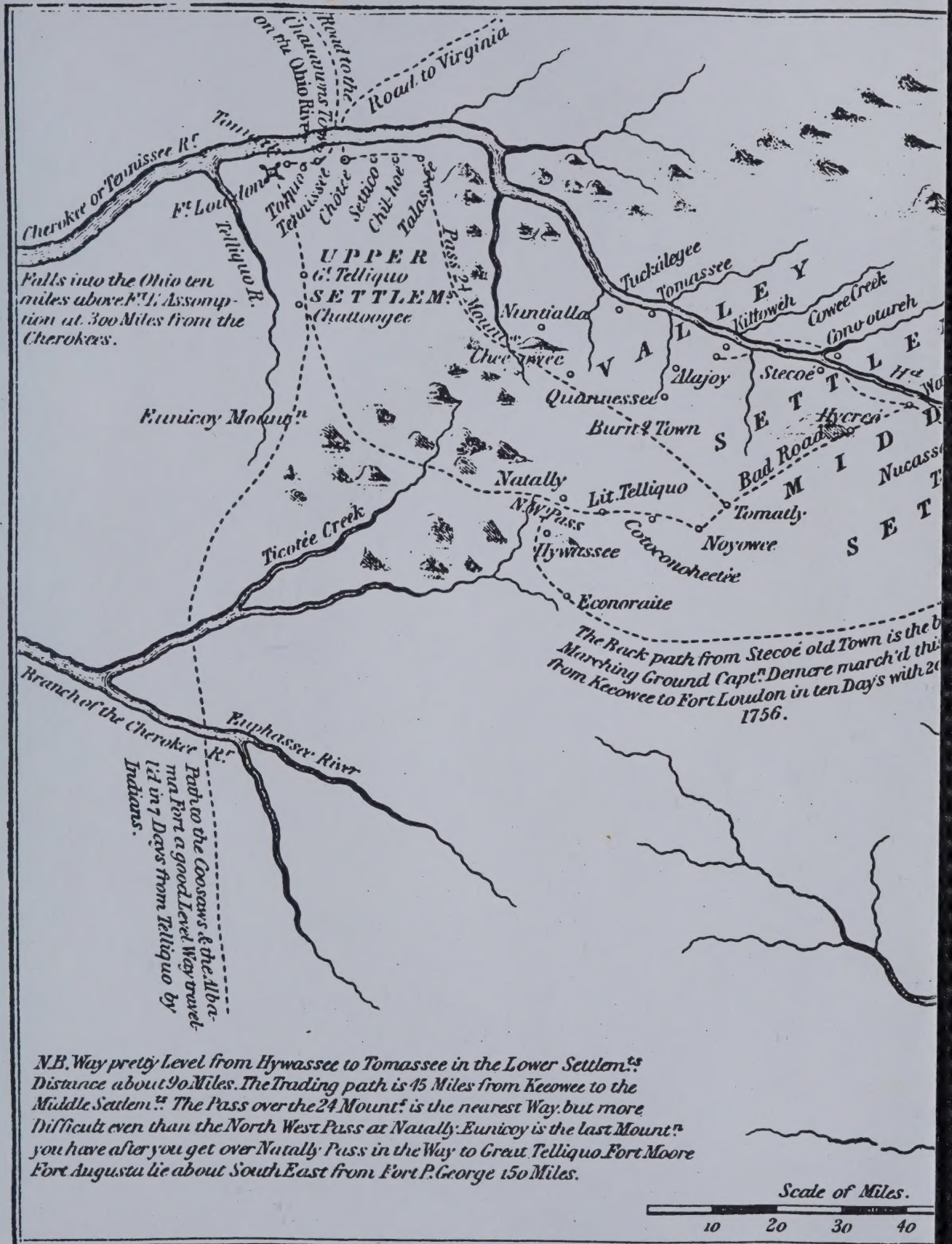
The little we know about the professional life of William Hatton is what has been gleaned from the correspondence and the minutes of the Commissioners of the Indian Trade. The language and procedures therein give us a window into the past, which is hard to describe with cumbersome and obsolete procedures and terms and undemocratic customs long past, as you will notice from samples presented later. Perhaps if we start out with a little historical background our story will be easier to understand.

Before the coming of the colonists there were many tribes of Indians, with much stone-age warfare between groups of differing cultures. We do not need to know the ethnicities of hundreds of tribes, just the few in each ethnic group our people were involved with. Our Cherokees, a numerous group, were settled in clusters of towns in and on all sides of the southern end of the Allegheny mountains. They were an offshoot of the Iroquois and, though they lived so far distant, still maintained close ties with their kinsmen on the Hudson River in New York. There was, however some slight difference of

*William Preston and the Allegheny Patriots, W.P. Givens pg 31, note 6, quoting Minutes of Cherokee Council, Williamsburg 05 Sep 1755

**South Carolina Indian Traders, Theresa M. Hicks, Ed., pg 120

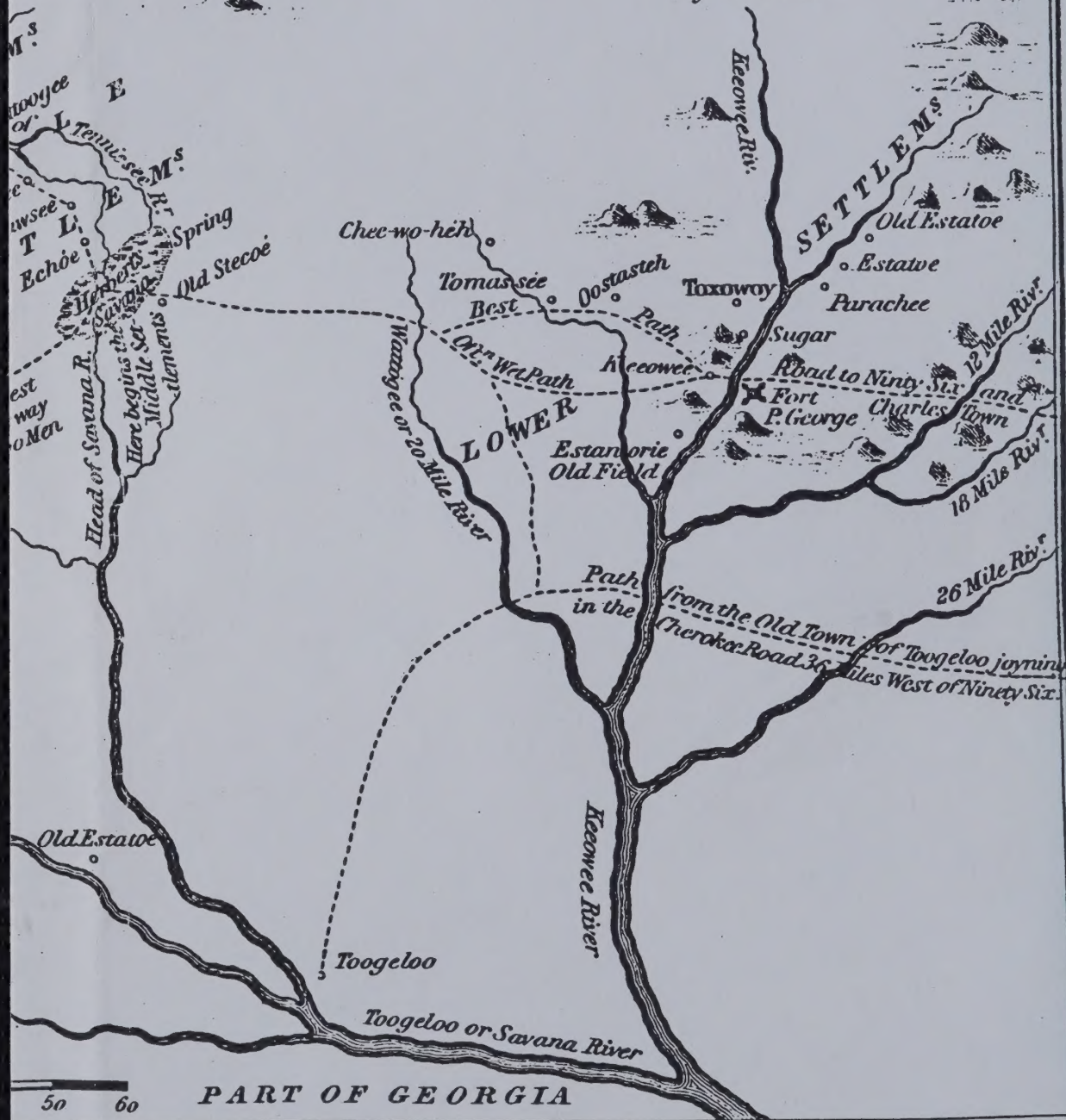
This map shows the locations of the Overhill Cherokee towns as of about 1760, & also the Lower Cherokee settlements in South Carolina. On this map, Toquo is closest town to Fort Loudoun.

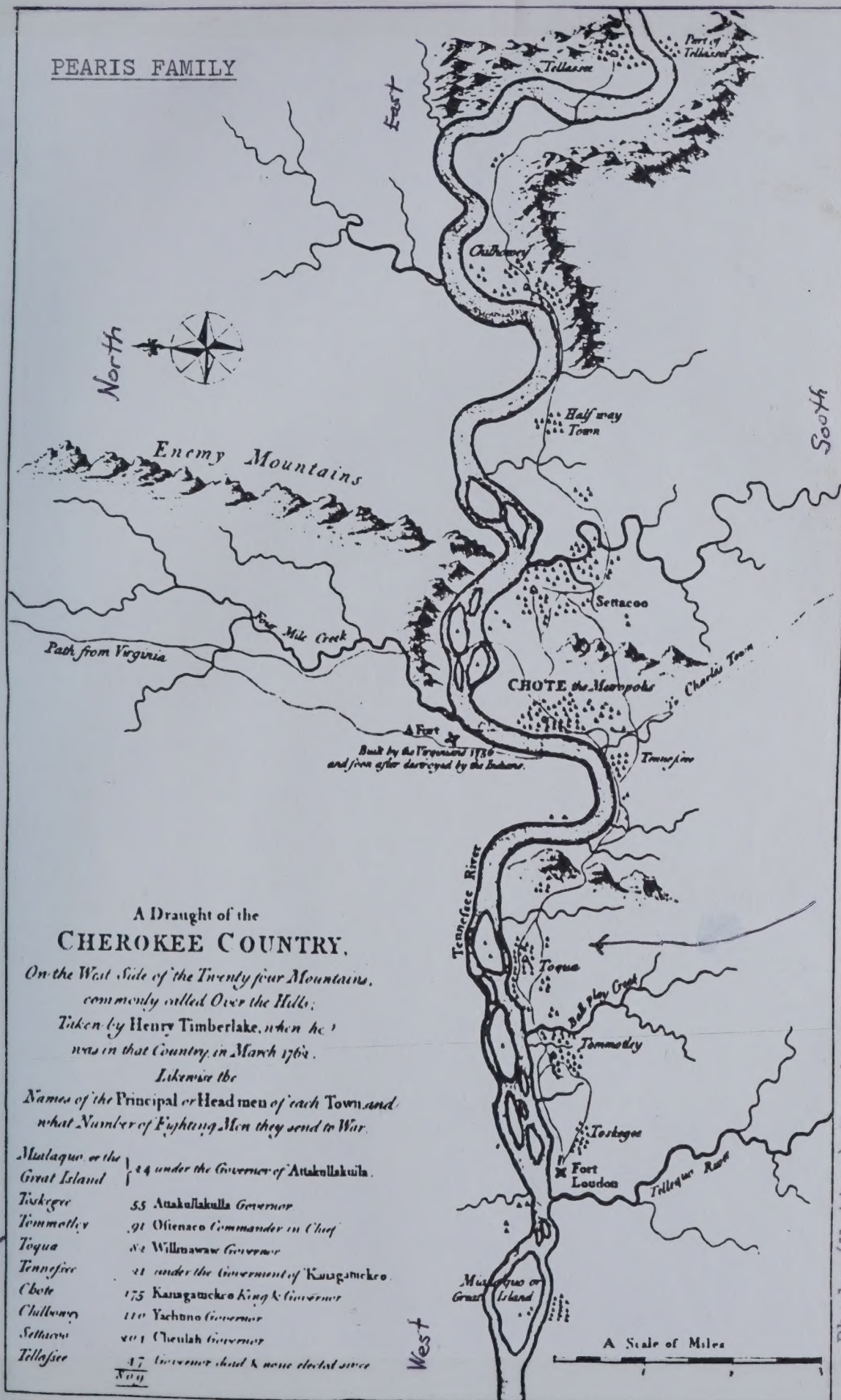


A
**SKETCH OF THE
 CHEROKEE COUNTRY,**

being a ~~reduced~~ copy from a map
 in Mante's History.

ENGRAVED FOR
 Bancroft's History of the United States
 by G. G. Smith.

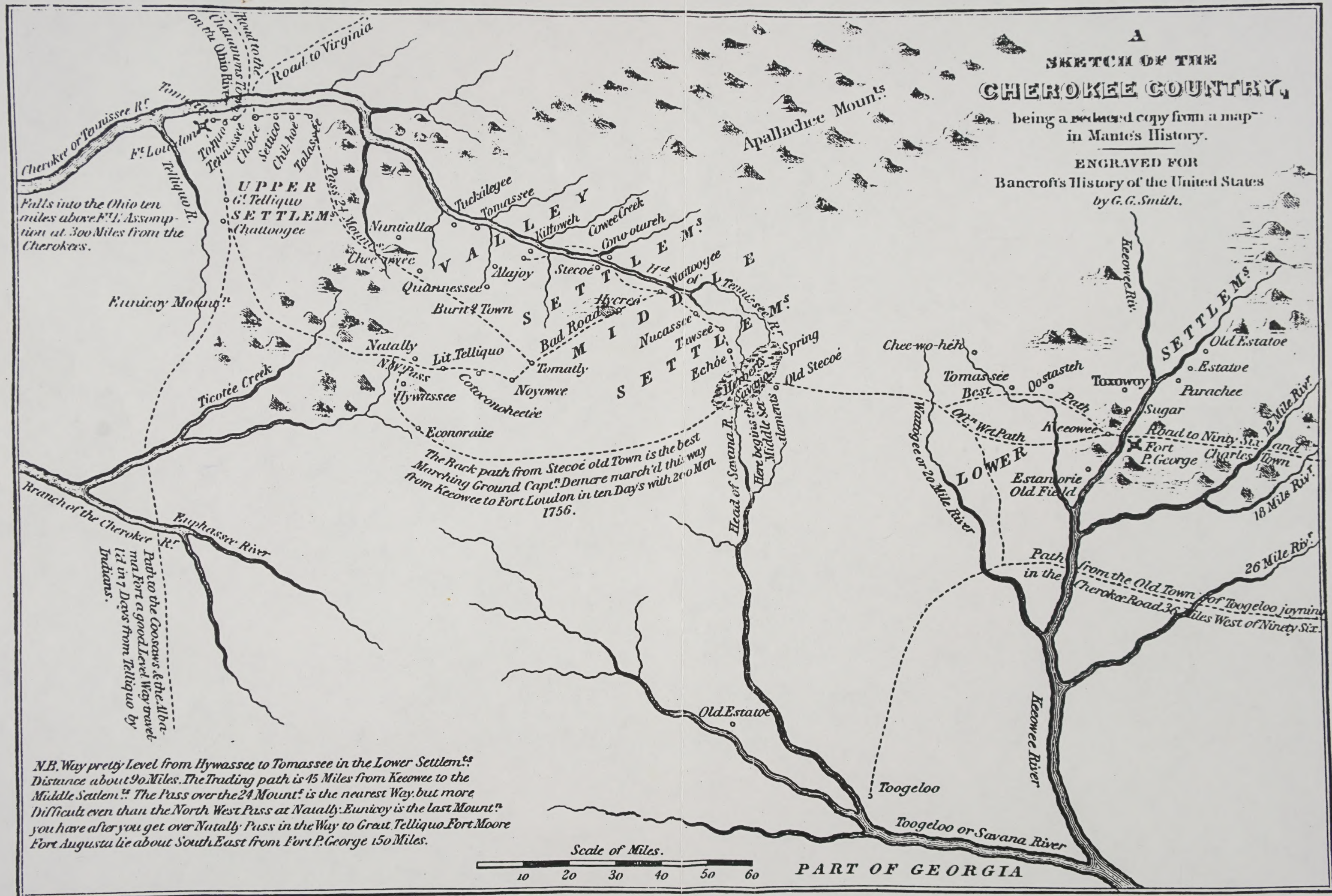


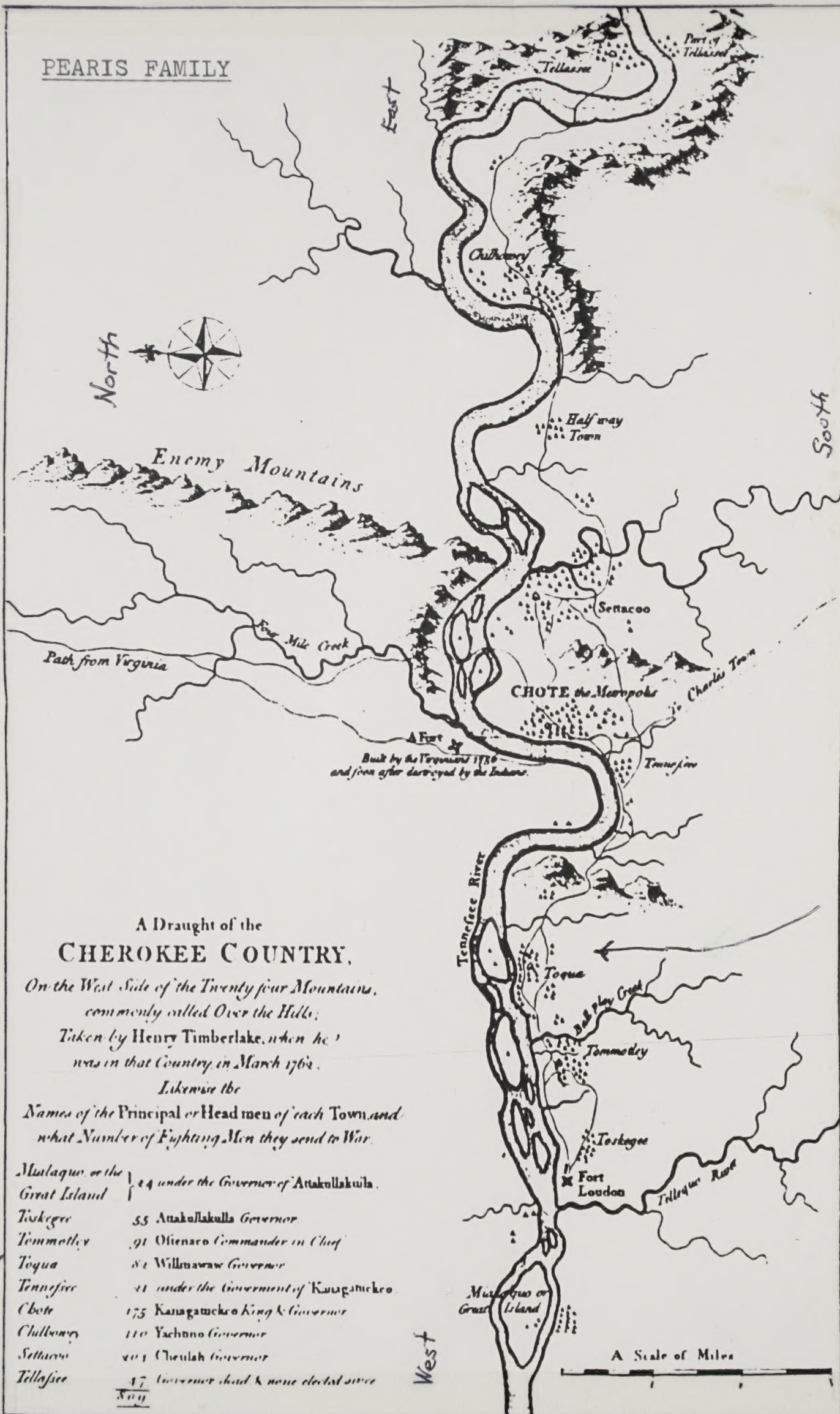


A Draught of the Cherokee Country by Lieutenant Henry Timberlake, 1762, showing the location of Chota - "the Metropolis" - and the warrior strength of the Overhill towns. From *The Memoirs of Lieut. Henry Timberlake* (London: Author.)

Rhoda (Hatton). Pearis lived at Toquo.

This map shows the locations of the Overhill Cherokee towns as of about 1760, & also the Lower Cherokee settlements in South Carolina. On this map, Toquo is closest town to Fort Loudoun.





Rhoda (Hatton) Pearis lived at Toqua.

A Draught of the Cherokee Country by Lieutenant Henry Timberlake, 1762, showing the location of Chota - "the Metropolis" - and the warrior strength of the Overhill towns. From The Memoirs of Lieut. Henry Timberlake (London: Author.)

dialect between Overhill tribes in Tennessee and those closer to Charleston, though they could understand each other well enough. The tribe was strong, intelligent, fierce, and of medium stature. Just south of them lived another numerous group, the Creeks, who were much like them but taller and muscular. The Creeks were of the Muskogean ethnic group, as were their cousins with which we are not immediately concerned, the Choctaws and Chickasaws. The other tribe involving us is the unfortunate, dwindling Catawba, related to the Santee, both on the North/South Carolina border, who spoke in a Sioux dialect. The Catawbas were brave and plucky but forever getting beat up or enslaved by the Cherokee, who looked down upon them. We are not much concerned with the tribes around the Chesapeake, but may as well mention that they were of Algonquian ethnicity related to Canadian tribes, Shawnees and others.

Several attempts had been made over a long period to start a colony in South Carolina, but doomed to failure by the Spanish at St. Augustine. Finally in 1670 a group of 200 families came from Bermuda and Barbadoes, their many slaves with them, and settled on the Ashley River, commencing Charles Town, as it was called at first. (One of these was Col. Alexander Parris, the Huguenot, mentioned in Chapter Three as being, erroneously, called a Pearis ancestor. He was very influential in driving out the pirates and so on, active in government.) For many years rice was the main crop of the colony, having originally been grown in Africa by their slaves, who were very good at this hard work in mucky, mosquito-ridden rice plantations.

This was a proprietary colony, with Lieutenant Governors in charge, appointed in England, where the sole rationale in having colonies was to exploit them for enrichment of English peers. Another profitable endeavor, the fur trade, later sprang up. Pelts from small animals were not so luxurious in this warm climate as those further north, but there was a never-ending demand for deer skins much desired in England. William Hatton's involvement was as a factor (as in factory--an agent or representative) running whatever trading post he was assigned to, with the Cherokees as his clientele receiving trading goods in stock in exchange for skins. Good forest diplomacy was essential. Detailed records and receipts were demanded in Charleston, carried back by trusted envoys in charge of the "burtheners" (loaded packhorse trains both ways) traversing the distance along narrow prehistoric paths or trails. On horseback, using a guide, it took Many-Great Grandpa nearly three weeks to get to the post. Getting lost was inevitable until the route was memorized. Alternately, the Savannah River went part way.

Looking over our large map of the Cherokee Country, one will notice how spread out over a wide area those settlements were, covering present Tennessee, South Carolina, and parts of North Carolina, as well as northern Georgia and Alabama. South Carolina claimed jurisdiction over all of them and Creeks and some Catawbas, no matter where they were located! A generation or so later that policy precipitated clashes with other colonies, but not during his lifetime.

We have just glossed over some elements of the trade in his day, but actually the Indian Factory System, with fewer modifications than one would expect, carried over into American statehood, until about a century ago--or as long as there were unsettled territories in the west with enough wildlife left to make the trade profitable.

And now, back to South Carolina history. At the beginning the Indians were mostly peaceable except for small irritation caused by overbearing whites. That is, up to 15 April 1715 when the Yamasee tribe led an uprising in the southeastern area, angered by land seizures by white plantation owners. They massacred some 90 traders plus settlers with their families. Emergency help quickly arrived from other colonies--including even New England. Expeditions were launched against that tribe plus others allied with them, even Cherokees who were thus convinced to remain neutral. The Yamasee were driven into Florida (from whence the Spanish were suspected of giving aid) and the lower Creeks withdrew westward as far as Mobile, thus paving the way for later settlement of Georgia.

The uprising was over by the summer of 1716. On Monday 17 Dec 1716, William Hatton was present at a session of the Commissioners of the Indian Trade, presided over by Ralph Izard, Esq., John Barnwell, and Charles Hill, Esq., having been recommended to the Board by the South Carolina Colonial Assembly, "to be an Assistant Factor to the Cherikees," and he, wanting a horse, they provided a stray bay horse in the custody of Mr. Izard which had not been claimed, for which he gave a receipt, and also posted bond for his performance, a matter of routine. He was ceremoniously sworn in as Assistant Factor, given Instructions of Tenor and Form....and ordered with all expedition to address himself for the Cherikees to Col. Theophilus Hastings, Principal Factor there, to receive further instructions concerning his proceedings in the trade....Ordered that Jury Barker, Assistant Factor, proceed to to the Cherikees with...Hatton and Thompson, etc. They left 21 Dec, Barker carrying a letter to Hastings telling him to expect these men, and Mr. Wiggan was to escort Hatton there.

On Fri. 25 Jan 1716/7 William Hatton, Assistant Factor for the Cherikees appeared before the Board. He was returned from Wantoot with the horse, not having been able to proceed further for the badness of the horse and "disappointment of a guide, by Wiggan being detained." Thompson was transferred by "Periauge" (pirogue--a hollowed out canoe) to Savano Town (Savannah?--a different tribe).

At this point we half expect William to ditch the whole idea of being a factor. The Commission even wrote a letter to Hastings, saying that Mr. Hatton...seems to decline the charge. But then something must have occurred to change his mind. He was given liberty to provide himself with another horse in lieu of the one he had turned in. William Hatton and John Sharp, Assistant Factors, along with several burtheners, were to proceed to Col. Hastings for instructions. Two weeks later Mr. George Hill was appointed Assistant Factor. He is given the bay horse declined by William Hatton, and to proceed by way of Savano Town.

On 11 Mar 1717, Col. Theophilus Hastings wrote that all of his assistant factors had come: John Sharp, James Dauge, William Hatton, Jury Barker, and George Hill.

09 May 1717. All is not well. Corpses have been found. Slaves of the Catawba have run away, two of them being Wateree women. (Trader?) Ebenezer Wiggan received advice in a letter from Capt. Hatton of the Cherikees that they were preparing to carry on the war with the Creeks, who had killed four men and carried away a woman....etc.

23 May 1717. Two letters received, one from Hastings, one from Hatton, dated the 3rd (thus taking three weeks to get there) with an account of the death of Jury Barker, one of the assistants.

17 June 1717. Col Theophilus Hastings...now desires permission of the Board to be absent from the Factory; and recommended Mr. William Hatton, one of his Assistants, to whom he has committed the key to the Trading House and his several powers and orders from this board to act in his station at Tougeloe Town, during his absence to sign a Peace Treaty with the Creeks. He turned in his papers which were then transmitted to Hatton, about how to run the trade. This says very much about the character and ability of our William Hatton, in training less than half a year, that he is able to take over such responsibility in an able manner so soon. And it is obvious that the work was not only challenging but dangerous, as it was to poor Jury Barker! Before I forget to mention it, the Hastings in England were bluebloods, many were barons and an occasional Earl in the Middle Ages. Theophilus may have been a descendant of a second son who did not inherit, but it says something about William that he could fill his shoes in such a short time, and something about the Indian trade and its rewards that distinguished men should be involved in it. All the Assistant Factors were also addressed as "Mr." In 1717 only the upper class had that title, as opposed to today.

We see above that the Chief Factor was stationed at Tougeloe Town. Looking at our map, we see that Toogeloo was just above a crotch of the Savannah River where it turns north. The advantage of that position would be availability by water to all of the towns. The Lower Towns were along the Keowee River to the right. The Middle and Upper Towns were reached by following the Savannah to its source, a marshy portage to the source of the Tennessee River, near to most of them. The map also shows an overland trading path slightly down the river, leading north past the Lower Towns and thence west toward the Tennessee. Two other trails led east to the coast. The town Ninety-Six was 96 miles east of Keowee.

There are too many entries to mention them all, but now letters follow calling him Chief Assistant Factor. The situation now being more precarious, more ammunition is sent for protection of Factory and clientelle. John Chester was appointed Asst. Factor to fill the vacancy. In July William received £25 salary for three mos. back pay up to June.

On 02 Nov 1717 a letter was brought from Asst. John Sharp regarding 770 skins stolen from himself by the Enemy, and that this may "deter the Cherokees from bringing down the pelts." Letter to William mentions the "noble parcel" to be brought down, but that he as chief should not be concerned about mishaps except in case of a mortality or misapplication. There are now dangers from the Creeks and from interloping Virginia Traders. Going with Indian chief Charitey Hagey of Toogeloo on a journey to a place called Saludee (this is a rather long SC river with headwaters not far from present Greenville, which spot they mean I do not know) they were able to recover 150 of the skins taken from Sharp. And Charitey Hagey had a long talk with the Cherokees, whereupon they agreed to convey the skins after all. This forest diplomacy is paying off.

As a result, Hatton sent down skins from Chotee (Chota) and Touge-loe, George Hill from Cowee and Quanassee, James Dauge from Tunasee and Terequa. Some skins had been stored at Mr. St. Julien's and Mr. Ravenel's plantations.. Captain Hatton used his endeavours to persuade the Indian "burtheners" to transport the skins to Charles-ton until water transportation could be arranged. The 160 Indians left with 160 packs and three Indian slaves. When they got there they were paid two yards of blew Duffield to each man for their labor and two yards to the Indian Cesar for his service in caring for the slaves. (This was pay for going both ways--with packhorses, we presume. The blue duffle was a sort of inexpensive woolen blanket cloth.) A Thomas Barton was to provide "a sufficient quantity of corn to delivered daily for their rations while in Charles-Town." In those days "corn" meant most any kind of grain to be made into bread, and possibly things to go with it.

27-28-29-30 Nov 1717. It was ordered that Capt. William Hatton, Factor among the Cherikees, do immediately wait on the Governor and Council and introduce the Chief Men of the Cherikees, in Charles Town, to make known to their Honors, such concerns as they have to declare to them....they even paid for the hire of a special horse for Captain Hatton. How times have changed! They paid him £75 back pay for three months, a threefold increase, and nominated him Principal Factor for the Cherokee trade, in the room of Hastings, (to replace) and increased his salary to £250 per year plus other perks. Mr. John Sharp was made his Chief Assistant. James Dauge also got a raise. The three Indian slave boys were sold for £130 ten shillings. Captain Hatton moved that the friendship of Charitey Hagey and some of the Head Men be honored, they having signified their expectation...Nathaniel Parrot was appointed as an additional factor. ..An extra security deposit was requested for Hatton's increase in status, but he said he had inquired among friends, who could not come up with it. This was forgiven. He also informed the Governor that a certain "Girle," the daughter of a French Man who had pled for this be redeemed. She was thus returned to her parents, they making restitution. There were many more details but, most of all, the powers that be were delighted. But he was ordered to live in the Indian towns.

It is no wonder that the Board of Trade and the Proprietors were delighted. The great haul of skins was worth £1849 8S $\frac{1}{4}$ d, a princely sum in those days, and especially since so many grave problems were now brewing in the Colony.

Just at a time when we are eager for more details about our ancestor's career, there is a big gap in the records in the Historical society, and just at a period in time when great changes were underfoot. In 1718 the French founded New Orleans from where they successfully harrangued many tribes; and in the 1720's they established Fort Toulouse on the Alabama River, even closer. They were rather successful in gaining the allegiance of large numbers of Chickasaws, Choctaws and Creeks and, to a lesser extent, some of the Cherokees.

The Colony was originally founded by Eight Lords Proprietors, rich friends of the King and, from the beginning almost, actual settlers were irked by the policies of those grasping individuals. Now there were myriads of complaints being made to the English government. That subject is quite interesting but we will not go into detail, since it does not affect Captain William Hatton directly. Suffice it to say that, with the threat from the Spanish to the south and the French to the west, the mother country decided changes were imperative. A crown-appointed royal governor was in place by 1723. As a short history says,

In the 1720's the old problem of regulating Indian trade was finally resolved successfully. A resume is in order. In 1707 traders had begun operating under government supervision; well intended, the plan had not succeeded. In 1716 a new law ended the private trading and created a government monopoly over the trade to be conducted by agents (or factors) sent to the tribes to do all trading at established posts, or "factories." In 1719. a new system--part private, part public--was tried. Finally, in 1725, Gov. Nicholson and the Assembly worked out a solution much like what had been tried first in 1707. The business returned to private traders who were supervised by a single Indian Commissioner, the first being George Chicken..the system continued throughout the colonial period.

The term "Indian Trader" encompassed two quite different kinds of operators. One, the "principal trader," was often a man of education and standing attracted to the trade by love of adventure and hope of fortune... This term..also applied to pack horsemen, illiterate and irresponsible..." *

We know, of course, that William was conscientious and had an affection for his Cherokees. Quoting a letter of Captain Hatton to the governor, a book says, "In November 1724, we find that the Catawbaws and Cherokees are gangeling, for in the summer a Cberokee killed a Charraw man and the Cattawbaws came here and demanded

*South Carolina, a Short History, Laura P. Jones (1877)

satisfaction & about twenty days ago, the Cattawba and Charraws took a Woman of the Charokees Prisoner, but she made her escape from them and got home again, upon which they threaten Revenge upon one another." It adds, that Hatton was an advocate of the wise and humane policy of promoting peace among friendly Indian nations. Governor Robert Johnson openly espoused the destructive policy in the following words, "It is always the maxim of our Govern^t upon the Continent to promote war between Indians of different Nations with whom we trade and are at Peace with ourselves, for in that consists our safety." *

With luck, we may be able to report later about how Captain Hatton fared under the new system. He died in 1734, before Governor Johnson's term expired in 1737. We return now to telling about his white son John, his halfbreed daughter Rhoda, and her husband Richard Pearis. How soon Richard visited the Overhill Cherokee villages we cannot say, but this youth was always bold and full of curiosity. The best clue to that is probably a guesstimate of when their oldest child, Sarah, named for his mother, was born. She married Sgt. George Teeter about March 1762. If she was aged eighteen, that means Richard and Rhoda were under twenty when they became parents. Sarah was our ancestress.

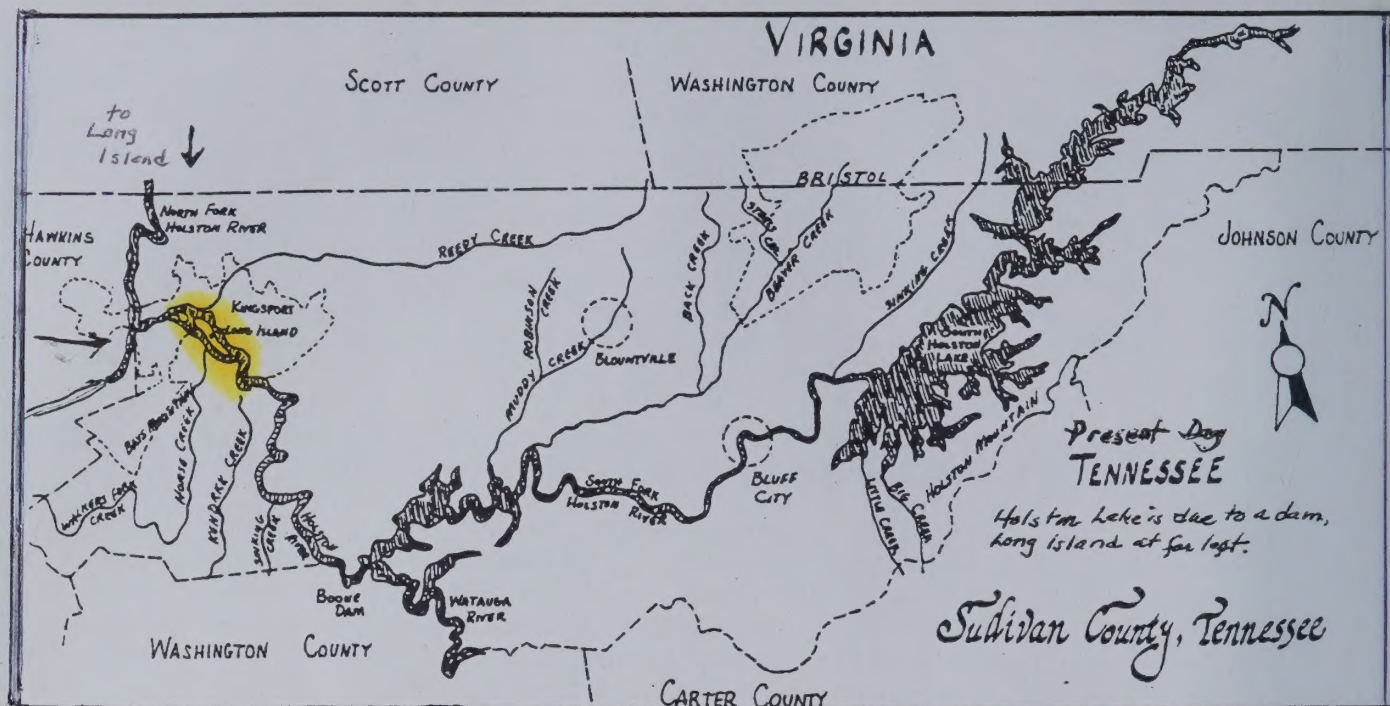
Now we must tell the romantic tale of the Long Island of the Holston. The first inhabitants of the Island were nomadic Indians who valued it because it was large, about four miles long, and half a mile wide; and being surrounded with water, it was a safe place abounding with game. To these ancient Indians, rivers had a special meaning because they flowed to Paradise in the Great Sea. The sacredness of the Long Island was handed down to the Cherokee Indians from their ancestors' remotest beginnings there, through stories told by their Myth-Keeper.

The Cherokees, being illiterate, did not keep written records, but those of the whites show that it was a treasured possession ruled by the Emperor Moytoy in 1730. In 1673 the first known white men James Needham and Gabriel Arthur passed by on their mission to develop trade relations between the Virginians and the Cherokees. In actuality the location at present Kingsport, Tennessee, was believed for most of the next century to be in Virginia, until surveyers finally came along. Dr. Thomas Walker of the Loyal Land Company who came by in 1748 coveted it, and Dr. James Patton, mentioned in the previous chapter, thought he had bought it, or hoped so.

By 1751 several traders of pelts had built cabins on the Island, hoping to further their trade with the Cherokees. Most historians believe that Richard Pearis, 25-years-old, was the first.**

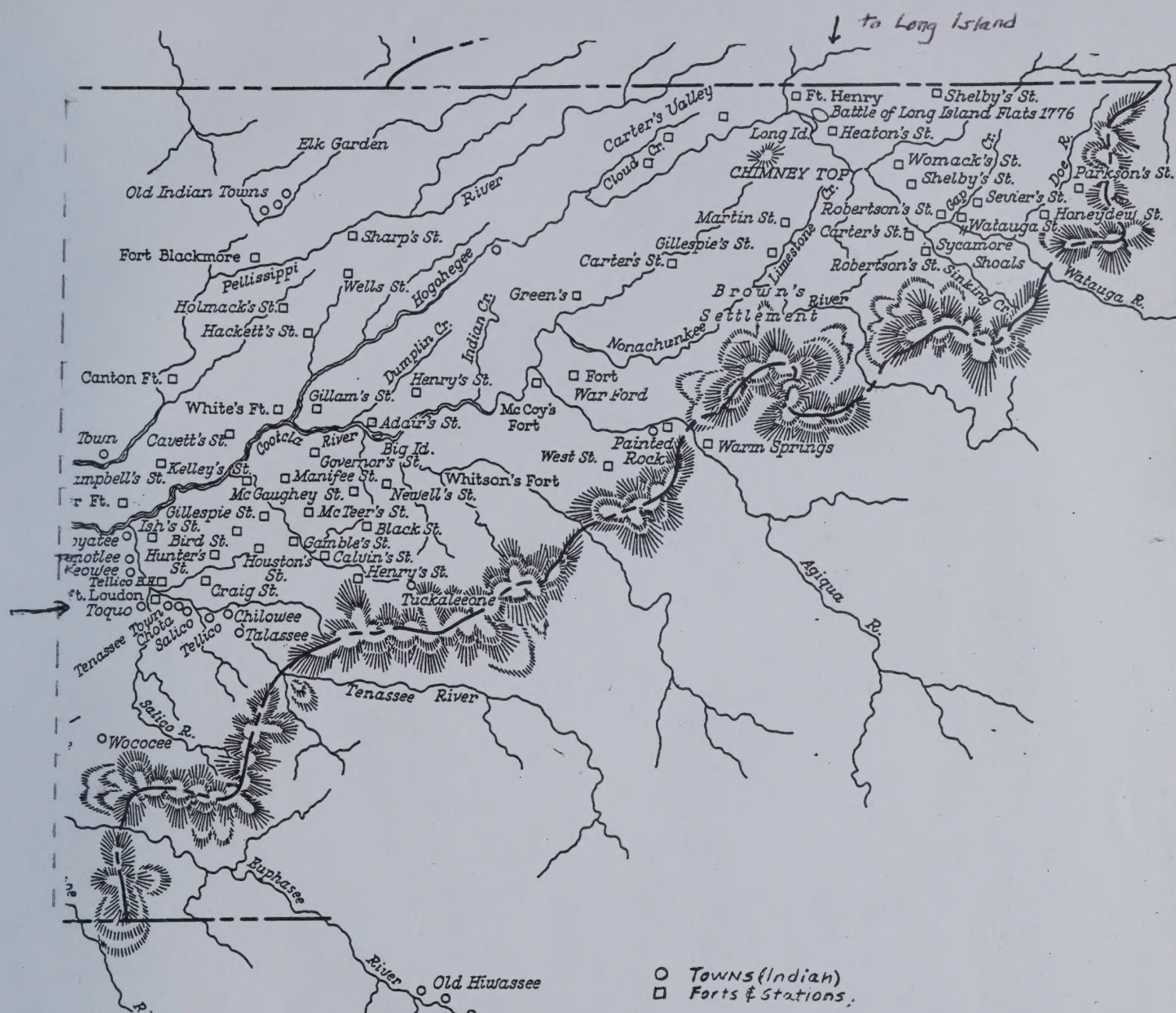
*Red Carolinians. Chapman J. Misking, page 236 (1950)

**The Long Island of the Holston; Sacred Island of the Cherokee Nation, Muriel M. C. Spoden, page 1



HISTORIC LONG ISLAND

- | | |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. THE ISLAND | 4. TILTHAMMER SHOALS |
| 2. ISLAND FLATS AND FORT | 5. TILTHAMMER ROCK |
| PATRICK HENRY (beyond the ridge) | 6. INDIAN WAR PATH |
| 3. BAY'S MOUNTAIN | 7. SLUICE OF HOLSTON RIVER |



Map of the East Tennessee area showing forts and Indian towns. (Map courtesy of Tennessee State Library and Archives)

Though helpful in showing locations clearly, this map is of a later date than we are now addressing, the early part of the Revolutionary War. Only the Overhill Cherokee towns are shown, but that is where Rhoda lived, at Toquo. Geography is easier to determine than it is in the large map of an earlier date. By 1776 this was officially part of North Carolina but also claimed by the Lost State of Franklin. The more westerly settlement of Nashville had not yet begun. One can see by all of those forts that illegal settlement by white squatters were encroaching on Cherokee land by then, strangling the unlucky natives' livelihood. Map taken from History of Washington County, Tennessee, page 17 (1988).

In 1751, when Richard Pearis and Thomas Price were trading on the Forks of Holston, the area all around was filled with intrigue. North Carolina, as yet underdeveloped with most of the population along the eastern sector but with no very good seaport, was "a modest colony between two proud ones," and limited finances, so did not actively compete for Cherokee trade even though some of them were living there, but South Carolina considered them her private property to be exploited and warned Virginia to keep hands off. There was no market for furs in warm sunny Spain, owner of Florida and all the land along the Gulf coast. The Spanish derived most of their profit from possessions farther south; nevertheless, they disliked all English so hindered their trade whenever convenient.

The French were actively hostile, primarily through Fort Toulouse and the New Orleans headquarters, but also Detroit and other western outposts, they used all means possible to effect an alliance with Cherokees and other tribes against the English. They won over two powerful Cherokee chiefs. Attakullakulla (Little Carpenter) had lived--happily it seems--for seven years as a captive of a Detroit River Ottawa tribe allied with the French who won him over despite the fact of his having visited England as a teenager and and having signed a pledge of friendship with them. Old Hop, the other, had gone so far as to harbor a friendly captive, French John, in his own household, who took advantage of the situation for much intrigue.

On the other hand, several influential leaders like Osteneco at Tomatly and Long John's Brother at Tenase sided with the Carolinians and eventually won ascendancy through the use of force. During a brawl Little Carpenter was set upon and beaten so badly that his life was despaired of. He capitulated, acknowledging that he HAD given his word and would honor it. Upon caving in, Old Hop took some gunpowder and wandered off intending to commit suicide before his frantic family caught up and dissuaded him. Governor Glen had labored long and hard to win over these allies for the English. At this point he did not consider the domination to be entirely secure. It is no wonder he was not anxious to share them. South Carolina colonial records of this period do not have anything flattering to say of any Virginians. Richard Pearis was a Virginian.

As of 1751 there was much rivalry among the American colonies, instead of cooperation, with Virginia and South Carolina competing for the same fur trade. That year the Overhills used violence on some Carolina traders guilty of gross cheating. Instead of enforcing stricter regulations, their Governor Glen sought to punish the Indians by curtailing all trade with them. In desperation, Cherokee leader Attakullakulla (the Little Carpenter) led a group to Williamsburg, the Virginia capitol, to ask Acting Governor Lee for an active trade agreement. Lee received them "with open arms and carressed some of the Cherokees" who had given offense to the South. However, the salutary effect of the meeting was partially negated when some rowdy borderers manhandled the Little Carpenter on the way homeward.

Glen, very angry at Lee, protested that there should be no meddling by Virginia with South Carolina's wards, that the delegation had made false claims, and that "among them there are no people of eminence or dignity." To placate him, Lee inserted a notice in the Virginia Gazette of 16 Aug 1751 that "the inhabitants of this Colony may be cautious in their communications with the Overhills." "Such a qualified admonition meant nothing to the bold traders on the upper reaches of the Holston such as Richard Pearis, Samuel Stalnacker, and Erwin Patterson. If they ever heard of the notice in the Gazette they continued in trade."

Their principal Overhill Towns at this time were given as Great Tellico, Chatuga, Tenase, Chota, Toquo, Settiquo and Telasse. One can see those towns at left on our map, though the spellings may vary slightly. Acting Governor Lee, a Virginia native, was a temporary fill-in awaiting the arrival of Gov. Robert Dinwiddie. Already the situation was growing critical, as the French were closing in on both sides. New Orleans and Fort Toulouse Frenchmen had won the ears of powerful chiefs such as Attakullakulla and Old Hop (so-called because of his gait from an old war injury) and others.

France and England had been intermittently at war for centuries, each considering the other evil, partly because of religious differences. Though far outnumbered by English Colonists, only now spilling over from the tidewater, France was determined to possess all the back parts, starting in upper and western New York, the Ohio and the Mississippi River valleys plus as much else as possible; but the Virginians already had traders in the Ohio Valley. The French were now beginning to build forts in all these places. Short on fighting men, they wooed Indian volunteers by undercharging for trading goods in exchange for pelts and, lacking many families, they took little land away from the Indians. By this time the colonies, especially Virginia, were becoming alarmed.

Governor Dinwiddie, keenly aware of his own lack of experience in dealing with Indians, sought advice and was told that the most effective way to deter the red enemy on the Forks of Ohio was to fight Indians with Indians and that the Shawnees were afraid of Cherokees. Ignoring Glen, he sent Abraham Smith, an interpreter, to their towns late in 1753, urging the tribe to assist next spring in expelling the French at Fort Duquesne. Smith was rebuffed, haughtily informed that they possessed no ammunition for that.

One of the danger spots in the Cherokee territory was Great Tellico, as Richard and Rhoda Pearis learned in an alarming way. Our source is a letter of trader Ludovic Grant to Governor Glen of South Carolina. Grant kept him well informed on all the goings-on in the upper towns, and what Governor Dinwiddie was up to.*

*The source for the following is South Carolina Indian Affairs Documents, by McDowell- prev. cited - Volume for 1754-1757, extracted from pages 15 through 20 (The underlining is on the Library copy!)

Ludovic Grant to Governor Glen - Tomatly Town, 22 July 1754

.....
Your Excellency may remember in my last Letters by Mr. Buttler I gave an Account of a Message sent to Old Hopp by the Governor of Virginia inviting the Emperour and Little Carpenter in thither, in order to receive some Presents as the Letter specified, sent for them from the King of England. Abraham Smith who was the Messenger went in Person over the Hills, and as I can learn received one verbal Compliment for another to carry Home with him. However Smith returned with expedition from Virginia to Kewohee the second Time and proceeded no further, but from thence sent the second Letter which he had brought by one of the Virginia Traders who was there at Kewohee at that Time to Old Hopp who said he was much obliged to the Governor of Virginia for his Correspondence, but that as he was promised by his first Messenger, Ammunition and war Utensils, and that not being sent according to Promise, neither he nor his People could make Powder, and Bullets, and other Things they very much wanted, and Paper alone, meaning the Letters, would not defend them from their Enemies either at Home or abroad and upon slight Excuses altogether declined going.

✓ However they desired the Virginia Trader, one Paris by Name, to write their Answer to the second Letter and carry it to the Governor, and when the Headmen were convened in order to consult what Answer to send, he, the said Paris, declined it till they should come to Starnekers, the Dutchman's House, on the Virginia Path, and where Paris proposed they should convoy him, and there he said the Warriours who were his Gaurd might send an Answer. It may be supposed that Paris by deferring to write the Answer till upon the Path, thought to lay an Obligation upon the Headmen to convoy him, but after all this he could hardly perswade any of them [15] to gaurd him homewards, only twelve Fellows nine whereof were Northward Indians who have lived some Years Over the Hills and almost naturalized.

That Night or soon after they were come to Starnekers, there were thirty of the Catabaws who had been at War to the Northward and being so far returned homewards, took up Camp in the adjacent Neighbourhood in order to get some Provisions from the Inhabitants of the Place and to procure which sent a young Man of their Company ignorantly to a House near to Paris's Gaurd, who so soon as the Northward Fellows who were with the Cherrokees heard of an Indian and a Catawbaw they rushed into the House where the Catabaw was sitting and seizing and tying him brought him off. As I before mentioned there were thirty of the Catabaws and had taken three Slaves and killed two on the Spot, and there being but nine Northward with Paris, they thot without Delay of making the best of their Way homewards and for Fear of being pursued by the Catabaws which doubtless they were the fourth Day came to Setticoe which was an unaccountable Haste. The Northward Fellow that first laid Hands on the Catabaw and for that Reason claimed him as his sole Property lives in Setticoe, and there he first intended to carry the Slave, which when the Little Carpenter, the Great Warriour, and several other Headmen heard they went and with stern and angry Countenances, cut the Slave's String with a Knife, and stamped upon the rattling Callabash they had given the Slave in his Hand to sing to, and told the nine Northward if they wanted to go to their Country they might when they pleased, that they were not affraid of them or their Nation nor the French, but they should carry none of their Friends as Slaves, so these Warriours above mentioned brought the Catabaw Home to them, and as in such Cases there Manner is, washed, painted, and new cloathed him, and intends to send him Home with a Gaurd to his own People as soon as he can walk, his Feet being much swollen by running.

It is now a general War between this Nation and the Northward Indians, especially those belonging to the French. some of whom were in this Nation early this past Spring,

*Samuel Stalracker, mentioned before, Virginia trader on the Holston.

(The calabash that the Indian prisoner of war was forced to rattle as a symbol of his inferior status, is a hard-shelled gourd with seeds still inside.) Grant's letter to the governor is fascinating, too bad we don't have room for it all, except the following paragraph:

This Summer one of the Virginia Traders, Paris by name, whom I have mentioned before, with a young man Paris, his Hireling, a Negroe Man, and John Hatton's Sister, half-breed, had almost been killed in the Great Terequa Path from Canoste. The said Paris with his Company had come from Stetcoe on Tewtewah River and, passing my House went to Docharty's where he bought two Cows and Calves. The Day after took his Journey for Great Terequa which he was to pass on his way to Toquo where he resided with a remarkable Indian and a Warriour of Tannasse who had some Days before come over the Hills to Docharty's in order to pay a Debt he owed him. When Paris was come within four or five Miles of the Terequa, for fear lest his Cattle would tire, encamped; the Indian, who was a little Way behind coming up, said he would proceed to the Town it being but a little Way off, and notwithstanding Paris and the Woman entreated him earnestly to stay, and told him the Path was dangerous; however, the Indian would not, and not two Miles from where Paris stayed had his Horse shot under him, and was himself carried off where no News has been heard from him and I belive ever will, and though they have been the Death of some Virginia Men in Times past, at that Time saved the Life of one with his Company.

Grant's language is a bit obscure and his spelling of towns does not quite match our map, so it is difficult to figure out where some of them were. Taking our cue of his spelling of Starnecker for Stal-necker, it would seem that instead of Great Terequa one might substitute Great Telliquo (nowspelt Tellico) and Stecoe for Stetco. The Pearises certainly went a long way to get their precious cattle. We, like Grant, are relieved that those gentle animals saved the lives of our ancestors! We wonder if the milk was at least partly for their little daughters Sarah and Margaret--and if little George was born yet. We are also intrigued by the mention of the "remarkable warrior of Tennessee with whom he (Pearis) resided." What, if any, relation was he to Rhoda?

It was neglected to mention this before in our discussion of Cherokee customs, but they and many other tribes traced their ancestry through their mothers' lines rather than their fathers' as we are wont to do, calling ourselves by his last name and so on. When a Cherokee couple married, the man went to live in his wife's village, leaving his birth family. From then on, he fought to protect his wife's clan, not that he was born into. In this case, since Richard was absent so much, trading on Long Island, his wife and children may have stayed with her mother. Could that "remarkable warrior" Richard resided with have been Rhoda's stepfather, they all living with William Hatton's Cherokee wife, our ancestress?

The records do not say how Richard learned so promptly about Dinwiddie's plea for Cherokee warriors via interpreter Abraham Smith. Smith was a common name, and perhaps all this quickly became common knowledge. However, traders Richard Smith and John Hatton, together and separately acted in the capacity of "linguisters" for Old Hop at Chota and others nearer to Keowee, sending messages to Governor Glen. The brothers-in-law would certainly have discussed the subject either way, and Richard certainly was an opportunist. What Dinwiddie did not realize was that the emissary he had chosen was already unpopular with some of the tribe. Richard, who already spoke their language fluently, liked the Cherokees and knew how to get along with them, and decided to contact Dinwiddie, especially since he wanted to own land on Long Island. Some of the correspondence between them has been preserved. It shows that, though both were patriotic, each used the other to his own ends.

Early in 1754 Richard Pearis showed up in Chota with several pack horses laden with trading goods and a message from the Virginia governor, in which he promised to meet all of their demands.

"The Chota headmen received Pearis kindly, took advantage of the generous terms on which he traded, and listened to Dinwiddie's talk; but mindful of Glen's opposition and willing to create a bargaining situation, they demanded that the Virginia governor produce tangibles. Pearis worked hard to change their minds. He refused to write out their reply...until they should accompany him to Stalnaker's halfway to the Potomac, where he hoped to find rum and presents. But the headmen would not move. Pearis finally prevailed upon the Little Carpenter to entrust him with a message to Dinwiddie stating that Glen had restrained the Cherokees from going to Virginia. Pearis and Smith, each accompanied by half a dozen unofficial Cherokees, arrived at Williamsburg too late for the the Washington expedition. Primarily the Virginia failure in the 1754 negotiations was...Dinwiddie's fault." *

Because he had insisted on unilateral negotiations instead of recognizing Carolina sovereignty and acting through Glen, who would then have cooperated--the quote was written from a Carolina viewpoint, but there is much truth in it. Dinwiddie then became miffed unfairly at Pearis because he couldn't deliver.

It became Richard's misfortune that he owed a large debt for trading goods to Christopher Gist, operator of the Ohio Company's Indian Goods Warehouse at Fort Cumberland, who insisted that he take on his spoilt and favorite middle son, 21-year-old Nathaniel Gist, as partner. The boy was promiscuous with Cherokee women and failed to uphold his share of the hard work expected of him. Both Gists were envious of Richard's Indian popularity. (Dinwiddie was a shareholder in the Ohio Company--yet another reason he desired colonial expansion in the Ohio, so that he could obtain land there.)

*The Cherokee Frontier - Conflict and Survival 1740-62 by David H. Corkran, Univ. of Oklahoma Press, Norman OK. The last four pages of this chapter borrow heavily from the 4th chapt. of that book, pages 50-65.

The Gists chose this time to get even, by foreclosing on their loan by seizing all the deer leather in the trading house and carrying away most of the trading goods, far more than the loan was worth, leaving only a few undesired items behind, plus a heavy debt that Richard had promised the Cherokees for yet undelivered skins. They tried to cover over this treatment by attempts to blacken his reputation. And whom do you suppose Dinwiddie chose as his next ambassador to the Cherokees?

For his next emissary he chose Nathaniel Gist, Christopher's son, to offer a gift of "great and everlasting trade" in return for warriors, as well as a message from Indian Superintendant Sir William Johnson, that the Six Nations of the North would join them in defeating the French. The message created much enthusiasm at first, until they began to hear conflicting reports about northern Indians. Meanwhile Glen, hearing that the Crown had allocated money for a Cherokee fort, sent Richard Smith, Abraham's brother (and John Hatton's friend) with a message demanding a meeting before they took any action. But Smith arrived late, having become snowbound in winter storms in the mountains, and got there in late February after Gist.

And now, with the proposals of two Colonial governors laid before them, the Chota bargaining position had never been better. Headmen would decide at a meeting in March. The interlude was brightened by the drama of Richard Pearis who, unwanted and unauthorized, projected himself into the scene where he was to become an important factor for several years to come. Since he had been dropped by Gist, the large sum advanced in credit to the Overhills had become his own liability, and he decided his future lay with them. Though bankrupt, he gathered together a few sacks of trade goods and some kegs of whiskey and dispatched them to Chota under the care of a packhorseman, with the message that he would soon come to the nation as Dinwiddie's agent.

Having failed in his 1754 mission, Dinwiddie had refused to see him on his return. He then relayed the Little Carpenter's pipe and a message to Dinwiddie, along with a proposal that he and Nathaniel Gist be licensed to open a trading post for the Cherokees on Long Island--the location being in Virginia, the Carolinians could not complain. Whether that proposal was made before or after the blowup with the Gists had occurred is a question, but the governor apparently believed they approved the project and relented toward Pearis, sending him a letter approving the project.

Young Gist appears to have had some idea of what Pearis intended, for when Pearis' man was but three days from Chota, a gang set upon him and took nothing but the letter to Old Hop. In Chota, Gist had the letter translated to the Fire King, while he mimicked Pearis and ridiculed him. When a few days later Pearis passed Chota on the other side of the river, word got around that he had gone directly to "his mistress at Toquo."

Old Hop summoned him to Chota where, amid raucous Indian laughter, the Fire King compared him to a young buck after a doe in rutting season, and asked how long the Governour of Virginia had been corresponding with Cherokee wenches. Pearis turned angrily upon Gist and accused him of treachery. Old Hop sternly ordered him to leave and confine himself to trade. Nevertheless, Pearis eventually achieved more for Virginia among the overhills than did Nathaniel Gist."

Under Gist's spell they resolved to send a large group of warriors when, all of a sudden, forty Shawnees and Mingos from Logstown (Pennsylvania) arrived on behalf of the commander at Fort DuQuesne and the message that the Six Nations had declared neutrality. Gripped in fear, they refused to budge. Gist took back to Virginia a false tale that Pearis had used liquor to defeat the Virginia project. And Dinwiddie, after Braddock's defeat, wildly blamed both Glen and Pearis for the Cherokee failure to support the British expedition. (Actually, Braddock's distaste for all Indians was so great that he would have alienated them himself, as he did the Delawares.)

Glen called the headmen to a large conference at Saluda, during which, in exchange for an immense cessation of land, he guaranteed greatly expanded trade plus a large fort for their protection, manned by white soldiers, on the Little Tennessee near Chota. Frightened as they still were of French/Shawnee attack, the proposal was gratefully accepted. After this Oconostota dispatched war parties against French Indians on the Wabash and Illinois, but they did not send warriors to Virginia, still waiting for the "great and constant trade" promised by Gist. They were yet reluctant to break the recent agreement with the Shawnees.

"Shortly, however, due to the efforts of none other than Richard Pearis, the Cherokee mood toward Virginia softened. Late in July, having satisfied Gist and regained Dinwiddie's confidence, Pearis returned to Chota. He bore a message from Dinwiddie, penned before Braddock's defeat, urging Cherokees to send help to the British general. Greeted coldly at first, for Carolina traders had circulated a rumor he had come to collect \$2,500 owed him by Indians, he endeared himself to the Overhills by publicly burning his accounts and ledgers. They could not then ignore his mission...but they sent Old Hop's adopted son Cappy to Williamsburg..with a proposition..If Dinwiddie would build a fort on the Great Island, they would send warriors to protect lands and properties deserted by inhabitants of Virginia's SW frontier and go against Shawnees. Pearis had achieved a major coup in winning Cherokees to his program. So high did they esteem him that they asked Dinwiddie to use him as Virginia's agent in all future communications to them. But their contribution in 1755 was meager as pessimism set in when Glen was slow to implement his Saluda promises and the French threat moved closer to home."

In Chapter Three we read how the time of Braddock's disaster coincided with a massacre at Draper's Meadows not far from the home of Richard's brother, George Pearis Jr. On 8 July 1755 Northern Indians killed Col. James Patton and several others. They stole his stores of ammunition and took several prisoners, among them the pregnant Mrs. William Ingles.

and two little sons whom they carried to the Shawnee towns on the Sciota across the Ohio. Ingles and Draper did all they could to secure their return, including a trip to Williamsburg to seek help. In another raid, Cherokee trader Samuel Stalnaker was captured and his wife and son Adam killed and scalped. Though not recorded in history, we may be sure that when they were not together, many messages passed back and forth between brothers Richard and George Pearis, an added incentive to Richard to secure help for the Virginia frontier.

That winter, to show their sincerity, 130 Cherokees led by Ostenaco and Yellow Bird, with Richard Pearis as interpreter, departed for that locality where, based at David Robinson's Fort on New River, they stood between Southwest Virginia and the Shawnees. When not ranging, they perfected their battle skills, practicing and hunting on Pearis Mountain. In December, Ostenaco, ambitious for Virginia favor and bored with the confinement of defense along the quiet frontier, suggested a bold plan which he urged Richard to place before the Governor.

Judd's Friend



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CHAPTER SIX - THE BIG SANDY EXPEDITION

"Ingles and Draper, brooding in their sorrow at Dunkard's Fort* had no chance to organize a search for their missing families... At last men made a trip to the friendly Cherokees on the Tennessee and conferred with Virginia traders there, particularly Richard Pearis, a favorite among the Overhill Indians, as the settlers called the Cherokee. They also laid their troubles before Chief Attakullakulla, who was always well disposed toward the English when other chiefs had been noncommittal or hostile. The distrustful men offered to employ Cherokees emissaries to go to the Shawnee nation to ransom their wives and children."

Now Gov. Dinwiddie (in spite of Washington's misgivings that the scheme might backfire) conceived the notion of sending an expedition including Cherokee warriors down the Sandy River (presently part of the Kentucky boundary) to attack the Shawnees on the Scioto River, on the opposite bank of the Ohio. The plan looked fine on paper. The actual distance was about what he estimated; but because it had not been fully surveyed they failed to take into account the ruggedness of the terrain or wildness of the river with its steep banks, mountainous in stretches they didn't know about, with no game to be had in emergencies. The men were inadequately provisioned for such a difficult mission. Worst of all, they set out in when the river was swollen from late winter thaw and the current swift and uncontrollable.

Because of his knowledge of the terrain through which the raiders had come, Ingles was selected as a scout, organized by Major Andrew Lewis in charge. Thirty rangers led by Capt. William Preston, who avowed to avenge the death of his uncle, Col. James Patton, arrived first. Capt. Peter Hogg had 40, Capt. John Smith 30, Samuel Overton 30, Obediah Woodson 40. Other captains were Robert Breckenridge, Archibald Alexander, John Montgomery, and ___? Dunlap. On the first night out, those coming from up the Valley stayed at the farm of Francis Cyphers, close neighbor of George Pearis. The frontiersmen gathered at a fort just west of present Salem, Virginia. When they reached Dunkard's Fort they were joined by a hundred Cherokee and 30 Chickasaw warriors under the leadership of Chief Ostenaco (also called Outacity) & Judd's Friend, and Captain Richard Pearis, the Virginia trader.

"The expedition left the Fort on 19 February 1756 for the long, hard march through the mountainous country penetrated by the Big Sandy River and its tributaries. Known in pioneer history as the "Big Sandy Voyage," it proved a disastrous failure."

*Materials used for this chapter include

The Wilderness Road, Robert L. Kincaid, pages 57-62

History of Southwest Virginia, Lewis P. Summers, pages 60-1

and especially Kegley's Firginia Frontier, F. B. Kegley, Chapter 66 with short borrowings from a few others.

PEARIS FAMILY

Top: Ostenaco, also called Outacite or Autossity Usteneeka, the Chief Cherokee with Capt. Richard Pearis during the Big Sandy expedition. taken from painting in US Library of Congress

Below: Typed copy of the message George Pearis, Richard's brother, carried to the Catawba Nation.



JOHN SMITH, WILLIAM PRESTON AND RICHARD PEARIS TO THE CATAWBAS

Fort Frederick, Jan 13th, 1756

Friends and Brothers, Warriors of the Catawba Nation, You and ye the English are subjects of the great King George, and we acknowledge him as our common father, who has given us many distinguishing Tokens of his paternal Care of us.

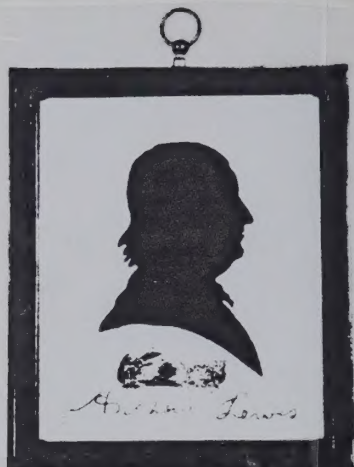
The Chain of Friendship between you and your Brothers of Virginia we hope will be kept clear and bright as long as the Sun and Moon endure.

It shall always be our utmost Care and Concern to keep the Chain from contracting any Spots of Rust, to confirm which, there has been two Children fallen into our Hands which are of our Brothers the Catawba Nation, we have been very careful of them since we took them from the Enemy and they were brought to Fort Frederick on the Frontiers of Virginia where a great Warrior and a Number of Young Men of the Cherokee Nation now resides, who have with the most brotherly love and Friendship taken them into their Care, and now sends you a Messenger with a Letter desiring your Assistance in this present Expedition against the Shawannees. Your Compliance therewith will give us the greatest Satisfaction and you may be well assured that every thing necessary will be provided for your Reception at this Place and we hope you will lose no Time in coming for we intend to march in 30 Days with a Body of 300 Men against the Shawannees in which Expedition have good Reason to hope for Success especially if attended by a Number of our Brothers the Catawbas known to be a People of undoubted Valour and Integrity.

The Indian Messenger Kero rostekee lived formerly in your Nation and since his Departure has killed two of his Enemies which we hope will be acceptable to you with George Pearis the white Messenger.

From your Friends and Brothers,

John Smith
Wm. Preston
Richd Pearis



ROBERT DINWIDDIE, Esq; His Majesty's Lieutenant-Governor and Commander in Chief of the Colony and Dominion of Virginia.

To *William Preston Gent.*

BY Virtue of the Power and Authority to me given as Commander in Chief of this Colony, I do hereby constitute and appoint you the said *William Preston* ~~to be~~ *of a Company of Rangers in Virginia* ~~County~~. You are therefore carefully and diligently to perform ~~the duty of a~~ *your duty* and by seeing that they are provided with Arms and Ammunition as the Law requires. And I do hereby command them to obey you as their *Captain*. And you are to follow all such Orders and Directions, from Time to Time, as you shall receive from me, or any other your Commanding Officer, according to the Rules and Discipline of War.

GIVEN under my Hand, and Seal of the Colony, at *Williamsburg*, the *fourteenth* Day of *July* in the *29th* Year of his Majesty's Reign, *Augustus Augustus 1755*.

Robt Dinwiddie

Wm. Preston's Commission as Captain, 1755

Above Left -Contemporary shadow image of Major Andrew Lewis, Capt. Pearis superior in the Virginia Regiment. Above Right- Richard Pearis and the other officers, including Cherokees, received commissions identical to the one of Capt. Preston, above. Below- 1930's photograph of William Ingles' old homestead. All taken from Kegley's Virginia Frontier, Chapt. 6



The Ingles Homestead, North Fork Roanoke

At the outset of the Big Sandy Expedition, Major Lewis was commissioned to command the forces and was sent blank commissions for other officers to be filled out as necessary. He was to consult with Lt. Richard Pearis, who then became a Captain, about people to attend the Indians. There would be about 350 colonial soldiers and it probably would take no more than six weeks. Each man would carry 5-days' allowance of bread in the form of corn or wheat flour. A supply of 150 small arms, 10 lbs gunpowder, a ton of shot and 91 blankets for the Indians was sent up. Major Lewis was to arrange for clothing. Lt. William Fleming was to be surgeon.

Preston's group led off with personnel and a wagon with a ton of dried beef. He was followed closely by Capt. Peter Hogg's company. When they got to New River they marched by the camp of the Cherokees and saluted them by firing off guns, which was returned to them with great joy and a war dance followed.

Next day they heard a sermon and Major Lewis reviewed the troops. He gave Captains' Commissions to two head warriors named "Yellow Bird" and "Round O." The day they departed, Capt. Preston led off with 27 loaded pack horses. That night they got to William Sayers' (on Reed Creek?) and camped on his barn floor. The next morning he "switched" one of the soldiers for swearing, which disgusted the Indian chiefs present. Some of the Indians deserted as a result, but Lewis and Pearis found them and talked them into returning. On Sunday they marched seven miles. On Monday on their march over the mountain they lost several horses, but on Tuesday at Burke's Gardens the soldiers gathred up many potatos from the deserted fields. They afterwards crossed another mountain and Clinch River and by Saturday they reached the head of the Big Sandy and their troubles began in earnest.

Many horses gave out from frequent crossing of the swollen creeks with loads made heavy by soaking, and were left behind; but they did see signs left by enemy Indians, and thought Stalnaker and other prisoners with him had been taken that way. More signs were seen in the coal lands, but by then the troops had to be put on half rations, and the mountains closed in on them on both sides. Many horses wandered off and could not be found. The river was so deep and had to be crossed so often both man and beast almost expired and the Captain lost his fourth horse.

By then another week was gone, the men faint from hunger, no game in the mountains. A request to kill horses for food was denied. The Indians made bark canoes for themselves, and Major Lewis had a large one made for ammunition and provisions. An attempt to cross the ridges was not possible. By March 10th the men decided to desert and go home. They were too weak to fight the enemy, though by then they were near the planned destination. Some of Capt. Smith's went first. Preston disarmed some of his by force. The canoes were wrecked in the river and everything of value lost. The men had to swim for their lives.

In a last-ditch effort to save the expedition, Major Lewis had each captain call his men together to hear a speech--all who were willing to share his fate could go with him. All officers, about 25 privates, and all of the Cherokees remained. Montgomery's volunteers marched off followed by Smith's, Preston's and Dunlap's companies. Fearing a rout, the Major then ordered a retreat, realizing that so few men would be ineffective against a much superior force.

Hardships of the men during the return through trackless mountains were even more extreme. After soaking rain the weather turned bitter cold, a heavy snow fell, and their provisions were gone. Game being especially scarce in winter, they nearly starved to death. Upon reaching the present site of Warfield, they took hides of buffalo they had hung in trees on their outward march, cut them into strips (called "tugs") and boiled them to eat. That is how Tug River, now also part of the Kentucky border, got its name. By that time all military discipline was gone. Men scattered foraging for food, reaching home as best they could. Some froze or starved to death or were killed by enemy Indians who followed them on their tragic retreat. Broken and discouraged, survivors filtered back to the valley forts, biding their time for another effort at revenge.

The Great Sandy Expedition which had looked so fine on paper and so promising, using Indians against Indians, had been a big fiasco. Not a shot was fired on either side, but after that the Shawnees were even more daring with their depredations. Washington had been right--the scheme did backfire. He had warned that the Indians "were very humorous and should be handled with great delicacy," but incidents happened in the backwoods which could have cost the friendship of the entire Cherokee nation. The warriors who had shown great discipline and much creativity in times of danger, without complaining, started home on foot, having lost their horses during the venture. Then, finding some horses running loose in the Woods on the way home (as they supposed roaming free on the range) took them for the long journey home, feeling entitled to them. After all, their own had been lost in a white man's war for which they had not even received their promised pay!*

The rough frontiersmen saw it just the opposite. One thing they hated most of all was horse thieves. Some men gave chase, killing several of the warriors, including braves of note. "The natural antagonism between the raw whites and redmen flamed into conflict. Thus at a fateful moment the allegiance of the Cherokees was put to strain. It was with difficulty that the chiefs in the Indian towns held the young braves in leash." All this in contrast with the generous incentives being offered by the French!

Up to this point all of this warfare had been going on without being official. War was formally declared by Great Britain against France on 7 May 1756, though the declaration was not known in America until late July, and later yet on the frontier. This meant that Richard Pearis, who had been commissioned a captain for purposes of the Big Sandy Expedition, was now Captain Richard Pearis of His Majesty's Armed Forces, Virginia Regiment.

*Dawn of Tennessee Valley and Tennessee History, Samuel C. Williams, page 146

This petition followed the report of the unsuccessful expedition against the Shawnees. The letter of Major Andrew Lewis, dated at Roanoke March 28th, inclosing a copy of the minutes of a council of war held at Sandy Creek on the 15th of March, reached the Governor soon after the news of the return and was presented to the house on April 6th. A committee was appointed to inquire into the conduct of the officers and men.—Journals 1756-58, Page 356.

April 15, 1756. The committee appointed to inquire into the conduct of the officers and men employed in the late expedition against the Shawnees reported that they had examined several witnesses and agreed that Major Andrew Lewis, who commanded the expedition, discharged his duty with integrity and resolution, and that the ill success thereof was entirely owing to the refractory and mutinous behavior of Captain Obadiah Woodson, John Smith and John Montgomery, who commanded the volunteers, and of the Volunteers. Whereupon it was ordered that an address be made to the Governor to desire that his Honor would be pleased to stop the pay of the said Woodson, Smith and Montgomery, and that the officers may never more be employed as officers in his Majesty's service.—Journals 1756-58, 369.

September 23, 1758. In reference to the action of the House in regard to the conduct of Captain Smith, Captain Woodson and Captain Montgomery while on the Shawnee Expedition, Captain Smith represents that he had no opportunity of clearing up his conduct at the time of the censure, being at a great distance on the Frontiers, but when he heard it, he waited on the Governor and so far satisfied him of his innocence that he was pleased to continue him in the service. He now has witnesses in town that would fully clear him of any misbehavior on that Expedition.

Upon hearing these witnesses the committee reported that the said Smith never shewed any backwardness to proceed in the Expedition or encouraged any mutiny or Desertion, but on the contrary endeavored to prevent his men from deserting, by encouraging them with the hopes of an open country being near, and that after his men had turned back, he declared he was willing to proceed on with ten men, provided the Cherokee Indians would go with him.

It was resolved that the said John Smith did not misbehave himself in the said Expedition against the Shawnee Indians, and that he ought to receive his pay.

Ordered that the committee appointed to settle the militia accounts make an allowance to the said John Smith for his pay during his service in the said Expedition.—Journals 1758-61, Pages 20 and 26.

In the case of Obediah Woodson against the House for censuring his conduct on the Shawnee Expedition, the committee came to the conclusion that the ill-success of the expedition was occasioned by the want of provisions, and that the said Woodson did not behave himself in such a manner as an officer ought to have done. October 9, 1758.—Journal 1758-61, Page 37.

An item of expense for provisions for the troops on this expedition is shown in a receipt of John Smith to John Bingeman on New River for beef.—“Received of John Bingeman 861 weight of beef for use of my company and the Cherokee Indians at 10/ per C., £4/6/3¼, and more to cash upon the same account, 18/, per me. John Smith.”—Chalkley I, 486.

April 21, 1756. Richard Pearis represented that he was ordered by the Governor last September to go to the Cherokee Nation in order to bring a number of them to the assistance of this Colony; That he was there much impeded in his solicitations by the North Carolina traders, who endeavored to persuade the Indians that he only wanted them to hunt till they got deer-skins enough to pay him a debt they owed him of 2586 lbs. deer-leather; upon which, to remove all doubt, the petitioner told them he would forgive them the debt and burn his books, which he accordingly did; and thereupon 82 of their warriors marched with him and joined Major Lewis in the expedition against the Shawnees.

Upon consideration of this petition the committee which had it in charge reported that the said Richard Pearis should be allowed the sum of £100 towards reimbursing his loss.—Journals, Pages 379, 381.

John Allen represented that he accompanied Mr. Pearis to the Cherokee Nation and that he lost his horse worth eight Pistoles and that he also lately lost in the service a pair of Pistols.

Samuel Overton and James Gunn said that they were sent out upon the late intended expedition against the Shawnees and that before their return, they each of them had lost their guns and several other things of considerable value.

On information of Major Lewis there were not arms enough provided for the people that went on the expedition. Mr. Overton carried two guns that he borrowed, one of which was lost by a canoe's oversetting in crossing a river and the other was, by the direction of Major Lewis, given to an Indian Warrior.

Mr. Gunn carried with him a valuable gun which was lost.

Mr. Overton left his horse, bridle and saddle with a sick man who has not been heard of since. John Allen left his horse at Fort Frederick when he went on the Expedition and could not find him on his return.

Samuel Overton ought to be allowed £8/1/3 for his two guns and the sum of £13 for his horse, saddle and bridle.

James Gunn, the sum of £5/7/6 for his gun, and £8 for horse.

John Allen, nothing for his horse.

Alexander Mackie furnished Captain Woodson, Smith and Pearis with sundry necessaries for the expedition. He should be paid £103/14/2 for goods furnished and the hire of two wagons from John Thompson for the use of the expedition.

Even while the Expedition was going on, Dinwiddie had become disenchanted with packhorse and trader diplomacy. With cooperation from the bluebloods in the House of Burgesses, he decided to use "gentlemen of standing who should carry a handsome present" to the redmen to conclude a permanent league with them. William Byrd and Edmund Randolph were appointed commissioners. Abraham Smith was dispatched to Old Hop, inviting the headmen to meet with them on 5 March 1756 at the juncture of Pacolet and Broad Rivers, where the Lower Town and Catawba paths crossed, in the then wilderness of upper South Carolina. Smith, delayed by floods, reached Keowee on February 5th where he met Little Carpenter, dejected from a recent session with Gov. Glen and thus eager to treat with Virginians.

Old Hop the Fire King disdained meeting with anyone he considered of lower rank than his, but sent as his deputies Standing Turkey (or Conneturkee who would three years later succeed him), Oconostota the Great Warrior, Willinawaw Prince of Toquo, and others mostly from Chota, chosing to ignore most of the Lower or Middle Towns. The gathering must have been a sight to behold, with bewigged Virginia gentlemen in bright satin and lace treating with gaudily bedecked warriors.

"Formal discussions opened March 14 with Virginia commissioners reading Dinwiddie's message to a great crescent of Indians seated on the ground against a backdrop of white-blooming shadbush and pale blue mountain ranges. Asserting the Virginia Governor's friendship and cautioning against allowing the French to build a fort in their country, it countered the Shawnee report of Six Nations neutrality with news that Mohawks had fought for the English in...the victory over the French on Lake George in upper New York Colony...there would be presents of powder and lead and great quantities of goods to be distributed before the Indians went home. All this the Cherokees greeted with a loud "Yo-hah."

Proceedings, with yards of wampum exchanged and great promises made, lasted for four days, as the recorder struggled furiously to interpret the wild-sounding names. Some informal promises must have been omitted from the finished treaty, for the Cherokees were led to believe that Dinwiddie would meet with Old Hop at Stalnaker's, for instance. They promised to build the fort Glen had as yet failed to provide. Promises of the many gifts warriors would receive if they went to help Washington's army must have been overstated--details would come back to haunt the Virginians later on.

The proceedings were a great triumph for Little Carpenter, who repeated from memory the interpreter's full rendition of the talks. He had obtained the promise of the much-desired fort and of much trade to counteract Glen's parsimony. The day Ostenaco rode in state through Williamsburg, Dinwiddie presented the Broad River Treaty to his burgesses who immediately underwrote £2000 in funds to construct the fort.

The jubilation would soon be counteracted by participants in the Big Sandy failure who, not having received rewards for their service, traveled home expecting compensation from the countryside and were shot at instead.

While the Overhills of the Chota region were so greatly upset over the debacle following the Great Sandy Expedition, residents of the eastern Lower Towns sensed an opportunity to contest their domination. Thus twenty braves under Seroweh, the Mankiller of Estatoe left with Richard Pearis to fight the French on the Monongahela. That only ten others joined Major Lewis was probably partly due to the opposition of trader James Beamer* who objected to their going off during hunting season owing him debts, and partly because many more accompanied Wahatchy and Trader John Hatton on a journey to meet the new governor in Charles Town, where they were entertained enthusiastically and received lavish gifts. Unlike Glen, Governor Lyttleton asked that warriors be sent to Virginia. Wahatchy (of whom we will hear much more of later) sanctimoniously stated that he had already sent a group with Seroweh, and used this occasion to badmouth the Overhills. (But perhaps even he did not realize the full extent of intrigues of French John with old Hop, or that an Overhill mission had been sent to Detroit--though Old Hop died soon after.)

Though Richard still had a trading house in "Augusta" County (Long Island?) he still owned the home in Winchester and would have been glad to visit the plantation and relatives. It must have been at this time (Spring 1756) that the following incident described by George Washington occurred. Because of the mention of Cacapehon River (map second page of Chapt 2) that I first assumed he was speaking of brother Robert, but Robert was not a captain until that fall, and the Big Sandy tragedy was also mentioned.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Winchester, April 7, 1756.

I am your Honor's, &c.

Since writing the above, Mr. Pearis,¹⁶ who commanded a party as per enclosed list, is returned, who relates, that, upon the North River, he fell in with a small body of Indians which he engaged, and, after a dispute of half an hour, put them to flight. Monsieur Douville, commander of the party, was killed and scalped, and his instructions found about him, which I enclose. We had one man killed, and two wounded. Mr. Pearis sends the scalp by Jenkins; and I hope, although it is not an Indian's, they will meet with an adequate reward at least, as the monsieur's is of much more consequence. The whole party jointly claim the reward, no person pretending solely to assume the merit.¹⁷

Your Honor may in some measure penetrate into the daring designs of the French by their Instructions; where Orders are given to burn, if possible, our Magazine at Conogochieg, a place that is in the midst of a thick settled Country.

I have Ordered the party there, to be made as strong as time, and our present circumstances will afford, for fear they should attempt to execute the Orders of Dumas. I have also ordered up an Officer and twenty Recruits to assist Joseph Edwards and the people on those waters.¹⁸ The people of this Town are under dreadful apprehensions of an attack; and all the Roads between this and Fort Cumberland, are much infested

Writings of Washington-by Ford
pages 300-4 & 309

To ROBERT HUNTER MORRIS

Winchester, April 9, 1756.

Dear Sir: I had scarce reached Williamsburg, before an express was after me with news of the French and Indians advancing within our settlements, and doing incredible mischief to the inhabitants, which oblig'd me to postpone my business there, and hurry to their assistance with all expedition: when I came to this place I found everything in deep confusion, and the poor distressed inhabitants under a general consternation. I therefore collected such force as I cou'd immediately raise, and sent them in such parties, and to such places as t'was judged most likely to meet with the Enemy; one of which, under the command of Mr. Pearis, luckily fell in with a small body of them as they were surrounding a small fort on the No. River of Cacapehon, whom they engaged, and (after half an hour's close firing) put to flight with the loss of their commander, Mons. Douville (killed), and three or four more mortally wounded. The accident that has determined the fate of Monsieur has, I believe, dispersd his party, for I don't hear of any mischief done in this colony since, tho' we are not without numbers who are making hourly discoveries.

I have sent you a copy of the Instructions that were found about this officer, that you may see how bold and enterprising the enemy have grown, how unconfin'd are the ambitious designs of the French, and how much it will be in their power (if the colonies continue in their fatal lethargy) to give a final stab to liberty and property.

*John Hatton & James Beamer of Estatoe were linguists for the talk of Prince Swallow Warrior and Capt. Raymond Demere, SC Fort Prince George on 05 Sep 1756.

A similar, more detailed book, Papers of George Washington by Abbott (1983) Vol 2:334-7 repeats Dumas' instructions to Douville, in French with no transation. Dumas, who had participated in the ambush of Gen. Braddock, came from France in 1750 and was at that time commandant at Fort DuQuesne. Joseph Edwards, mentioned by Washington, lived in the Cacapon River area. The Maryland Gazette article identified the Captain Pearis as Robert, but the other books identified Richard.

The Cherokees had for many years been pleading for a fort, garrisoned with soldiers near their capitol town of Chota, "to protect our wives and children if we should go to war." To regain their friendship, as well as to get Cherokees to serve in Col. Washington's army, the Virginia Assembly decided to appropriate two thousand pounds which, when added to part of the money the King had sent to the Governor for defense of the Colony, should be enough to erect such a fort. In April Major Lewis was selected to oversee the construction with Capt. Overton second in command. That Captain Pearis, under Major Lewis and of much service partly because he could translate, was also part of the group who went, is obvious from the content of Lewis's reports to Governor Dinwiddie.

Major Lewis reported to Dinwiddie, July 23rd:

I immediately set about the Work and have carried it on with great Expedition. The Fort will be extraordinary good, the Indians are highly pleased with it and it is much stronger than any they have ever saw; the Wall is four feet thick, will be nine foot high, with Stockade fixed on the Top of the Wall seven feet high; if we meet with no obstructions, I shall have it finished in twelve or fifteen days . . . I told them [the Indians] it was expected the Carolina people would Garrison

it, but they would not hear of it; they said if the Carolina people built them a Fort, they might Garrison it, but should not suffer them to have Possession of the Virginia Fort . . . Enclosed Your Hon'r has a list of the Workmen and of what men Capt. [Richard] Pearis has; some of the best workmen have two Shillings per day, some others one shilling and six pence, thirty four at one shilling and three pence. . . . The Carolina People [expected to aid in building the Fort] are not yet arrived, it is my opinion will not before this Fort is finished."

But even as the fort was being constructed, French were infiltrating from Fort Toulouse in the Alabama Country, though the Cherokees tried to hide the fact.*

The Virginia assembly appropriated two thousand pounds for the support of such a garrison.¹⁹ When, however, the governor interviewed Lewis about the policy of sending men he withheld action until the tangled web could be straightened out.

The fort was never named or manned.¹⁷ Standing empty it was a menace to the Cherokees themselves, since the Northward Indians might at any time seize and occupy it and from that vantage point give trouble to those for whose benefit it had been erected. It

was soon destroyed by the Cherokees,¹⁸ and at the present time no vestige of it remains. Even its story well-nigh passed into oblivion.

In November parties of the Cherokees, resisting the French influence, arrived in the Valley of Virginia, joining Washington at Winchester. Those from the Upper Cherokee region were led by Captain Richard Pearis and by Chief Ostenco¹⁹ whose "strong attachment and faithful regard for the English," Governor Dinwiddie recognized.²⁰

* These few words on a long subject are extracted from Williams' Dawn of Tennessee, noticed before, pages 174-183

According to Williams, "Early in 1756 there was a plan proposed in Virginia to erect a trading house or "factory" at some point on the Holston or Little Tennessee, seemingly at the fort or on Long Island, but nothing came of it." Who was to be in charge was not stated, but since Richard remained actively involved in recruiting warriors to fight for the Colony, one may assume he felt the arrangement would be to his advantage.

Letter from Captain Andrew Lewis to Col. George Washington*

Sir:

Augusta Octr the 28th 1756

I Received a Letter from Capt. Paris Deated the 21st of (thi)s Month, he tels me that he Sent for Guns and other Necessarys for the Indians with him. The Indians are highly pleased with the Arms and the Large preparations made for them the wareous proposed sending a Runar to the Nation with one of the guns, and Likewis to Aqueant them what is provided for them. he makes no Doubt of a great Numbers Coming in. he would not Do any thing in the Mater Before he had my Aprobation. I approved of his Scame and has wrot to Capt Pearis to Dress the Runar as well as posable and send a white man with him which is the wareours Desire. I have wrote to Outosity and aquented him of Evry thing prov(ide)d he will publish it in that Nation if he has not Marched Before he Receivs my Letter. the Indian & white men who were apointed to go to Houlsons River is Now on thire March in Order to make the Discovery--the Enemy are Frequantly Seen Neare Vauss, what few Indians we have are there Now, in Sarch of them.

Sir as Sarjt McCully has ben in the Service from the Begining and has Behaved well, I hop Sir you will Advance him. he has been Long over Lookd. I ame Much Recovered I purpose to take my Journy for Willmsburg to Morrow or Nixt Day. I ame Sir your most obedt & very Hume Sert

Andw Lewis

Footnotes state that Lewis left Richard Pearis behind in the Cherokee country when he returned in September, but Pearis was now back in Augusta County with his party of six Cherokee men and two women. Dinwiddie wrote Pearis 14 November, and Lewis the next day, that they should conduct the eight Cherokee to Washington.

The runner referred to was John Allen, a young man who was present at the building of "Chette Fort" who, according to Captain Raymond Demeré stationed on the South Carolina frontier, was a Virginian who came with one of the Indians that went with Capt. Pearis to Virginia. John Allen took letters to head men of the Cherokee from Capt. John McNeill and Dinwiddie as well as Lewis.

"Outosity" was Otacite Ostenaco (also called Judge's Friend) who lived at this time at Tomatly. (Map of the Cherokee country shows this close to Chota and Fort Loudoun.) His name was Ostenaco, though he was often called Otacite, which was actually a title

*Papers of George Washington Vol 3, pp 445-6, W.W. Abbott, Ed. (1983)

PEARIS FAMILY

indicating his rank. He participated in the Big Sandy expedition and also brought a party of Cherokees to Augusta in the summer of 1757. Lewis's friend, Sgt. John McCulley, was made an ensign that same summer.

Washington to Dinwiddie * 19 Dec 1756

"...Captn Pearis came to Town the other day with 6 Cherokees and two Squaws. He brought no orders from your Honor, and applies to me for direction of his Services. I have desired him to carry the Indians to Fort Cumberland, as we can make nothing of them without an interpreter; and there await your Honors instructions. Lt. Baker has leave of absence..."

and in January 1757**

"..Capt. Pearis says You have order'd his men to be continued in Pay--I wrote Majr Lewis to send them to You to be incorporated into the Regmt. I know of no Service they (mutilated) at present but it seems (mutilated) naked they could not march."

At the end of February 1757*** Pearis conducted a party of nine Cherokees down from Winchester to Williamsburg on their way back to the Cherokee country.

Presumably this last group was the party that Lewis had brought up in October, though it might have been Pearis's own party. Fairfax and the Council at this time saw another party of Cherokees, being 15 in number, who had come "to this Government" in February last, had marched two leagues above Fort DuQuesne and returned the previous Monday with a French Prisoner and two scalps. The Chief of them, named the Second Yellow-Bird, was a leader of the 150 Cherokees whom Richard Pearis had conducted to Virginia "in the fall of 1755." (Question: Were they speaking of the aftermath of the Big Sandy Expedition?)

Ever since he left Chota in the Cherokee country, Major Andrew Lewis's health had been in a depressed state, so much so that Washington was worried about him, but affairs in Augusta County were so disorganized that he was soon called into service reorganizing and combining the forces into fewer, more effective units. He called all the Captains together at Captain Peter Hogg's station (probably the reconstructed Fort Vause) to issue new commands. Washington had specified that after this was taken care of, Captain Pearis was to proceed with Lewis to Winchester. Col. Clement Read was to garrison one of the forts in Halifax and send provisions to Winchester. Stalnacker, now escaped from the Indians, was appointed a lieutenant in one of the forts to keep him in service because he was so well acquainted with the woods and a good guide when needed.

*Papers, cited prev. page--Vol 4 pg 65. ** ibid 105 *** ibid 119-120

In November Captain Pearis and his friend Ostenaco, who had been on the Great Sandy expedition together, led several parties of Overhill Cherokees to Winchester to join Washington, who took great pains to treat them with respect. They were especially useful as spies in western Pennsylvania where a valiant group succeeded in capturing some French at Fort Duquesne. They killed a French officer, but when the subchief leading them fell they became disorganized. The mercurial southern Indians proved to be a mixed blessing, volatile and unpredictable to the white commanders and impatient with army rules, and disliked by troopers who did not care for any Indians regardless of where they were from. Yet in spite of all this, they were deemed indispensable by Washington and others.

Part of the trouble may have been that they were placed under army leaders who did not understand their culture. It appears that at this point in time, the Virginians felt Richard was a fine man to recruit warriors but too inexperienced to act as a regular army captain in combat. Whatever the problem was, he was very sensitive to the feelings of his red brothers and influenced by their experiences, though he still felt that they (and he) were needed. But he was becoming increasingly disenchanted with Virginia's failure to use their Cherokee allies' talents in a mutually beneficial way.

He seems to have been in Southwest Virginia early in 1757, for on 31 March he carried a letter from Col. Clement Read of Halifax to Col. John Buchanan at Looney's Ferry on the James, regarding the failure of the Associates. A group of frontiersmen, inspired by Captains Vause, Stalnacker, and Morris Griffith, all of whom had escaped from the Shawnees, and wanted to carry out another mission on the order of the Big Sandy expedition--except this time they would take abundant provisions, great enthusiasm, and would not fail! Col. Read, as Quartermaster, had gone so far as to ship many of the needed provisions, but then the captains got to quarreling about who should be the leader. Read was picked to oversee the election, and they chose Col. Nash; but Nash's opposition then turned on Read, much to his chagrin. Nothing but miffed feelings came of the whole elaborate scheme, which had cost the Virginia treasury a lot of money. In another month or two Read and Pearis would be involved again in unpleasant circumstances of a different nature, as we shall see.

All this expensive bungling seems to have disgusted Richard. His Indian brothers were being called upon to fight in a white man's war in which they had no interest, except perhaps to be on the winning side when the war was over so as to stay out of trouble later. They had their own very different moral codes and religious beliefs, not the same as either the French or the English. They were risking their very lives for only a few trinkets in payment, while the Virginians blew enormous sums of money--not in winning their own war, but over inflated egos. Surely there must be a better way. He resolved on a dangerous new path which he knew would make him very unpopular in Virginia, but which he believed was right.

Had Captain Pearis realized it, he was not the only one disgusted with inefficiency on the frontier. On Washington's completion of the inspection of western forts in November 1756, he had written to Dinwiddie about deplorable laziness and lack of discipline by men and even officers of the forts. All were terrified of Indians, yet kept no guard at forts unless Indians were already known to be present, wasted supplies, used up precious ammunition shooting at targets for sport, "offered no assistance to unhappy settlers drove from their plantations in securing harvests or gathering the corn;" and officers, often absent on personal business though demanding full pay, refused to assist other forts in time of emergency. Changes would come, though to late to help him. That spring of 1757 he was hired to meet arriving Cherokees at the border and escort them to Washington's Army.

Realizing his life was in danger, Richard decided, in lieu of a will, to arrange for doweries for his young daughters, of whom he was very fond. Virginia law was then such that should he die his son(s) would inherit the plantation with a 1/3 dower going to Rhoda, and brother Robert could be counted on to lend assistance or advice, but he wanted to avoid possible complications and see to it that the little girls, growing as fast as wildflowers, should be able to have nice husbands when the time came--though he did intend to be around to supervise if he could. He consulted his good friend Captain Peter Hogg, to take care of the legalities.* Meanwhile he sat down with his arms around the little girls and explained it all to them, and gave them copies, and also stressed nice young ladies should be satisfied with only fine young men their Papa would approve of. Reading the list, it appears as though our Sarah was already a good rider, and that she got to make some choices, also that the young slave was named for her. Suitable choices were made for little Margaret. Official record follows**

Augusta County Deed Book 7 page 450, 16 April 1757 (Abstract)

Captain Richard Pearis of Augusta County--money, a deed of gift for love and goodwill and affection to my daughters, Sarah Pearis and Margaret Pearis.

To Sarah forever incase said Sarah marrys with my consent or according to my will,

- 1 negro wench called Sarah
- 1 sorrel mare & year old colt, "natural pacers"
- 1 bay horse, natural pacer
- 1 roan mare and colt, both trotters
- 1 roan colt three years old, other horses also

To Margaret on same conditions,

- Hannah, Craig, Pratchey
- 3 or 4 horses

Of these presents I have given my inventory signed by my own hand to my daughters, etc.

Recorded 16 June 1757

Recorded delivered: Captain Peter Hog, December 1770.

*Annals of Augusta County by Waddell, pg 102, says Peter Hogg was born and educated in Scotland (b.1703) and settled in Augusta about 1745 as did his brothers James and Thomas. Whether he was related to the Hoges of Winchester, also of Scotland is not stated. He married Elizabeth Taylor, and became a noted lawyer.

**Chronicles of Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia, Extracted from Original Court Records of Augusta County, Virginia, by Lyman Chalkey (1980) GPC

According to Chalkey's version of the deed book entry, the daughters were also gifted with money, signified by inclusion of a pound sign (£) in addition to the slaves and morses, but the amount was unspecified. The most amazing extra notation was that Pratchey, given to Margaret, was an Indian wench! Pratchey could not have been Cherokee--was she a captured member of an enemy tribe? My instinct says probably a part-black descendant of one such, but I could easily be wrong. Since in those days some wealthier Cherokees owned several slaves, that may be where she came from.

Some years later when, to clear the record, Captain Peter Hogg told the court that the presents had been delivered (probably long before he appeared in 1770) the Pearis family was already living in upper South Carolina--that is. Richard. Rhoda. two sons. and two younger daughters. We descend from the oldest daughter, Sarah. The known spouses of her younger brothers and sisters married in South Carolina, and will be told about later.

The temptation is to tell all about our Sarah and her young soldier husband at this point, but that would be premature. Soon we will come to the part where the young man cooperated with her Papa in a certain matter, and we suppose it may have been through him that he got to know the daughter. Sarah chose a fine husband for, though not from as fancy a family as some of her siblings married into, the young man prospered through planning and initiative.

After arranging his little girls' doweries, Captain Pearis set out to the Carolina border where he was expected to meet Cherokees arriving (mostly from the Lower Towns) to assist Washington. But things did not go as planned because of a glitch in their travel plans. Instead of veering off to a more northerly direction toward the Great Wagon Road (where Salisbury NC was later established) they took the ancient Occaneeche Path which passes near the Lower Towns and leads farther east to the Dan River where it drains into the Roanoke. And mindful of Randolph and Byrd's promises during that auspicious ceremony in their towns, they expected a lavish welcome and many gifts to be forthcoming as soon as they set foot on Virginia soil. It is true that the words those worthies uttered had somehow become misinterpreted. The consequences for Richard will be detailed in next chapter--they were not pretty.

One could write a whole book about South Carolina Indian relations, and some people have, including the story of Captain Raymond Demere and the building of Fort Loudoun on the Little Tennessee to replace the empty Virginia fort. Obviously there is not space for that here. Suffice it to say that dissention continued between the Overhills under Little Carpenter's influence and those in the Lower Towns across the mountains. Though Governor Lyttelton encouraged warriors to go to Virginia, the Overhills demurred, though Little Carpenter did set off down the Tennessee to waylay French bateaux on the Ohio and the Mississippi. Shortly thereafter Oconostota joined in with the main force. Even Seroweh the Mankiller who had earlier been with Richard Pearis now drifted toward the Ohio against the Twightwees.

Below is a portrait later (1762) painted in London, and still housed in the British Museum. These three had by 1756/7 already served with Captain Pearis for the benefit of Washington. At left is a cut-off image of an interpreter who had been poisoned at sea on the way to London and did not actually pose for the picture.

These three are: Ostenaco the Great Warrior, (previously shown, who served in the Bib Sandy expedition), Seroweh the Mankiller, mentioned on the previous page, and Uschesees ye Great Hunter. The fancy hairstyles with braided circles are natural but costumes are partly gifts. Cherokees had lighter complexions than most tribes of Indians, though their round faces and broad cheekbones are decidedly Oriental, reminding us that they descend from ancient folk who crossed the ancient Bering land bridge from what became China or Mongolia.



Seroweh, center, was from Estatowe, one of the prominent Lower Towns, as was Wauhatchee (Wahachy), the Indian who was soon to give Richard such a troubling, irreversible, experience.

CHAPTER SEVEN - RICHARD GETS IN TROUBLE DEFENDING CHEROKEES

Events of this chapter are not easy to relate because so much was going on at once. Hopefully the most effective way is to present the contents of letters and records of some of those involved, though many will sound a little bizarre by today's standards. We must remember that our Colonial ancestors, living in much different circumstances, had much different attitudes. Population was for the most part concentrated on the seacoast or on rivers leading there, the Virginia Valley being an exception. Keep in mind that each colony had been created at a separate time, by a leader(s) with quite divergent ideas about religion as well as how to govern, and in competition with the one next to it. Virtually no roads had been built connecting most of them in 1750, so travel and trade was primarily by water, and more of it with the mother country than with each other. All considered themselves Englishmen, even if born in Ireland or even Germany since all owed allegiance to the English crown. Though they hoped to coax southern Indians allies to fight the French Indians on the Monongahela as a patriotic duty, at as small a price and as unobtrusively as possible, in this extremely class-conscious society blue-blooded self-righteous colonial gentleman leaders regarded the redmen as a much inferior race.

Cherokee warriors, on the other hand, had been lured north in expectation of the lavish gifts promised by Richard Byrd III and Edmund Randolph. In order to go so far from home to fight, they had to forgo the annual spring hunt from which they derived most of their living expenses and rely instead on the gifts. Their custom was to leave in early spring, strike swiftly and effectively without warning, and return home in time to get in as much hunting as possible, leaving their women and children at home to raise corn and vegetables, supplemented with meat from hunters.

For some strange reason it seems never to have occurred to colonial leaders that Cherokees would act, as European mercenary armies had done for a thousand or more years--that when promised pay was not received promptly they would ravish the countryside to obtain the plunder they conceived of as their rightful payment. Not a pretty picture--but Cherokees did not invent the practice.

Richard Pearis, unlike most white men of his time, did understand Cherokee culture. His job was not to judge, but to encourage Indian warriors to go fight the French at Fort Duquesne. He realized these warriors would immediately return home if they did not receive what they expected. Much to the chagrin and indignation of Clement Reade's people, he seems to have sympathized with Indians rather than whites. It should be emphasized that, as a Virginian, Richard had no authority in North Carolina, and that his job was to meet his charges at the border and guide them north. Wahachy's large group was from the Lower Towns; their route was not across mountains as that of the Overhills would have been, and the route they took was farther east than anticipated. It is unclear whether Richard realized that supplies were awaiting them at Bedford, farther to the west. The group arrived at Lunenburg, where Col. Clement Reade was in charge instead.

Legend:

- Fort Location
- Approximate Fort Location
- Other sites
- Town
- County Boundary Line

Geographical Features and Locations:

- Mountains:** Salt Pond Mtn., Potts Mtn., Johns Creek Mtn., Sinking Creek Mtn., Brush Mtn., Walker Mtn., Macks Mtn., Bull Mtn., Smith Mtn., Turkeycock Mtn., Peaks of Otter.
- Rivers:** James River, Roanoke River (Staunton River), Dan River, So Mayo River, Pigg River, Blackwater River, Goose Creek, Little River, Red Island Creek.
- Counties:** ALBEMARLE, BEDFORD, HALIFAX, LUNENBURG.
- Towns and Settlements:** New London, North Fork, Tinker, Evans Mill, John Massey, Back Creek, Capt. Tarry's fort, Capt. Harris's fort, Fort Frederick.
- Forts:** Fort Lewis, Fort Campbell, Fort Tuck's, Fort Tinker, Fort Lewis, Fort Tuck's, Fort Tinker, Fort Lewis, Fort Tuck's.
- Other Sites:** Draper's Meadow, Vause's fort, Chestnut, Big Chance, Snow, Turkeycock, Red Island, So Mayo, Smith, Bull, Walker, Macks, Salt Pond, Potts, Johns Creek, Sinking Creek, Brush, Walker, Macks.

Text on Map:

The VIRGINIA FRONTIER, 1754 - 1758
SOUTHERN AUGUSTA, BEDFORD, AND HALIFAX COUNTIES

at confluence of Dan + Roanoke
South east

Map from inside front cover of George Washington, A Biography, Vol. 2, by Douglas Southall Freeman (Scribner-1948)

The number of warriors, including several from Estatoe under Swallow Warrior, came to 128, too many to be easily managed by two white men if in a disagreeable mood. The two were Richard Smith as interpreter and Virginia Captain Richard Pearis, under orders to meet them at the border and accompany them to Winchester to be utilized by Washington's army. Nobody expected them to show up that far east, thus considerably lengthening the route; but when they did so Richard undoubtedly hoped to make the best of a difficult situation by pacifying them temporarily, remembering that very recently Col. Clement Read, Lunenburg chief justice, had served as quartermaster by providing ample supplies, now unused, for the aborted expedition of the Associates (last chapter). Pearis evidently imagined or hoped that something might be left over or could be dug up to satisfy the tribesmen temporarily until they reached Bedford where they were expected.

Pompous and crotchety Colonel Read was rather peevish as he protested he had no gifts for them. That was not at all the lavish and grateful welcome Byrd and Randolph had promised they would receive as soon as they reached Virginia. Having expected instant gratification, the impetuous Wahatchy (who well before this had caused ugly incidents in South Carolina and near the Savannah River) flew into a rampage. Read was outraged as Pearis did not reprimand the recalcitrant chief, but had he done so the whole group would have promptly turned on their heels, returned to their towns, and dissuaded others from coming, for Wahatchy was the most powerful ruler of the Lower Town Cherokees. In that case Richard would have been blamed unfairly for the second time of depriving Virginia of Cherokee warriors to fight the French. He would be criticized no matter what he did! Understanding that these Cherokees had made sacrifices to come there, desiring to fulfill his commitment to bring them north to fight on the Monongahela, and also quite aware of Wahatchy's reputation for not cooperating, he realized that criticizing the proud chief in front of his men would be counter-productive. He accomplished very little in attempts at restraint in spite of the fact that Read was growing more indignant by the moment.

Read blamed Pearis for the whole situation. Perhaps to divert attention from his own shortcomings, he later pretended that Richard was distracted from his duty by the presence of a pretty Catawba maiden. This was probably an after thought and may be taken with a grain of salt.

Demanding that the guilty be punished, he dashed off an anguished letter to Governor Dinwiddie whom, incidentally, the disgruntled Cherokees had insisted he contact, being just as disgusted with him as he was with them. Much to his chagrin, the governor, still desiring those allies, advised mild treatment and requested that they be sent to him at Williamstown. But long before the reply was received, Pearis had gone with the entourage to Bedford Courthouse where they received some gifts already meant for them, and were already well on the way to Winchester where Read, hoping to rid himself of them, had suggested they would receive many presents--thus creating a big problem in Winchester, where Mercer and Washington had nothing to give them.

According to Read the Indians behaved barbarically and terrified him and his family into living almost as slaves while they were there. He did not dare refuse to pen an insolent letter to Dinwiddie on their behalf. But believing they could not read what he wrote, he tossed in a few of his own views. Part of the letter follows:

"Wawhatchee further ordered me not to fail to inform you that the presents wrote for he expected would be sent up to Winchester soon, and he made me promise that they should, and seeing that I have promised it and the appearance of the Indians at my house... equipped for war when I had only five white men and ten negroes at home and unprepared would have made Alexander the Great have promised it... For, sir, the evening before they had their grand council they tomahawked, ripped up the bowels, and scalped a fellow in the yard*... they gave me leave to bury him after which myself and the whole family behaved with the greatest order and decorum towards them, granted them all they asked and yielded to every demand.. However by our passive obedience and non-resistance after their eating and destroying 1000 lb. of pork and bread and meat in proportion in about 30 hours they were persuaded to march toward Bedford Court House for their presents. But in their way, following the practice and lewd example of their leader, two of them ravished a girl of about 12 or 13 years old they met on the road five or six miles from my house and tore her in a manner too indecent to mention and visited every plantation within three or four miles of the road plundering the plantations and frightening the inhabitants... in short, sir, they acted like freebooters in an enemy country and on our court day in the morning... crowds of people came to my house and solicited me to do something... they appeared enraged and ready to take up arms... At Lunenburg Court House the Indians mutinied and they were for returning (back home). Smith prevailed upon them to stay there until I could be sent for. I went and pacified them. I prevailed on them to consent to go to Winchester to Colonel Washington where they should have the presents, they should be provided for according to treaty, should be well used."

*The fellow in the yard which they tomahawked before the council meeting was a Chickasaw, a tribe which was traditionally enemy, but whom they occasionally teamed up with when fighting a more hated tribe. They evidently were outraged because he advised more moderate behavior. It is very likely that Read exaggerated as did upset dwellers in the looted plantations, but there is no doubt that the Cherokees behaved in a deplorable manner, more like warriors in battle than desirable allies. Most likely the enraged rapists were in a drunken state. It is no secret that Indians craved alcohol but lacked control when they consumed it. Read himself would have been the provider.

If this Chief Wahatchy were to create even half as much fear in the minds of the Shawnees as they had in the small farmers in Lunenburg County they would become of inestimable value to the Army but first, thanks to Colonel Read's promise of gifts at Winchester, they would cause another big stir.

Winchester, of course, was west of the Blue Ridge Mountains. The usual way from there to Carolina was to follow the Valley to the Roanoke River where, continuing east for a short distance a gentle slope constituted a mountain gap. Those wishing to go south could proceed that way. The others could continue on down the Valley. The crossing-place was considerably west of Bedford Court-house. Whether they took the usual route was not stated, but Indians were used to rugged terrain. At any rate, when they got to Winchester Colonel Washington, not having received timely notice of their impending arrival, was not at Fort Loudoun to greet them, having left his deputy, Captain George Mercer, in charge. The young man, almost distraut and wanting to do the right thing, had nothing to offer them.*

"Angry, Wawhatchee refused the wampum Mercer held out at the end of his talk and stalked away, leaving Swallow Warrior to bully the Captain and threaten Cherokee desertion to the French. Mercer, risking everything upon his own word, urged them again to take the wampum and promised they would have presents when they returned from war. Swallow quieted and said that he personally did not want anything but that his men had followed him because he had promised presents, and he was angry that the Governor had made a liar of him amongst his own men.

"Wawhatchee strode about Winchester demanding that Dinwiddie himself come to the frontier to appease him. Mercer, almost frantic with fear that the whole Cherokee nation would go over to the French, lifting English scalps on the way, wrote Washington urging him to send presents immediately. But presents were not to be had. Everything at Bedford had been given out; and Sir William Johnson had bought for the use of his Northern Department the Ohio Company's entire supply of Indian goods stored at Cresap's farther west on the frontier. Confronted with Mercer's pleas, the Virginia Council relayed them to the Burgesses, which had already been complaining of the cost of Indian presents. The Council also appealed to the newly-appointed Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Southern Department, Edmund Atkin, to travel to Winchester.

"Cherokees continued to arrive at the frontier base. But despite their disappointment they did not intend to give up the war. Leaving Mercer to make good his promises, they separated into two main parties to go against the French. Eighty gunmen with Richard Smith as interpreter, accompanied Major Lewis up the Potomac to Fort Cumberland. The others, including Youghtanno's Overhills from Chilhowee and Telassie, followed Wawhatchee and Pearis farther north, ostensibly to track enemy marauders."

Part of Captain Mercer's letter to Washington follows:

Dear Sir

Fort Loudoun (VA) April 24th 1757

Thursday and Friday last came to Town 148 Cherokees with Major Lewis, and yesterday I spoke to them, as they did not chuse an Interview sooner.

*Cherokee Frontier by Corkran, prev. cited, pages 117-8

Wauhatchee the Head Warriour, after I had told him among many other things, that I was sorry we had not timely Notice of their Coming, that the Governour would have ordered the necessary presents for them, but they might depend upon everything they could want at their Return, would not accept the Wampum I offered him, as is usual, at the end of the Speech; but immediately got up, and went out of the Council in a great passion, and told the rest of the Warriours they might speak to me, if they had anything to say. This Behaviour gave me great Uneasiness, which was not a little increased, when the Swallow, after a long Silence, made the Speech which I inclose.

From this you may see that their Journey here had almost produced a Revolt of the whole Nation from our Interest, which would have been as certain, as their Return Home dissatisfied; for they are all wavering, and only wait to see how these are received. They make no secret of this, and told me the Govr knew not how to treat Indians; that the French treated them always like Children, and gave them what Goods they wanted. As to the Governour's not having timely Notice of their Coming, it was a Lie, he had promised them 18 Months ago, if they would come here to fight for us, they should be supplied with every thing they wanted., that they then promised they would come, and he should have everything ready; and had he not depended upon their Promise, and thought that a Warning, that they had wrote to him from their Nation ..Wahachy said, "the great men of Virginia are all liars."...(Mercer's letter is long. He recommends a truly proper gift be presented otherwise-----)
If these Indians go home dissatisfied, we lose the Interest of the whole Nation. You can better suggest than I direct (did I presume to do it) what is necessary on this Occasion.....Go. Mercer

Swallow Warrior, referred to above, was first warrior in the Lower Town of Estatoe. Part of his letter which Mercer had enclosed declared, "I don't understand writing, but got a man to write a Letter for me to the Governor to acquaint him what things I had promised my young Men to engage them to come up with me, and expected to have found everything I mentioned ready for us. Brother, we blame the Govr. and not you. What you have, you are free of; and it looks to me the Govr. has little regard for you that are in the back Settlements." It is getting ahead of the story and does not directly concern Richard Pearis, but I believe the reader would be interested in the fate of the brave and noble Swallow Warrior: *

While Wawhatchee wrestled with Atkin in Winchester, Swallow Warrior's band defended Virginia's western frontier. It worked in two groups: one under Andrew Lewis on the South Branch, the other operating from Fort Cumberland into the forests toward Fort Duquesne. The former went out about May 19 with Richard Smith as interpreter. Consisting of fifty soldiers and fifty Indians, it surprised enemies marching toward Virginia and took five scalps and nineteen prisoners. On June 10 the party returned to Winchester.

Swallow Warrior's Cherokees, in two parties of fifteen each, operated sometimes on their own and sometimes with the Virginians. Near the end of May the Swallow Warrior and Lieutenant Baker with fifteen Indians and five whites scouted from

Fort Cumberland toward the forks of the Ohio. On June 5 in the forest near the head of Turtle Creek about twenty miles from Fort Duquesne, as the Cherokees followed an enemy track toward Pennsylvania, their foremost warrior saw a ten-man French patrol coming down the path. The Indians ducked below the bushes to await the near approach of the enemy. The patrol advanced to within fifty paces before its leader saw the motionless Indians and called out a challenge. Volleyed rifle fire roared the answer. Four Frenchmen fell; but the others stood their ground, shooting desperately. Not waiting to reload, the Cherokees threw down their guns and rushed in with knives and tomahawks. In the French fire the two foremost Indians fell, Swallow Warrior in the act of leaping upon a fallen enemy to take

*ibid, pages 124-5

PEARIS FAMILY

scalp, and his son following close upon him. The Indian onslaught swept by them, and the Frenchmen broke and ran. Two were seized before the Indians realized they had lost their leader. In a rage they tomahawked one of the captives and a wounded Frenchman struggling to rise. Then hastily concealing the Swallow Warrior's body, they scalped the dead Frenchmen; and, with one of their number carrying the Swallow Warrior's wounded son on his back, they hurried their lone prisoner back to Fort Cumberland.¹⁹ He was Ensign Belestre, later instrumental in fomenting hatred of the English in Lower Towns Estatoe.

The second party, Lieutenant Spotswood commanding, had bad luck. Scouting almost to Fort Duquesne, on June 8 its Cherokees sighted what they believed to be tracks of a major assault against the settlements. They reported by runner to Fort Cumberland that several hundred of the enemy with cannons and

wagons approached.²⁰ Tremors of apprehension reached even the tidewater; but the alarm proved false. A day or two later Cherokees took a scalp within one hundred yards of Fort Duquesne. With these episodes Spotswood's party disappeared in the dark of the Allegheny forests. Weeks later two Cherokees came into Pennsylvania's Fort Lyttelton with the grim report that Spotswood, hard pressed, had ordered his party to disband, each man to look out for himself.²¹ He was never heard from again.

The party once headed by Swallow Warrior was incorporated into the band with Andrew Lewis under the leadership of Swallow Warrior's nephew, Seroweh, the Mankiller of Estatoe.²² Since their arrival in Virginia they had lost thirty warriors, some by illness and wounds, but fifteen by death. It was a near disaster as Indians reckoned loss.

Rest in peace, brave Swallow Warrior and brave Spotswood. Too soon has our country forgotten how much it owes to you! Meanwhile, Richard Pearis, desiring also to save his country, had to do some swift creative thinking. It seemed to him obvious that when the Virginia gift finally arrived it would not be enough to placate Wahatchy, who potentially held the key to winning or losing the war. Should he become angry enough to defect to the French, it was quite likely this powerful chief could influence the entire Cherokee Nation to fight the English--the Overhills were already leaning that way. On the other hand, perhaps other hard-pressed colonies to the north would come up with sufficient presents. There was another consideration as well, for though he probably did not realize that Dinwiddie had already given New Supt. Atkin authority to fire him, being no fool he realized that the outraged Col. Read's complaints to the governor would place his job in jeopardy. So, while the presents were being scrounged up, and without authority, he took Wahatchy and Youghtanno's combined forces across the Potomac where they collected some enemy scalps. Then on 29 April 1757 they arrived at Fort Frederick, Maryland, where they were greeted by a delighted Captain Beale. That Colony also needed Indian allies, and he soon reached an understanding with Pearis and the Indians. Wahatchy composed a letter, shown on next page, to Governor Sharpe indicating a willingness to serve Maryland and an expectation of presents for what they had already done on Maryland soil. Then, without waiting for Sharpe's reply, Pearis, the Cherokees, and some Maryland troops under command of Lt. Shelby left the fort to go toward the Forks of the Ohio. Virginia's auxiliaries had for the time being become Maryland's.*

The mixed force conducted a successful operation. Two weeks out and well over "Allegheny Mountain," they picked up an enemy track and followed it for two days. On the morning of May 13 near Reastown their scouts sighted fifteen or sixteen Delawares and Shawnees squatted about their breakfast fire. Swiftly the soldiers and Cherokees disposed themselves for the attack. At a given signal the provincials fired and the Cherokees

raced in. Four enemies fell and the others ran into the laurels pursued by Cherokees who dragged down two of them. Shelby leaped upon a wounded warrior, the notorious "Beaver's Son," struggling to rise. As the white man fought to fasten thongs upon the Indian's hands, the Delaware, crying "Kill away, kill away," died.¹⁰ It was the kind of attack Indians liked: surprise and victory with scalps and prisoners but no loss to themselves.

*Ibid, pages 118-9

From the Assembly Proceedings below and the negotiations shown on the following pages, it really does seem as though Maryland governor Horatio Sharpe was at first pleased to have the services of these Cherokees, but after he got Atkin's letter he was loathe to offend the Virginians by not cooperating--and that had Wahatchy not been offended by the pittance being offered for his warriors' services, he might have made a good ally.

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Assembly Proceedings. April 8-May 9, 1757.

On Motion, Resolved, That this House do not proceed on any new Business of any Kind this Session after this Day.

On Motion, the Question was put, That the Governor's Accounts, relating to his Expences on Two Journeys to the Northward, be Referred to the Consideration of next Session of Assembly. Resolved in the Affirmative.

His Excellency the Governor communicates to Mr. Speaker the following Message, viz:

Gentlemen of the Lower House of Assembly,

Inclosed you have a Letter or Message, which has been sent to me by some Cherokee Indians, who, upon an Invitation given them last Year by Governor Dinwiddie, have declared in our Favour, and are determined, if they meet with proper Encouragement, to act in Conjunction with our Troops against the French and their savage Allies. As you all know how useful Indians are to the Party whose Cause they espouse, and how formidable to those against whom they wage War, I shall not enlarge on the Services that these People may do us at this Time, not doubting but you will agree with me on the Expediency of securing them in our Interest, and enable me to send them an agreeable Answer, by accompanying it with a Present. I presume you will think, that the least Thing we can do for them, during their Stay on our Frontiers, is to have them supplied with Victuals and such Necessaries as they may stand in Need of: And as Mr. Ross has already delivered Provisions to Sixty-two of these People, who are at Fort Frederick, in Confidence that such a Step would meet with our Approbation, I hope you will provide for his being paid for the same.

5th May, 1757.

Hor^o. Sharpe.

And the following Letters or Messages, viz:

To the Governor of Maryland.

Fort Frederick, April 29, 1757.

Brother of Maryland,

This Day came into your Province, with a Company of our Nation, on our Way to War against the French Shawanese, and all their Indians, hearing they had kill'd some of our Brothers, not knowing when we set off from Winchester but the Murder was committed in Virginia; but coming to this Fort, found we were in another Province; and on being informed by Capt. Beall, that our Brother, the Governor of this Province, had a real Love for our Nation, and that he had provided Cloaths for our Nation, tho' unacquainted with us, I have just now held a Council with my young Warriors, and has concluded to write to you, to acquaint you, our Brother, our Design of coming into this Country was hearing from our good Brother, the Governor of Virginia, that it was the Desire of our Father King George, that we would join the English in War against the French and their Indians. On hearing this News, we immediately took up the Hatchet against the French and their Indians, and hold it fast

Archives of Maryland -Lower House Journal, Liber #48 pp. 429-431

till we make use of it, which I expect will be in a few Days. We intend to set out immediately from this Fort, and immediately on our Return expect to meet you our Brother here, to make ourselves acquainted with you. If you can't come yourself, you will send one of your beloved Men with your Talk, which we will look upon as from your own Mouth. I hope you will let the Province of Pennsylvania know, that I am come this Length to War; and if they are in Need of our Assistance, I have Men plenty at home, and will not think it troublesome to come and fight for our Brothers. I set off from home with 150 Men, Part of which is gone to Fort Cumberland, Forty more by this is come to Winchester. Our People will be so frequent among you, that I wish you may not think us troublesome. Our Hearts ache to see our Brothers Bones scattered about the Country; but you will hear in a short Time we have got Satisfaction for our Brothers; and in Confirmation of what I have spoke, I have sent you these few white Beads to confirm my Regard to this Province: Likewise I have sent you these black Beads to convince you, that I have taken up the Hatchet against all the English Enemies. We intend to stay as long amongst our Brothers as there is Use of us. I hope our good Brother will not be backward in providing Necessaries for us. I have sent you a List of what is useful for us; and has got our good Friend Mr. Ross to carry this Letter to you, which we shall always acknowledge as a particular Friend to us. As we expect to see you soon, we will add no more at present; but remain

Your loving Brother,
his

Wahachy — of Keeway.
Mark.

This is the Truth, taken from the Head Warrior.

Richard Pearis.

To the Catawbias.

Brothers,

Yesterday I came to Fort Frederick, and this Morning I received an Account of your bad Success at War last Winter when you went out; you lost all your White Men, now I understand you have lost Seven more, which I look upon you ought not to rest long till you go again, and have Satisfaction. I am informed you are going home, but I desire, as you are like my own People, that you may not go home till we have Revenge for our Brothers the English. I expect in a few Days to overtake the Party of Enemy that has committed the Murders here: They kill'd 9 White Men since they kill'd the Jacks. The next News I expect to acquaint you with, that we have got Satisfaction for the Murders they have committed; and will join you, with the rest of my People, as soon as possible. I remain,

Your loving Brother,
his

Wahachy — of Keeway.
Mark.

Which were severally Read, and Ordered to lie on the Table.

On receiving the letter, Gov. Sharpe asked his Assembly for funds to pay for Indian presents, but this exceedingly parsimonious group, already having posted a £50 bounty for scalps considered quite generous, voted only £150 for Wahatchy's party. On news of the mixed patrol's success, Sharpe added bounty for four scalps to the grant and spent £300 on presents. As ambassadors he sent his own secretary, John Ridout and wealthy Annapolis merchant Daniel Wolstenholme.* Ridout sent the presents in several wagons to Fort Frederick, though the Chief's subsequent refusal to turn over the scalps created a complication. Governor Sharpe also commissioned Richard Pearis a captain in one of the newly-organized emergency Maryland Regiments.

Before returning to Winchester, the party stopped briefly at Fort Lytleton PA where they heard that Colony's Agent Col. John Armstrong, had recently met with Mohawks and other friendly tribes at Lancaster. Pearis thereupon sent him word of their recent success upon PA soil, plus talks by Youghtanno and Wahatchy inviting him to meet them at Fort Frederick. Pennsylvania, hungry for Indian auxiliaries to shield their long border, hastened with presents.

On May 18 at Fort Frederick the Cherokees, awaiting Maryland's offerings, opened a conference with the Pennsylvanians. Armstrong apologized for having brought so few presents: three rifles, four ruffled holland shirts, and a little wampum. He had come in haste to meet them. If they would come to Pennsylvania, he would give them more. Wawhatchee became very amiable. The next day he replied with pious thankfulness that he and his men had been able to protect Pennsylvania from an impending blow. He must first go to Winchester, then to Pennsylvania.¹³

On the twentieth the Maryland reward arrived. The Cherokees, as was their custom, shared the gift with all, soldiers and Indians, who had been in the Allegheny fight. But they refused to surrender the scalps for which Maryland had paid them a bounty.¹⁴ On the twenty-second as Sharpe's empty-handed envoy rode back to Annapolis, the Indians set out with their gifts and scalps for Winchester, entranced with the dream of Virginia's bounty to be followed by Pennsylvania's largess.

Disappointment awaited them at Winchester. Captain Mercer had gone. A tall, sandy-haired Virginian, Colonel Washington, had taken over and had orders to leave Indian affairs to Edmund Atkin.¹⁵ Mr. Atkin, however, had not yet reached Winchester, and Washington told the indignant Cherokees that he lacked the power to give them anything. Promptly the twenty-five-year-old Colonel was in hot water. "They are the most insolent, the most avaricious, the most dissatisfied wretches I ever had to deal with," he informed Dinwiddie. "If anything should detain Mr. Atkin's arrival . . . all the rhetoric I can master is not likely to detain them more than two or three days."¹⁶

His Majesty's Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Southern District was then at Williamsburg devising a more system-

atic approach to Indian problems. Though repeatedly urged by Dinwiddie to hurry to Winchester where an immediate crisis existed, Atkin proceeded deliberately and meticulously about the program he had planned. With Dinwiddie he worked out a system of escorts, passports, and supply depots for Indians, designed to prevent repetition of the April disorders.¹⁷ He did not arrive at Winchester with the promised presents until June 3.

Before the Superintendent could unpack his saddlebags, Wawhatchee burst into his quarters and demanded to hear what he had come to say. Wawhatchee's bluster derived partly from fear that Atkin had come to punish him. Atkin had been a member of the South Carolina council which had threatened Wawhatchee with punishment in connection with the Haig and Brown affair a decade before. Ignoring the impatient Cherokee, Atkin went firmly about the business of unpacking and placing his gear. Finally he quietly told the headman he would give his talk when he was ready and not before. Wawhatchee. That evening Youghtanno visited Atkin, laughed at Wawhatchee's anger, and hinted that matters could be mended. Atkin was conciliatory, and the next morning a quieted and dignified Wawhatchee accompanied by Youghtanno came to the Superintendent. With composure he listened to the terms of the new dispensation. In the future the southern Indians should heed only those talks given by the Superintendent or sent under his seal; they should obey no orders except those the Superintendent sent; and there should be no presents except as the Superintendent approved them. Wawhatchee gravely uttered his approval.

*It is with reluctance that we omit a very long letter by the two young envoys, giving vivid pictures of the manners and customs that then prevailed in dealing with the red man, taken from A Colonial Governor of Maryland by Matilda R. Edgar (1910) pages 124 et seq, but there is not space here. A copy is retained in my files.

Excerpts from Pennsylvania Archives 3 (Original Series) pp. 175-189

The original intent had been to present these much-quoted letters in their entirety, but there just is not room in this book. Edmund Atkin's letters are long-winded and pompous, designed to impress others of his great authority as the newly-appointed Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Southern Department, for the King. In all of them he proclaims that HE had been appointed by His Majesty to preclude disorder such as that which had just occurred, and also circumvent a drain on His Majesty's purse--otherwise the Indians, being no fools, would go from colony to colony extorting the greatest bounties, or worse yet, double-charge for the same service. All His Majesty's governments must combine to give only one present, as cheap as possible, for each service.

In the letter to George Croghan, Sir William Johnson's deputy, Northern Dist. of Indian Affairs, dated 8 June 1757, he first cites in excruciating detail Clement Read's version of recent Lunenburg disorders, and goes on at length to explain that "the Swallow and Wawhatchee" were the "worst-behaved in the Nation."

I got to this place the 3d Inst., where I found Wawhatchee with 46 of his people, (besides one woman) & Yatahnou with his 13 waiting for me, after their return from Maryland & Pennsylvania where Capt'n Paris, not pursuing the Orders he went out with, and baulking a particularly Service intended, had carried them to offer their Services.

"This Governor Dinwiddie thought wrong, as the Indians were brought to the assistance of this Colony, & supported with great Expence to it, & Captain Paris was in its pay and Service by his Commission. Tho' had he not taken, as he did, another Commission from Governor Sharpe (Note: Maryland Governor) I was empowered by Governor Dinwiddie to discharge him in his name, on account of the many Complaints he had received against him in other Respects.

In my way to the Town, I was informed by a half Breed Catawba, that Wawhatchee's Party had formed a Resolution of going into all the White Peoples Houses on the way home and taking whatever they liked..."

Atkin gives in great detail some of the mind and word games he played with Wawhatchee and Yahtanow of the Cherokee town of Kuwee (who evidently had protected murderers of a Mr. George Haig). At length Wawhatchee pretended to be chastened and "declared he did not expect at first to hear anything good from him "but would make amends for his behavior, and would collect warriors to carry him to their towns to the southward to talk to them." Rightly suspecting mischief against his person, Atkin declined. Wawhatchee thanked him profusely and said how glad he was to have found a friend, but

"The next morning being the 5th, just as I was going to deliver the Presents of this Government, and to cancel their Engagements & then to hint to the Cherokees the Regulation intended by me, as I had done to the Catawbaws, Captain Paris shew'd me a Letter from you to him dated at Carlisle the 3d with a string of white wampum to invite the Cherokees under his Command to meet you with him at Fort Loudoun 'in Pennsylvania to receive a present

"Without Doubt you had no notice of my being hereabouts. But you will be Sensible from what I said before, that Captain Paris had no command here, having discharged himself by accepting of a Commission in another Government. He nor any other person could negotiate any matter with the Indians in my department without my leave. (By the way, he is a man whom I shall by no means ever Intrust with the Conduct of Indian concerns, tho' I believe he is a fit man to head a party in the Woods, & I have been obliged to make use of his Tongue, on this Occasion upon his oath as Interpreter.)

"Tho' I gave all the Caution possible not to let the Cherokees know the Message, yet they were soon made acquainted with it by more than one for different reasons and purposes: 9th P.S. I have warned Duning your Express (whom I have

detain'd in the Hurry I am in till I could give you this detail) not to carry over the Powtomack Wawhatchee's people, who I understand are waiting for him or Paris or both, untill he shall hear from you."

Atkin wasted his ink in this last regard, for Fearis promptly carried the Indians over the Potomac himself, before orders forbidding this could be received, as we see in the following letters.

Though to all outward appearances Atkin had received great cooperation from Gov. Dinwiddie, Maryland Gov. Horatio Sharpe was harder to convince though he decided it was wise to at least appear to go along. Part of Atkin's letter to Sharpe of 12 June 1757 contains the following:

Letter 12 June 1757, Winchester, Edmund Atkin to His Excellency, Horatio Sharpe, Governor of Maryland.

Sir: I am very much obliged to your Excellency for your Favour of the 1st Instant, which came to my hand last Sunday, giving me a Copy of the Message or Letter sent to you from the Party of Cherokees, carried by Capt. Pearis into Maryland the 29th of April last, and of the Transactions that passed afterwards at Fort Frederick on your Frontier, ...imagining I was returned to South Carolina...

....inclosed Copy of a Letter which I wrote to Mr. Croghan, Sir William Johnson's Deputy in the Northern Department, by way of answer to a Letter Capt. Pearis received from him by the same Express that brought your Packet, inviting the before mentioned Party of Cherokees to Fort Loudoun in Pennsylvania, to receive a present provided for them by that Government, in Consequence of the Message they had sent to Govr. Denny, offering their assistance to him also....

"I consider Pearis as the Spring of this Mischief, who being then in the Pay & Service of this Government, and in Breach of his Orders, turning his Back upon & baulking a Matter of Importance (being certainly conscious of his intended Discharge for Misbehavior,) carried Wawhatchee's said Party over Potomack, in order to make a Merit with Governments of Maryland and Pennsylvania, by offering their Assistance... This money might have been saved; because Paris knew that being then in the Pay & Service of this Colony, they were obliged to deliver these Scalps here, for 10 pounds each, and 45 pounds for a prisoner...."

"On the 8th, most of Wawhatchee's Party stole away in the Morning privately, to get the presents intended at Fort Loudoun in Pennsylvania. But Mr. Croghan who was to have delivered it, on a few Lines of Notification I sent by Express at their Heels, just to put him on his Guard, resolved, before my other Letter at large reached him, not to transact any thing whatsoever with them. Pearis who the same Day asked Leave of me most earnestly, to go to his new Duty in Maryland, but promised solemnly he would not go until Smith, whom I had sent for, should come to me, followed them the next Morning without saying a Word to me more; leaving me without an Interpreter to speak to those that remained in this Town."

On receiving Adkin's message, Croghan decided to cover himself by asking Pennsylvania officer Col. John Armstrong to accompany him, as they answered to different bosses. Armstrong recognized that it was important, but made sure to stay out of trouble by writing to report everything to Gov. William Denny of Pennsylvania on 19 June 1757. After the first quote he relays the sad fate of Swallow Warrior and experiences of other Cherokee groups, also a report regarding Col. Stanwix and Capt. Dagworthy,

per advice of Col. Stanwix, I set out with Mr. Croghan for Fort Loudon, carrying the Provincial Present for the Cherokees, under an Escort of Eighty Men, expecting, after the delivery of the Present, to have been join'd by Capt. Parris & a party of the Indians, and to have reconnoitred the Country towards the Alleghany Hill, as far as was Possible with what Provision the Men cou'd carry on their Backs.

"On going to Loudon, Capt. Croghan recd a long Letter from Mr. Atkins, letting him know that thirty-three Cherokees had Stole away towards Pennsylvania without his knowledge, and without a Chief, for which he also blamed Paris, in first fetching them over Potomack, forbidding Mr. Croghan to send for, speak to, or give any thing to them, but immediately to come to him at Winchester, ...Mr. Croghan shew'd me the Letter and desir'd I would go with him, to which gave them something on acct of the Pennsylvania Present, which Mr. Croghan is to refund him out of it, keeping the residue for a part of the Eighty Indians who, with the Swallow Warrior, have been on duty betwixt Fort Cumberland & Fort Du Quisne,

that Six Cherokees that staid to view the situation of Duquesne, observ'd the French hurrying greatly and making preparation, as they thought, to March out an Army; accordingly the Indians watched their motions until, on the 10th Inst., they saw a large Body cross the Monongehela, near the place where Genl Braddock was defeated, with wheel'd Carriages and Guns larger than any at Fort Cumberland, and Men, as the Indians phrase it, that could not be counted. Capt. Dagworthy thinks they are coming against that place where they have but 180 Men, raw troops from Maryland. Col. Washington told me..it was not in his power to assist the Garrison, nor wou'd all his men be more than a Breakfast to the French & their Indians..."

In Spring 1757 the Assembly, having considered at length "the great Expense the Virg'a Regim't has cost the Country, completely remodeled that military organization." Instructions to Washington on 16 May 1757 commanded that it "shall consist of only ten companies of 100 men each; that all Captains but seven be reduc'd. Those I thought proper to continue are Capts. Mercer, Stewart, Waggoner, Lewis, Woodward, Spotswood, and McKenzie. To those discontinued..you are to offer lieutenancies..."Now more recruiting, and strict discipline of men was ordered. (Before, as in the Big Sandy Expedition, some captains had as few as 30 men. Richard was to find that Maryland already had the high standards described, and 100 men to a company.)

The orders continued, "You are no longer to have concern with, or Management of Indian Affairs. The Hon'ble Mr. Atkin is appointed by His M'y for that extraordinary Service. He is now repairing to Winchester for that purpose and will, I suppose, if he sh'd be obliged to leave it before the Indians return home, appoint some person to transact the Business in his absence..."

Probably Washington heaved a giant sigh of relief when he read that, not realizing the serious problems that pompous worthy, who lacked the finesse and suavity to mask paucity of presents in solacing speeches. He brought the insolent Wahatchy to heel, but lost him to Virginia service. And his firing of Richard Pearis was a disservice to Virginia for, whatever his faults, Richard understood how to get along with Cherokees, who could when properly led, be of tremendous service to the Colony. No other officer ever acquired that talent.

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- * Edmond Atkin, B. 1707 in Exeter, England and longtime Charleston S.C. merchant, was in England 1750-6, when he wrote a lengthy report in which he persuaded the Board of Trade to create the office of Supt. of Indian Affairs for the Southern Colonies and secured the position for himself. But once in America, he was not successful in getting adequate funding due to hesitation on the parts of Lord Loudoun and Sir William Johnson. Dinwiddie, however, was anxious to secure his services to unburden Washington of Indian problems, deal more effectively with southern Indians, and end clashes between Indian agents of the various colonies. He also tried in vain to obtain Atkin's services and Indian presents without costs to Virginia.

Atkin began operations at Fort Loudoun VA on 3 June with the loyal support of Washington. In July, however, his arbitrary methods created a dangerous incident. He believed a party of ten Indians which appeared there were French spies, and imprisoned the whole group--it turned out at least some were friendly Cherokees. Washington stepped in to explain the mistake, and was able, by messenger, to overtake Cherokees on the way home and make amends before the whole tribe would be upset.

Besides Richard Pearis, now a Maryland agent, and George Croghan, Sir William Johnson's deputy, he also involved himself in quarrels with several officers of Washington's regiment. Yet, overall, his mission was not without accomplishment. At Washington & Dinwiddie's request, he appointed the well-known Christopher Gist as his deputy and took his leave to return overland to South Carolina.

- * (Information taken from John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier by John Richard Allen-(1944) which provides much more detail.)

The following developments regarding Cherokee warriors in Virginia are only the beginning of the story, but do reflect what happened soon thereafter to the parties just mentioned. By then Richard was in Maryland assuming his new duties. (Cherokee Frontier, Corkran, pp. 123-7)

With Pearis cashiered and a ban put upon their Pennsylvania trip, the Indians' behavior altered. When Atkin assembled them to receive the presents Dinwiddie had sent, Wawhatchee was unhappy. The goods, "by no means contemptible," according to Atkin, were to be shared with the absent Swallow Warrior's party. Disdainfully glancing at the heaped presents, Wawhatchee grunted that they were not worth dividing: Swallow Warrior could have them all. As he moodily walked away, the worried Atkin hastened after him and told him he could take them all if his conscience would permit. Whereupon Wawhatchee, whose conscience was not tender, turned back, and took all the presents, "without remorse."

Oblivious to the Indian's contempt, the Superintendent then developed the subject of the Pennsylvania visit by reading an invitation from Croghan. The Cherokees listened coldly to Atkin's promise that if they would go to war, he would send to Croghan to learn what sort of reward could be had. Wawhatchee, perceiving that Atkin wished to prevent present-collecting on the scale to which he aspired, disdainfully left Croghan's wampum dangling in the Superintendent's hand. Nevertheless, the conference broke up with intimations that the Indians might be more tractable the next day.

The morrow came, but no Indians waited upon His Majesty's Superintendent. Youghtanno, after an all-night debauch, had early in the morning reeled off toward the nation, followed by thirteen of his men.

When finally a penitent Wawhatchee came to Atkin to take formal leave, he repudiated Pearis, blaming his own conduct upon his benefactor, who, he said, had claimed sole authority over the Cherokees. Already prejudiced against the adventurer, the Superintendent believed the headman's statements, assuming that Wawhatchee's denunciation of Pearis represented a heartfelt conversion.

Shortly after the Mankiller of Estatoe came to Winchester, George Croghan brought in the Pennsylvania gift for Wawhatchee's party. Atkin decided that it was excessive and gave the lingering Wawhatchee but a part. The remainder he turned over

to the Mankiller of Estatoe for accompanying Croghan to Pennsylvania to help Colonel Stanwix.

Led by Croghan and accompanied by Richard Smith to keep an eye on Johnson's deputy for Atkin, the party reached Carlisle on June 29. Now on Pennsylvania soil Croghan took advantage of Atkin, who had forbidden Johnson's deputy to speak to the Cherokees. Convincing himself that the northern and southern Indian districts were geographical rather than tribal units, Croghan decided that Cherokees in Pennsylvania were outside the southern Superintendent's jurisdiction.²³ He approached the Mankiller with presents and the promise that if he remained in Pennsylvania there would be further reward. The Cherokee agreed to stay twenty days.

The Cherokee sojourn in Pennsylvania ended inauspiciously. On July 21 a Cherokee runner arrived from the south with such disturbing news that Colonel Stanwix had difficulty holding the Indians to receive their presents.²⁴ All fifty-five Cherokees surged from the fort down the road toward Winchester.

Winchester had been very quiet after Croghan left for Carlisle with the Estatoes. Late in June, Osteneco passed through on his way to the frontier after having delivered a message in Williamsburg from Old Hop and the Little Carpenter. Then in July what appears to have been a backdoor deputation of Overhills, accompanied by Mingo warriors, bound for upper New York to confer with the neutral Onondaga council, arrived. Atkin, at the moment without a skilled linguist, gained the impression that enemy spies were in his midst and threw the deputies into Winchester jail.²⁵ Horrified, convalescent Cherokee, lingering at the base dispatched a runner to Chota and sent for help to the nearest war party, the Mankiller's Estatoes at Carlisle. The Estatoes, boiling into Winchester, effected a jail delivery before young Washington could convince them that a mistake had been made. Only after the deputies' wounded pride had been assuaged with presents did the Estatoe Mankiller send a runner to counteract the story already proceeding toward the nation.²⁶

"I can only observe, that the Indians have been pleased and displeased oftener than they ought to have been." -George Washington.

Instructions to John David Wilper* Fort Loudoun, June 7, 1757

You are hereby Ordered to take charge of the Cherokee Indians, whereof Warhatchie and Yautanou are Chiefs, and to conduct them in the nearest and best way you can from this place, thro' Augusta, Bedford and Halifax Counties, to the Borders of North Carolina; and deliver them over to some Civil or Military Officer of that Province, in order to their being further conducted towards their Nation.

That the Indians may not be disappointed in provisions, you are to send on a man a days march before you, to provide for them. You are to get exact accounts of the kinds, quantities and value, from every man that supplies you; which you are to certify and keep copies, and endeavor to be as frugal of, as possible. The person who goes on before is to desire the people at whose Houses the Indians may halt, carefully to conceal any liquor they may have. Shou'd the Indians however, behave in a mild discreet manner, you may at night give them a little rum mixed with water, if to be had; which you are to inform them is procured thro your own influence upon the White people, on account of their good Behavior, and not by virtue of Orders.

Shou'd any of the Indians misbehave, you are not to find fault with the Agressor, but to apply for redress to Warhatchie only.

The party now at this place from Capt. Hogg's Company, is to march with you as far as their road and yours is one (and shou'd be supplied with provisions in the same manner that the Indians are; as they are intended as an Escort to them) After which you are to order them to join their Company; unless you shall find it necessary to take them farther, to keep the Indians from mischief. In such case you may carry the men, but in no other.

As you have applied to me for liberty of absence, you have hereby liberty for days, after you shall have conducted the Indians, agreeably to the above Orders.

George Washington

From: The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources 1745-1799 compiled by Ford, Volume I 1745-1756 pages 46-7. (US Govt. Printing Office, John G. Fitzpatrick, editor)

*Washington mis-spelled the soldier's name. He was St. John David Woelpper of Captain Peter Hogg's company--but he had assistance in guarding this formerly unruly group of Cherokees.

Even Richard Smith, the "excellent interpreter" Atkin said he was waiting for when Richard Pearis deserted him, seems to have thought the Indians should be paid more than was being offered:

Letter of Richard Smith to Governor Horatio Sharpe
Sir

Carlisle 4 July 1757

Agreeable to my Instructions from Mr. Atkins I immediately upon receiving your Orders sent a Party of the Cherokees to scour the Woods about Ray's Town, and I think it my Duty not only as it is agreeable to my Instructions from Mr. Atkins but as the Good of his Majesty's Service depends on it to acquaint you of the Disposition and Temper of this party of Indians which came with me to this Government, and as your Honor may be the better judge of it have inclosed you a Copy of a Speech of theirs made at Fort Loudoun the 1st of this Instant and give you my opinion. These People say that one Part of their People had been with the French, and that they were returned with very large Presents and great Promises. Upon finding that number of their People to join the French they determined to come and see their Brothers the English as they have always had a Regard for them, in hopes that their Brothers would treat them in such a manner that upon

their going Home they should be able to shew their People that it was their Interest to let their Nation see that their Brothers were not that bad people which those in the French Interest had represented them, at their coming from their Towns, they told them the Virginians would deceive them and not perform their promises. They say that they are sorry to find what they were told before they came from Home should turn out to be true, that they do not value the Presents but should they go Home after being so long in the Service of the English, and have nothing to shew for their Services that they will be made a Mock of, and give the Party in the French Interest an opportunity of persuading their People to join the French which a contrary Behaviour on the Side of the English would prevent.

Sir it is my opinion if this Party goes away displeased, it will be the means of engaging us in a War with the Creeks also, as they are intierly influenced by them, and the Consequence must be dreadful to the English Colonies in General. When on the other Hand should they go off in a good Temper, I am of opinion that they will be able to bring the Over Hills People, and Creeks to the side of the English. I was glad to see the good understanding between the Six Nations and these People, as appears by the speeches made by the Mohock Sachem to them and their answers, and they have agreed with the Six Nations to meet upon these Frontiers in the Spring in great numbers if they are now well treated in order to carry on the War against the French.

Sir I make Bold to recommend to you the sending home these People in good Temper as their future Conduct will be regulated by it, and by Instructions I am ordered to call upon and Mr. Croghan for such Rewards for these People as I shall think necessary: I am your Honors
mlst obedient humble servant

Richd Smith

Sharpe to Atkin

29 July 1757

Sir: I am obliged to you for Your Letters of the 12th & 30 of June & 12th Inst which were dld to me a few Days ago by Mr. Fell. If the Assembly of this Province had left it to me to cultivate the Friendship of the Southern Indians or to encourage their Service by such Methods as I should judge proper I shoul proceed according to Your Advice & Directions but as the Assembly did long before His Majesty was pleased to appoint you Super-Intendant of Indian Affairs appropriate a Sum of Money for the Encouragement & Reward of such of them as should take or destroy any of our Indian Enemies & did also after the Example that was set by the Northern Covernmts by an Act direct certain persons called Agents to pay a fixed Sum for every Scalp which should be brought in by them & deld to any Magistrate it is not in my power to put a Stop to this practice nor can I order any of the Money that is so appropriated to be otherwise applied, however if You will communicate to me by Letter Your Sentiments on this point & set forth in strong Terms the Impropriety of such a measure I will lay Your Letter before the Assembly at our next Meeting & perhaps they will be brought up to approve of such a plan as you ~~seem~~ fit to recommend. I would have you insist on the great Expense that these Colonies will subject themselves to by continuing the present Method as I am apt to think that such a Consideration will have its weight with our People & I do not think it would be amiss for you to observe that while the Indians are encouraged to run from One place to another for Presents their Service is lost to all of Us.

You may also assure me that His Majesty will expect us to conform to Your Regulation with Respect to the Management of these Indians which will justify me in insisting upon the Repeal of that part of our Act whereby a Reward is allotted for such Scalps as shall be taken by our Indian Allies & support the Arguments that I may urge to persuade them to adopy Your Scheme. When the Assembly met last I earnestly recommended it to them to

make some Provision for the payment of such Persons as I should order to supply of our Indian Friends that may come or pass thro the Province with such Victuals as they may stand in need of but they would not grant any Sum of Money for that purpose. Indeed they did as it were promise to pay for any Provisions that should be dld to them at Fort Frederick but it is a Doubt whether Mr. Ross will ever receive any Allowance for what has been or shall be given to them at Fort Cumberland. I should think that the best way for you to carry your scheme effectually into Execution would be to represent the propriety & Expediency of it to the Ministry & if they shall be pleased to approve thereof the Governors of these Provinces may expect to receive Instructions to pass no Act relative to Indian Affairs unless it be entirely consonant to Your plan, & to get any Act that has been already made & interferes therewith repealed. I lately received a Letter from Colo. Stanwix wherein he pressed me to impower Mr. Croghan to purchase and in my Name to deliver a Present to the Cherokees that were then with him but I was obliged to tell him I could not comply with his Request as the Assembly had not left any publick money to my Disposal.

When I gave Capt Pearis a Commission in our Provincials I did not intend to take him from the Indians or to restrain his Service to this Province nor was he thereby required to attend to any New Duty. I understand that the Governmt of Virga had employed several other Interpreters & as I thought too many could not be engaged I gave him a Company that was then raising to encourage him also to continue in the Service having been told that his Allowance from Virga was scarcely sufficient to support him. I am very sorry to find that his Conduct has neither met yours nor Governor Dinwiddie's Approbation, however, as an Interpreter will be much wanted at Fort Cumberland while the Cherokees continue to go that way to war he might be of Service there & as Colo Stanwix has taken him & the rest of our Officers under his own immediate Command I have desired him to order Capt. Pearis thither.

I suppose the Belt that Wahachee enquired after was one that was given to Yatanou upon Wahachee's refusing to part with either of them that had been dld with my Message. I am told that that Young Warrior shews a great Affection for Pearis which makes the old Fellow jealous & an Enemy to him. If this is the Case it is not improbable that Wahachee has falsified in what he says of his having told him that he had the Management of Indian Affairs, for my own part I cannot help entertaining a very bad opinion of that old Fellow & do not desire to hear of his Return to this Province.

I have forbidden Pearis to make any Promise to him or any other of the Cherokees in my name or to transact any Business whatever with them on behalf of this Province but if they shall at any time come to Fort Frederick they will be furnished with provisions as usual & if they should bring in any Scalps & deliver them up while our Act of Assembly continues in force the Agents will not refuse to pay the premium tho if you choose to give such Directions the Agents will purchase Goods therewith & deliver them in your name of with any Speech that you shall desire them to make on such occasion. I am, & c.

This letter is copied verbatim from Maryland Archives 9: 59-61 in an article called Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe. The letter from Richard Smith was in the same volume, pages 44-5.

It appears from this letter that Governor Sharpe was a very perceptive man. Later on under altered circumstances he did give Richard much more authority than promised above. Though there was a surface cordiality between Sharpe and Dinwiddie, relations were then strained over border disputes and other considerations.

The letter to Woelper gave Washington's official instructions, but three days later, in a letter to John Robinson, he commented, "Dear Sir: A person of a readier pen, and having more time than myself, might amuse you with his vicissitudes which have happened in the Indian affairs since Mr. Atkin came up. I acknowledge my incompetency, and therefore shall only observe, that the Indians have been pleased and displeased oftener than they ought to have been; and that they are gone off (that party under Warhatchie I mean) in different ways, and with far different views; one part southwardly to their nation; and the other northwardly to treat with the Pennsylvanians, contrary to the sentiments of Mr. Atkin, who has, I believe, sent to forbid any conference to be held with them.... Major Lewis is returned with part of the Indians, that went out with him, in consequence of their having taken only eight days' provisions with them. He was unable to prevail with those savages to take more. One party of twenty, with ten soldiers, is gone towards Fort Duquesne, under Captain Spotswood; and another party of fifteen, with five soldiers, under Lieutenant Baker, but they course towards Logstown. God send them success and a safe return, I pray....."

(A footnote quotes Col. Stanwix to Gov. Denny of PA- 12 June 1757, "As to Indian matters, you must know I can be but a stranger, and I find all those employed as agents very jealous of one another, and I can perceive Mr. Croghan so of Col. Armstrong and..Mr. Atkin so of them all as well as of the Provinces.")(This is getting ahead of the story, but Atkin was a couple of years later replaced by Capt. Stuart, rescued from Ft. Loudoun--the one near Chota--when the Cherokees massacred the others. He, also, gave Richard some trouble but they later collaborated as you will see.)

But lest the reader think the folks of Halifax and Bedford Counties were through with Indian disturbances, it seems they were only beginning, though this time it does not appear Capt. Pearis got the blame. You might enjoy reading about this, and I especially admire "Old Mr. Verdiman, aged about 60" with an elder stick but no gun, bowing before painted warriors who could not understand a word he said, "Gentlemen we come in a Brotherly manner to ask you for our Horses..." etc. Two versions agree except dates. First*

"..the Cherokees began to leave for the North in large numbers to assist Virginia against the French and Enemy Indians. They were useful but troublesome allies in the campaign of 1757. Because of Forbes' inaction, the Cherokees found themselves idle and refused to wait any longer for action and by July only 200 warriors remained, and by September only 80 left with the Virginia forces. Gov. Dinwiddie again sent an urgent appeal to the Cherokees, this time in early 1758...In May 1758, Moytoy of Settico** leading a band of warriors home from Virginia, set out to go by way of the

*Early Adventurers on the Western Waters, Mary B. Kegley, pp 59-60

**See Map of Cherokee towns. Settico is next to the capitol town of Chota.

"Cherokee country. Several of his men lost horses, and had been unable to recover them from the English. They took others, to the number of twenty to replace their own, often posing as Shawnees to divert suspicion from their nation. Although some authorities state the horses were running wild in the woods, the papers of the South Carolina Indian Affairs (McDowell, Documents pp.463-5) said the horses were deliberately taken from Virginians: William Verdiman, his son William Jr., John Hall, Richard Thompson, John Wheeler, Robert Jones, Jr., and Harry Snow, all of Halifax County. These men gathered forces and proceeded after the Indians, but were unable to make them fully understand and the Virginians were attacked. Later Captain Head and the local militia pursued them. The Indians, who had thought the Virginians were their friends, were now ready for revenge, and moved into the North Carolina settlements on the Yadkin River and claimed nineteen scalps. There were many such war parties in Virginia during the summer of 1759, and an ugly feeling for all Indians developed among the people of Virginia."

And now let us hear the same story from another source, this time History of Pittsylvania County, Virginia, Maud Carter Clement (1953) pages 78 and following: (photocopy)

HISTORY OF PITTSYLVANIA COUNTY

In the hope of enlisting the aid of the friendly Cherokees and Catawbas in the struggle against the French and their Indian allies, Governor Dinwiddie appointed Colonel William Byrd and Colonel Peter Randolph to visit the two nations.

This they did in the summer of 1756, carrying with them many gifts, and successfully concluded a treaty with the tribes whereby they agreed to furnish Virginia with 500 warriors in return for the erection of a fort for the protection of their wives and children against the assaults of the northern Indians. Virginia at once fulfilled her promise, and Fort Loudon on the Tennessee was built the same summer.

In the spring of 1757 when the long promised Indian aid arrived it was found to consist of but 400 warriors and of these only 180 remained at the fort at Winchester, the others immediately returning home. They had evidently become disaffected towards the Virginians through French influence, and now were bent upon mischief, for in their march back and forth through Virginia they committed many acts of violence upon the inhabitants, and slew and tomahawked¹ one of their own members in Col. Clement Read's yard.

When they reached western Halifax and Bedford Counties they became bolder in their defiant attitude and robbed the inhabitants of their horses, plundered their homes, and offered brutal insults to their persons.

The people of Halifax were placed in a most trying position, for it was well known and understood that the Cherokees were our friends and allies, and that their warriors had marched to our aid; yet here were marauding bands of more than a hundred warriors straying over the country and boldly robbing the inhabitants, who hesitated to offer resistance to the intruders for fear of provoking them to war. We may know that the Cherokees were keenly sensible of the plight in which these Virginians were placed, for they remained several weeks terrorizing the countryside.

A letter² of Colonel Fontaine to relatives in England, dated June 11, 1757, said: "Those of the Indians that call themselves our friends do despise us, and in their march through our inhabited country, when going to our assistance, insult and annoy. It is not above a month ago since a

party of about a hundred and twenty Cherokees, in passing through Lunenburg insulted people of all ranks."

When Col. Read³ notified the Governor of the presence and behavior of the Cherokees his Excellency advised reasoning with them in a mild way for fear of provoking them to open warfare, which he said "would prove of fatal consequences; however the people are not to be robbed and insulted."

But when the people, acting upon the Governor's advice, attempted to reason with the Indians, their peaceful overtures were repulsed and bloodshed followed.

A letter⁴ from the Governor to Col. Fontaine, County Lieutenant, in regard to the situation stated:

"Sir,—

May 7, 1757.

I received y'r L're of April 20, last night and am very sorry for the apprehensions the frontiers are under an attack from the Indians. It is a surprise to me that the People allow Indians to come so frequently among them: the very examining of the Co'try and the Peoples Houses was Suspicion Sufficient to raise the militia and Take 'em all Prisoners. I approve of your sending out James Dillard with fifty men; and please order him to continue out arranging."

The citizens of Bedford County petitioned⁵ to be allowed to kill the Indians, and asked for soldiers to be stationed among them for protection. but their petition was denied in the hope of preventing open conflict.

Governor Dinwiddie's term of office expired January, 1758, and Mr. Blair, president of the Council, became the presiding official of the colony until the arrival of Governor Fauquier in the following June. Blair ordered an investigation into the origin of the troubles in Halifax and Bedford Counties with the Cherokees, and for this purpose a especial court was held at Mayes Ferry (now Booker's Ferry), on Staunton River, in Halifax County, on June 1, 1758, when the following depositions⁶ were taken of those who had suffered from Indian outrages or taken part in the conflicts with them: (Re- Moytoy's Indians)

"Halifax County } At May's Ferry on Staunton River June the 1st,
to-wit— } 1758, was taken by Order of Mr. President
Blair—The State cause and process of the three several Engagements,
--cont'd on next page

¹Dinwiddie Papers, Vol. 2, p. 600.

²"Memoirs of a Huguenot Family," by Maury.

(78)

had between several parties of militia of Halifax and Bedford Counties, in Company with part of Captain Hawkin's men, with several parties of Indians in their march thro' those Counties which is as followeth, to-wit,

John Wheeler, William Verdiman, John Hall, Richard Thompson, William Verdiman Junr, Robert Jones Junr, and Henry Snow being first sworn, as to the first of the three Engagements they deposed in Substance as followeth.

First John Wheeler aged about 50, John Hall and Richard Thompson aged about 25 each, swore that having been robbed of some Horses sometime in the begining of May, being at a neighbours House, were informed by him, that several Indians were seen to pass thro' the Neighbourhood with a great number of packèd Horses, and that several other Horses were missing of that Neighbourhood, to the number of 20 at least That they had Robbed several Houses, and had as was supposed murther'd or—Captivated a family near that Neighbourhood, as the family was missing, and could not be heard of, and that they called themselves Shawanees; Whereupon these three Deponents with four others agreed to go after the Indians, and in a friendly manner demand the Horses, and other things Stolen; That these three Deponents, being on Horse back, the rest on foot, came up with the Indians, And the Deponent Wheeler calling them Brothers, desired to treat with them. The Indians painted and sullen, put themselves in a posture for Battle, And sternly asked if they were for War, The Deponents replied they were not, That they were friends and Brothers and desired peace and quiet delivery of their Horses, and asked the Indians of what Nation they were; upon that they instantly set up the War Whoop; The deponent Wheeler seeing his Horse in the Hands of an Indian took hold of the Bridle, and whilst they were struggling for him, other Indians came up and seized him and the Horse he rode, which he was forced to quit to them after receiving several Blows with a Tomahawke—fled on foot, three Indians pursued him, and three Guns were fired, as he supposed at him and his Companions, as he heard a Bullet whistle by him, and he and his Companions made their escape without any other Hurt or loss, then that of two more Horses, which were then taken from them by the Enemy, That in their flight they met the rest of the Company on Foot, coming to them upon which reinforcement, they came to a resolution once more to follow the Indians, and being joyned afterwards by a few others, did so, making up the Number Eleven tho' some of those Eleven were without Guns, That they came to Staunton River, and when there, these several Deponents, to-wit; John Wheeler, William Verdiman, John Hall, Richard Thompson, William Verdiman, Junr, Robert Jones, Junr, and Henry Snow, Swear that when they arrived at the River Bank they as they imagined heard the Indians WarHalloo on the other side, that they proceeded to pass the River, that when they gott over, on rising the Bank on the other side, they found a small fire just kindled, and at some little distance from thence, they observed the Enemy, upon which all the Deponents say that Old William Verdiman aged about sixty, went foremost, and that they all followed close at his heels, that when they came

up to the Enemy they found they had tyed their Horses, pretty many in Number to the Bushes, that most of the Indians were painted and others then painting, some black some Red, but mostly black, that when they came near Old Verdiman pulled off his Hatt and Bowed and accosted them in terms of peace, and Friendship, and said Gentlemen we come in a Brotherly manner to ask you for our Horses, and other Goods, that you have taken from us, that the Indians gave a kind of a Grunt, and appeared determined for mischief, stripped themselves threw out the priming of their Guns, fresh primed and Cocked them, struck their Tomahawks into Trees, and in an angry manner demanded of the Deponents if they would fight; that whilst Verdiman who was still uncovered Bowing and Treating with them, the Enemy Indeavored to Inviron them, and had actually got them into a half Circle before the Deponents were aware upon which, and young Verdiman observing that two Indians had pointed their Guns, they the Deponents all retreated backwards with their Faces to the Enemy, and took to trees, that on their retreat, the Indians threw their Tomahawks, and that two of them narrowly missed two of their men, that one of them would have hitt Old Verdiman, but that he luckily parried it with an Elder Stick he had in his hand (for he was one of the number of those that had no Guns) and the Indians pursuing and they retreating in Order, they were near drove to the River Banck, where they must have inevitably perished had they then attempted to have crossed, that on the retreat a Gun was fired upon which the Engagement insued, and many Guns discharged on both sides, in which Engagement the Father of John Hall one of the deponents fell, and being mortally wounded soon after died, that during the Engagement those of the Deponents who had Guns were obliged to fly from tree to tree to one another for a shott of Powder and Lead both being very scarce among them, that in the Engagement three Indians fell, that at last their Powder and Lead being Expended they fled back over the River in different places, and being all met again on the other side, they went to a Neighbours House, supplied themselves with more Ammunition, and went back again to place where the Engagement was to look for their wounded friend, who they found expiring, three Indians dead in the Field and much plunder, that they scalped the Indians, threw their dead Bodies into the River, and brought away their dying friend and the plunder, and that their Friend soon after dyed, the account of Spoil found in the Field consisting of Horses. Saddles, Bridles, Mens, and Womans apparel &c., is herewith sent Contained in two papers Numbered 1. 2.

The other two depositions run on in the same vein, except that the other encounters seem to have been a little later, and the subsequent frontiersmen, gradually losing patience, were not so forbearing as Old Mr. Verdiman.

Staunton River, where the confrontation occurred, is clearly shown in the map near the beginning of this chapter.

PEARIS FAMILYCHAPTER EIGHT - CAPTAIN PEARIS OF THE 5th MARYLAND PROVINCIALS

If we were being strict, we would have to admit that the events in the previous chapter all happened after Richard had been commissioned a Maryland captain; but this segment begins with his assumption of his command at Fort Cumberland as a leader of white soldiers, sometime after the Virginians evacuated the fort on 7 May 1757, taking with them their Indian interpreters. Governor Sharpe felt that he could kill two birds with one stone by having a captain who could also serve as an interpreter when necessary, in addition to his regular duties in a new company being raised "under Colo. Stanwix command," as he put it, since the Virginians already had so many interpreters they would scarcely miss this good one. (Relations between the two governments were civil but restrained.)

The only roster of Maryland troops under Captain Richard Pearis is from October 1757 to 31 May 1758, when Governor Sharpe, though he did not believe the charges leveled by Acting Virginia Governor Blair, disbanded his company and distributed his men under the other companies. He then went on special duty for General John Forbes under Colonel Bouquet and others, leading scouting parties and so on.

Complete rosters of all of the service of the Maryland troops in the French and Indian War have not been preserved, just those from 9 October 1757 until they were disbanded. The reason even these were saved has to do with finances, for the reasons explained in Maryland Historical Magazine 5:271 et seq., issue of 10 Sep 1910.

"That the..roster of Maryland troops in the French and Indian war has been preserved to us is due to the disputes between the two branches of the Assembly and to their differences with Governor Sharpe. The lower house always expressed a willingness to make provisions for a small body of provincial troops, but on terms which the upper house consistently refused to accept; or if the two houses by chance agreed on any plan, it was one that the Governor could not accept without yielding some prerogative of the Proprietary. Braddock's defeat aroused the Assembly to action, and at the February session of 1756, after much bickering, the sum of £40,000 was voted for His Majesty's service. At subsequent sessions the Assembly declined to do more than provide for the support of 300 Militia, who could not be sent beyond Fort Frederick nor used as a fixed garrison for Fort Cumberland. Captain Dagworthy was given the command of the Maryland troops sent to the frontiers of Frederick County in 1754, and in 1756 took part in the construction of Fort Frederick. Fort Cumberland, though a Royal Fort, had been built by Virginians on Maryland soil, which may account for the objection of the Assembly to providing a garrison and for the later dispute as to precedence in command between Colonel Washington and Colonel Dagworthy.

"The correspondence of Governor Sharpe fully covers this period. It appears that he at first supported the Maryland troops by advancing money on the supposition that he would be reimbursed; later he maintained them through private subscription; and finally as the ledger shows, from money advanced by General Amherst.

COLONIAL SOLDIERS OF THE SOUTH, 1732-1774

Roster of Captain Richard Pearis' Company of Maryland Troops,
Oct 9, 1757 to May 31, 1758, 235 days service

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks (Period of Service)
1	Captain	Pearis, Richard	
2	1st/Lieut	McRae, Duncan	
3	2d/Lieut	McArthur, Thomas	
4	Ensign	Skinner, Henry	
1	Private	Anderson, John	
2	"	Benyan, Parslew	
3	"	Brinkley, James	
4	"	Brown, George	
5	"	Brown, James	
6	"	Brown, Richard	
7	"	Bennet, John	
8	"	Barrett, Thomas	
9	"	Barker, Thomas	
10	Corporal	Colmore, Geo:	
11	Private	Craig, Geo:	Oct 24, 1757/May 31, 1758, 220 days
12	"	Colvill, Joseph	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 23, 1757, 45 days, deserted
13	"	Creswell, Thomas	Oct 9, 1757/May 8, 1758, 211 days, deserted
14	"	Dennis, John	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 23, 1757, 45 days, deserted
15	"	Davis, Even	
16	"	Davis, David	
17	"	Evens, William	
18	"	Egleston, Abram	
19	"	Fryer, William	
20	"	Freeman, Richard	
21	"	Field, Mathew	
22	"	Fitzpatrick, Thomas	
23	"	Genaler, John	
24	"	Grey, James	
25	"	Godson, James	
26	"	Gelstrap, William	
27	"	Goodwin, Mathew	
28	"	Hamilton, John	
29	"	Hillen, Jacob	
30	"	Hazard, Michael	
31	"	Hobson, Thomas	Oct 9, 1757/Apr 4, 1758, 177 days, deserted
32	"	Hamilton, James	
33	"	Hill, Silvester	
34	"	Harben, Anthony	
35	"	Howard, Richard	
36	"	Hodgins, Robert	
37	"	Hope, Henry	
38	"	Higgs, John	
39	"	Jones, Nehemiah	
40	Corporal	Johnson, Andrew	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 26, 1757, reduced Nov 18, 1757, deserted
41	Drummer	Jones, Joseph	
42	Private	King, William	
43	"	Love, Aaron	
44	"	Locker, Thomas	Oct 9, 1757/Apr 4, 1758, 177 days, deserted
45	"	Lego, Charles	
46	"	Lawson, John	
47	"	Lee, John	
48	Serjeant	Monroe, Alex:	
49	Corporal	Moodie, Hugh	
50	Private	Martin, Thomas	Oct 9, 1757/Apr 25, 1758, died

MARYLAND MILITIA, 1732-1763

Roster of Captain Richard Pearis' Company of Maryland Troops,
Oct 9, 1757 to May 31, 1758, 235 days service (Cont'd)

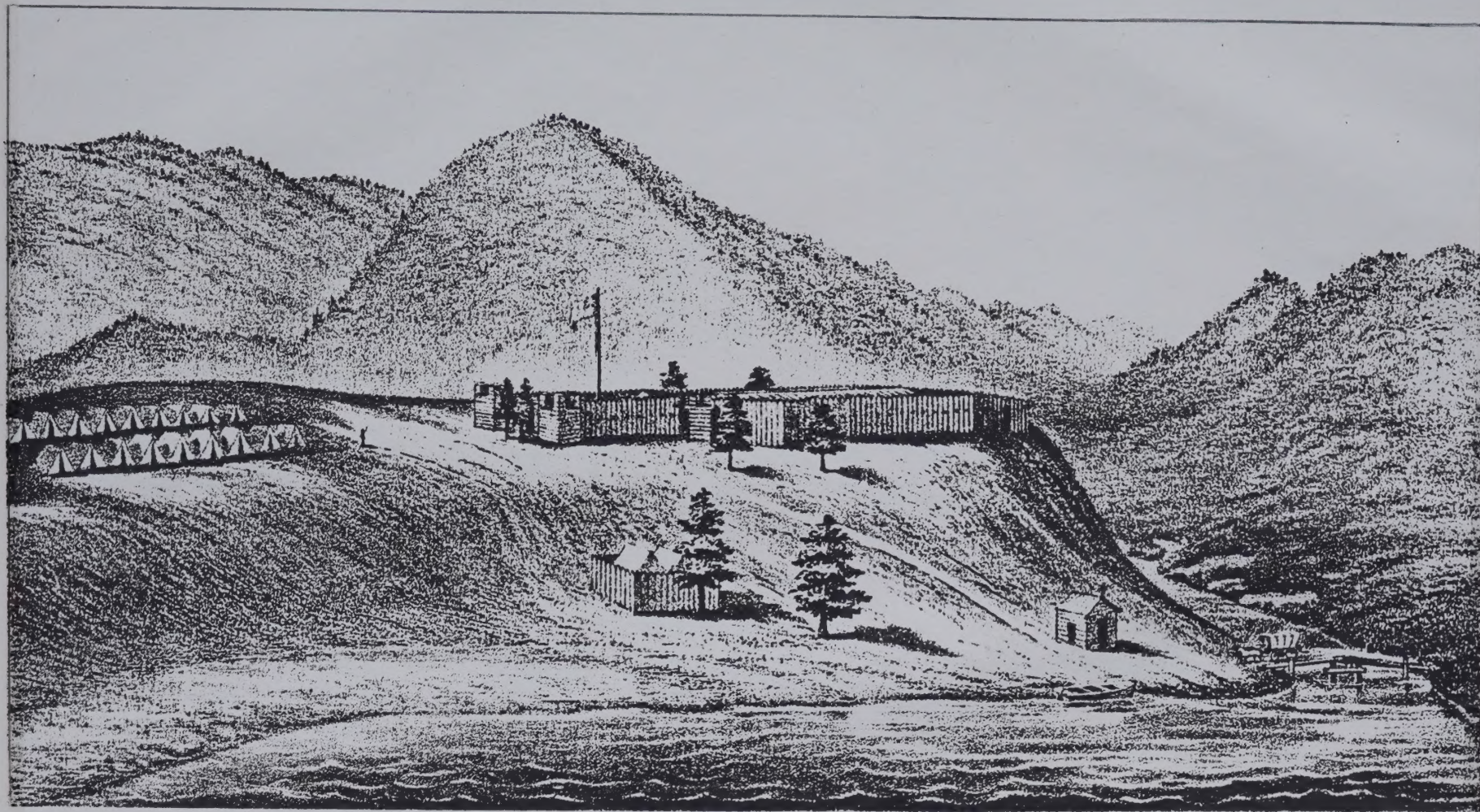
Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks (Period of Service)
51	Private	Mass, John Baptist	
52	"	Mason, William	
53	"	Mills, William	
54	"	Maken, John	
55	"	McCubin, W:m	
56	"	Mason, Edward	
57	"	May, Edward	
58	Serjeant	Naylor, Joshua	
59	Private	Naylor, Benjamin	
60	"	Noyer, Thomas	
61	"	Pettit, Lewis	
62	"	Perkins, John	
63	"	Porter, Hugh	
64	"	Peckerel, Samuel	
65	"	Paulin, Robert	
66	"	Queen, Richard	Oct 9, 1757/Apr 4, 1758, 177 days, deserted
67	"	Reymour, William	
68	"	Robert, Isaac	
69	"	Robinson, Charles	Oct 9, 1757/Apr 4, 1758, 177 days, deserted
70	"	Rowles, Thomas	
71	"	Rally, Isaac	
72	"	Robert, John	
73	"	Reymour, Joseph	
74	"	Rhodes, Thomas	
75	"	Spekernel, Robert	Oct 9, 1757/Oct 22, 1757, 13 days, died
76	"	Stillworth, John	Oct 9, 1757/Apr 4, 1758, 177 days, deserted
77	"	Shaw, Robert	
78	"	Sasser, Benjamin	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 23, 1757, 45 days, deserted
79	"	Suelor, Charles	
80	"	Simpson, Anthony	
81	"	Surratt, Joseph	
82	"	Stephens, Solomon	
83	Corporal	Sapp, Robert	promoted Nov 19, 1758
84	Private	Tycer, John	
85	"	Turney, Charles	
86	Serjeant	Vaughan, W:m	
87	Private	Williams, John	
88	"	Wattson, Walter	
89	"	Willson, Thomas, Jun.	Oct 26, 1757/May 31, 1758
90	"	Waters, James	
91	"	Woolridge, Roger	
92	"	Watts, Samuel	
93	Corporal	Willis, John	
Attest: David Ross			

[MHS:375]

From Book, Colonial Soldiers of the South
by Murtie June Clark (GPC)

The roster below covers only a short period of Captain Richard Pearis's Maryland service, but is the only one found so far.

Fort Cumberland would have been considerably enlarged by the time Captain Richard Pearis came there in 1757, but this old painting shows the site. It was situated on Will's Creek close to the Potomac.



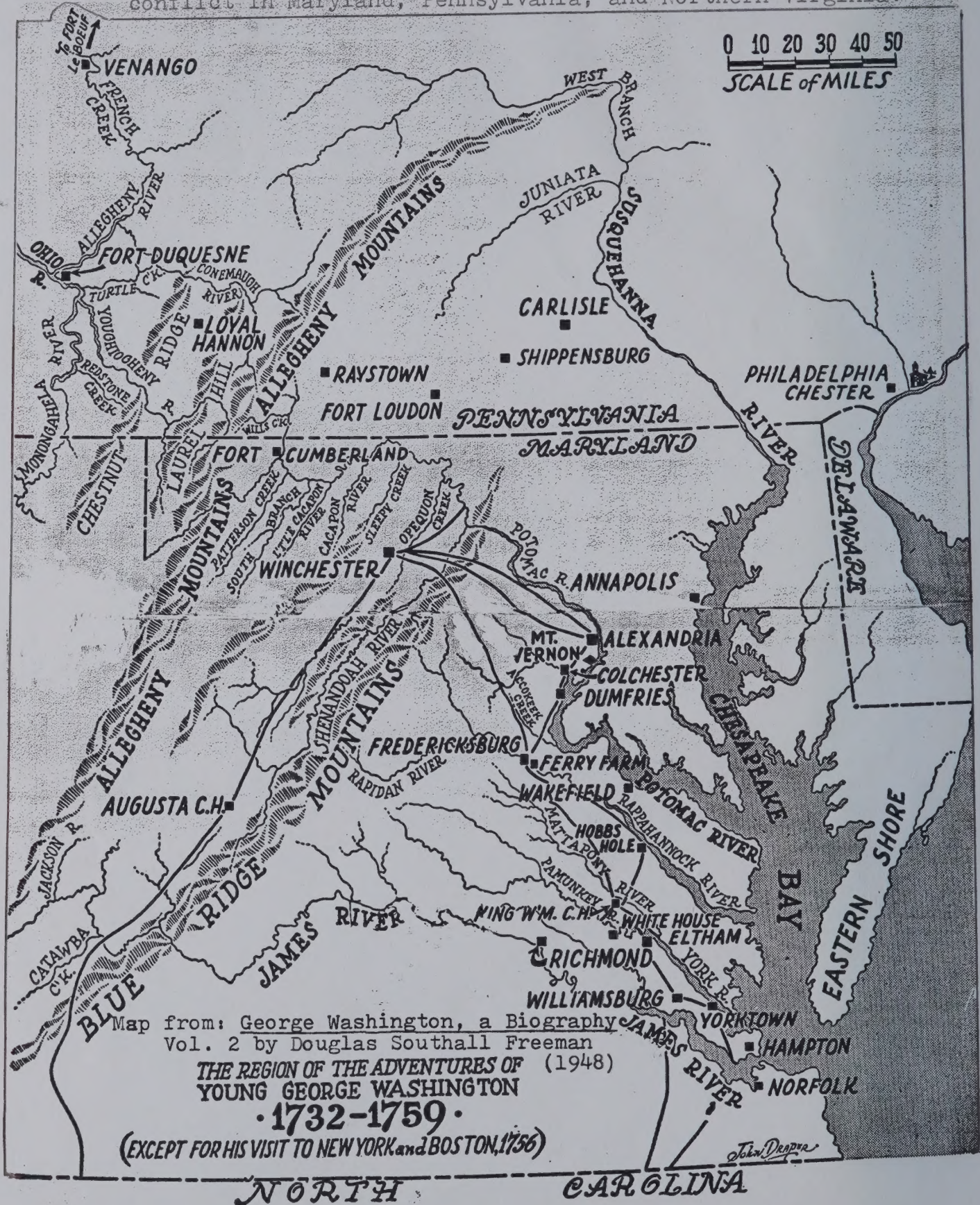
Engr. by A. Bown & Co. N. York.

LOWDERMILK'S HISTORY OF CUMBERLAND.

FORT CUMBERLAND 1755.
From foot of Nobley.

PEARIS FAMILY

This map provides a pretty good overall view of scenes of the conflict in Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Northern Virginia.



"The records from which the roster is compiled consist of 53 muster rolls and an indexed ledger, which is dated 1762. They show service from 9 October 1757, up to which time the troops had been paid in one of the ways mentioned above; but it is probable that some of the men had been with Captain Dagworthy as early as 1754. These records were most carefully kept in order to secure payment for the men in spite of the Assembly's refusal to provide for them and final settlement appears to have been made on 16 March 1763. There are twelve rolls for each of the companies of Captains John Dagworthy, Alexander Beall, Joshua Beall, Francis Ware, and seven for that of Richard Pearis....

"The Maryland troops were present with Captain Dagworthy at Braddock's defeat; they suffered severely at Major Grant's defeat near Fort Duquesne 14 Sep 1758; they lost a number of men during the attack on the advanced post at Loyalhanna 12 Oct 1758; and they were present at the occupation of the Fort 25 Nov 1758. Captain Pearis' company was disbanded 31 May 1758 and the men drafted into the other companies...."

As a matter of fact, General John Forbes put Captain Pearis in charge of his own company of troops November 1758 through April 1759, but the rosters would not reflect that since His Majesty picked up the tab. Richard has been given a bad reputation because of the sensationalism of the few contemporary writings about him which have survived, leaving historians to think the worst. But in digging deeper, one is struck by the amount of jealousy between the colonies and the anger he evoked by going over to a "foreign government," Maryland. Even Washington was biased due to his financial investment in the land speculation company originally sited at the Will's Creek station which became Fort Cumberland and his personal quarrels with Captain John Dagworthy who had refused to obey his commands until after compelled to do so by then Acting General, Massachusetts Governor Shirley. (See Teter Family for more details.)

But is it really any different today? Think of the evening news at the turn of the 21st century and all the sensational stories and speeches as each political party exaggerates, trying to make you despise the other in an effort to get votes. The same thing was true in 1757 as Virginians and others chose to at least appear to believe verbose, vindictive Atkin because he was the "King's Agent." Pearis made himself very unpopular in some quarters by sticking up for those "despicable and uncultured Cherokees" who maintained, as did Chief Wahatchy, that "the great men of Virginia are all liars." A less committed man would have disassociated himself from those Cherokee troublemakers when the going got tough, but that was not in his nature, despite the likelihood that he probably had not been intimately acquainted with Wahatchy and the Swallow, who came there from the Lower Towns over the Smoky Mountains in South Carolina, far from his old Long Island trading house. Still, he felt a moral obligation to keep these Indians satisfied to help out in this white man's war. The irony in all of this was expressed by Governor Sharpe, who believed Wahatchy lied about Richard because of envy due to young Yahtanou's fondness for him.

The Cherokee dilemma in 1757/8 must have been due to cultural clash and misunderstanding on both sides. The group had been urged to go north by South Carolina Governor Lyttleton who, unlike his predecessor, wanted to assist in the war effort as the British ministry requested, but did not feel safe in letting white troops leave. Even that early there were a great many more African slaves in the South Carolina low country than there were white colonists, and all the people there deathly afraid of an insurrection of dissatisfied blacks. That plus French interference in the sparsely-settled upcountry. The few troops at Fort Prince George were badly needed at home.

The crux of Cherokee dissatisfaction has to have been their misunderstanding of the promises made to them in 1756 by Virginia commissioners William Byrd and Peter Randolph, who made extravagant claims of the rewards they would receive if they would come to fight the Shawnees, and in comparing these with lavish gifts of French seeking the same allies. Very few Cherokees could read a written treaty, and as word of the showy proceedings spread from brave to brave, the terms must have been exaggerated and expectations too great. Why else but through misconception would they have expected presents from frontier courthouses along the way like Halifax and Bedford? But they did, and were enraged when nothing was forthcoming. Pearis not having been present at the negotiations, could not explain it to them satisfactorily.

But does it really make sense to believe that Wahatchy and the first groups really came all that way just to get credit at several locations for a few scalps already taken? Or really there under French influence just to make trouble? There were far easier, more lucrative ways to do that, and they knew it. Does it not seem instead that, while ruling Virginians regarded the Cherokees as their servants with a moral obligation to assist them in their white man's war, the Cherokees considered themselves free agents--to fight or not, but to obtain whatever was most to their own advantage, be it French, English, or neutral, and that if indulged even though they did not truly earn it, would have made pretty good allies? Contemporary private comments seem to indicate many thought so but did not interfere. The upshot of all of this, not gone into in this Pearis Family story, but told in detail in the Teter Family story because Richard's son-in-law, Sergeant George Teter fought in it, was an expensive prolonged war against the Cherokees which could have been prevented if Atkin had not been so parsimonious with His Majesty's purse.

Some of the following is review, though most is not, but to tell the story accurately it is needful to establish a timeline, since the histories do not all agree. We will do this by quoting letters written at the time, many printed in Washington Papers, from which we see that Dinwiddie, to appease Col. Clement Reade and others angry at Wahatchy's group; and to obtain financial benefits from the new Indian Agent angry at having been "stood up" without an interpreter, was ready to discharge him as a scapegoat. But our Richard beat him to the punch by having already taken a Maryland commission.

Even Washington wrote to Dinwiddie, "That Capt Pearis has misbehaved I verily believe. He has taken a Commission in the Maryland Forces which I think pretty extraordinary on every account. However, as your Honor has empowered Mr. Atkin to enquire into his misbehavior, I did not interfere or concern myself in any shape with him." But it would have been only natural had Washington had felt a little rebuffed that Pearis had left his command unannounced. At any rate, the number of Virginia captancies had just been reduced to only seven, listed a few pages back, and Richard certainly was not one of them, never yet having been in charge of a fort, so would have been demoted anyway. Andrew Lewis, a major, was not affected. It does appear Richard planned well in the nick of time.

On 5 May 1757, Virginia reluctantly turned possession of Fort Cumberland over to Maryland. On this day Governor Horatio Sharpe wrote Dinwiddie that Capt. John Dagworthy with 150 men of the Maryland forces had taken possession of the provisions and stores turned over to him by Col. Adam Stephen and the departing Virginia forces. "He informs me," Sharpe wrote, "that the Beef left by the Virginia forces is so bad that the Men will not touch it & that he is obliged to victual them entirely with Fish till a fresh Supply of Provisions can be sent him from Fort Frederick. You will be pleased to write to Colo. Washington & to give him orders to remove or destroy the Beef as you shall think proper." Dinwiddie did not get Sharpe's letter until 29 May, and on 1 June wrote that "Adam Stephen assures me that there was no complaints of the Provisions, but a small Cask of Beef that has lost the Pickle..."

At the same time Richard left Winchester with Wahatchy and Yahtanou for Fort Frederick, Maryland, the Swallow and his party (in spite of his sentiments expressed to Captain Mercer) left with Major Lewis to go to Fort Cumberland, and for their interpreter used the service of Richard Smith, the "excellent interpreter" who wrote the letter shown in the previous chapter. He was a brother of Indian trader Abraham Smith, mentioned in Chapter five as the unsuccessful first envoy, disliked by the Cherokees, whom Dinwiddie had sent in 1755 in his initial recruitment efforts.

We have already read of the heroic deeds of the courageous Swallow, who died soon after that near Fort Duquesne, having shot several French as well as taking captives, but was himself shot in battle. Though successful, his grief-stricken braves were overtaken with panic. Washington had written, "Major Lewis cou'd not prevail with the Cherokee Indians to take out with them more than 8 days provisions, the consequence of which he is come in with a part of them. There are yet out two parties; one of which consisting of 20 Indians and 10 soldiers, under Capt. Spotswood, are gone toward Fort du Quesne; the other amounts to 15 Indians and 5 Soldiers, under Lt. Baker, bent their course for Log's-Town." He also refers to Indian stores, that in his absence Adam Stephen gave out 122 Indian

blankets but there were also several pieces of dutch blanketing-- might they have permission to use them after the Indians were supplied? Also about the state of Beef at Fort Cumberland. "I was all along apprehensive that this wou'd be the consequence of Mr. Walker's absence," and that he got no cooperation from Mr. Rutherford who would not act without Walker's orders. (Not to give the story away further along, but this was the noted Dr. Thomas Walker of the Loyal Land Company, now official provisioner of the Virginia army, and later he, Pearis, and Major Andrew Lewis would be in business in a later land company.)

On 13 May 1757 Richard Pearis wrote Col. John Armstrong of the Pennsylvania forces that "on the 1st of this instant I came into this Province (Pennsylvania) with a Party of Cherokees headed by Wahatchy and Yahtanou, in pursuit of some French Indians that had committed some Murders on Potomack, wch Enemies I pursued for several Days, but not having the fortune to come up with that Party, fell in with another Party, as I suppose about 20, out of which we killed 4 and took Two Prisoners, which Prisoners I have here now. I expect tomorrow to march to Fort Frederick, where I expect to meet Governor Sharp, who is to treat with the Cherokees; I wou'd be glad to meet you there."

Armstrong and others from Pennsylvania arrived at Fort Frederick on 17 May, and on 18-19 May held a conference with the two Cherokee leaders, and with the Marylanders sent by Governor Sharpe. Richard Pearis acted as interpreter at the conference. The Cherokees accepted presents from the Marylanders and gave a list of the presents they wished to receive from Gov. William Denny of Pennsylvania. Details of the colorful ceremonies with Sharpe's ambassadors, Wolstenholme and Ridout, were presented in the previous chapter. (This is just a sequential review of events.)

Now we reach a long spell when Richard, not being one of them, is not mentioned by Washington. Governor Sharpe, not a military man, does not, either, but was constantly importuning British commanders and his own Assembly for defense funds. He was much concerned about the soldiers. A little of the gap is filled in with Maryland Gazette items shown here, proving that Richard was in charge of troops by 23 June 1757 or before; and by photocopies of Assembly proceedings photocopied from Maryland Archives regarding funding. Most such were too long and involved (also too boring) to permit inclusion here, but one can learn a lot from them. For instance, that women in armies are no new 20th-century invention--four women were allowed to each company during the French & Indian War, though not as warriors and there were female cooks and female nurses in addition to male orderlies, surgeons, gunsmiths, armorers, and countless other personnel not listed. When one adds waggoners, suppliers, drovers, food provisioners for man and beasts, it quickly becomes apparent that managing an army was complicated indeed. One sympathizes with Lt. Curry, Aide to the Quartermaster-General, some of whose letters are coming up later.

Right -
Scene on
the
Annapolis
Waterfront.



The Maryland Gazette 1727-1767, Karen Mauer Green (1989) Frontier Press,
page of book/date/issue #/text Galveston

195 - Thurs 23 June 1757 #633...A soldier deserted from Lieut. Duncan McRae: Joseph Mchugh, age about 25, was born in the lower part of Prince George County, near Patuxent. Deliver to Capt. Richard Pearis or Lieut. McRae.

196 - Thurs 21 July 1757 #637...Several deserters are reported from the Maryland companies of Capt. Francis Ware and Capt. Richard Pearis: William Jones (about age 30, a carpenter, born in Prince William County, Virginia), John Brightwell (about age 20, born in Prince George's County), William Owen (about age 19, born in Maryland), John M' Cullum (about age 18), Rezin Rickets (Anne Arundel County, about 22) and John Genneter (about age 20, a glazier and painter, born in London, enlisted in Charles County).

205 - Thurs 16 Feb 1758 #667...Capt. Pearis and his company went from Fort Cumberland at the end of January, headed for Fort du Quesne.

227 - Thurs 14 June 1759 #736...Capt. Richard Pearis, of the Pennsylvania Provincials, now recruiting in Annapolis, reports a deserter named Thomas Fowler, born in Wiltshire in England, aged 22 years, by trade a weaver.

The illustration presented shows four items extracted from the early weekly periodical, The Maryland Gazette. The first two news items, on 23 June and 25 July 1757, predate the roster commencing on 9 October 1757, and show that Capt. Pearis and Lt. McRae must have been assigned to their own company early June or before. Both items reported desertions of soldiers, and were likely published with a view to their apprehensions. These are interesting partly because they give us descriptions of probably rather typical Maryland soldiers who made up the Army.

The third news item shows Captain Pearis's Company leaving Fort Cumberland in February 1758 "headed for Fort du Quesne." Probably that was not so exciting as it sounds, as it was about that time that most of General Forbes' large army got a good (but slow) start, and one presumes they mean that this company, like the others, also started on a slow progression towards the ultimate target (though we know that the Captain, himself, due to the keen observances of his Cherokee spies, managed to be first to enter the abandoned but still smoldering fort later on.))

The fourth item in the Gazette, in June 1759, also reports a deserter, a young Marylander from Wiltshire, England, but he must have left the Pennsylvania Provincials, since Maryland had already disbanded its own army, and Captain Pearis was there in Annapolis recruiting for his new Regiment. Some of his Maryland men had previously stuck by him through good times and bad, as we shall soon see in more detail, and he was very good at recruiting, as it appears Lt. McRae had been as well.

(Note: Though it is not a part of the present story, it is an interesting historical fact that the far western section of Maryland--west of Fort Cumberland and Will's Creek--was then claimed by both Maryland and Virginia. Virginia also claimed the adjacent part of Pennsylvania, including the new Fort Pitt--also, of course rightfully claimed by Pennsylvania. The Teter Family story, pages 13-14, tell a little more about that subject.)

The little drawing of the Annapolis waterfront, used as a frontispiece in Mrs. Green's book, contains an amusing little homey touch very typical of that time. Cities like Annapolis, Philadelphia, and many others of that era, kept their streets clean by allowing pigs to roam loose and eat up all the garbage which otherwise have collected. Geese could have served the purpose, but they were messier and likely to peck hard when disturbed. Pigs were better.

Official Maryland Provincial records do not provide the day-to-day details we need to learn about the life of Captain Pearis. Neither do any of the Maryland histories (even county histories) found so far. The following pages from the Maryland Archives though concerned primarily with financing the Army, are somewhat informative about makeup of the troops, etc.

From - Archives of Maryland Vol VIII (37)
op 261-3 Lower House Assembly Proc.
for Nov. 11, 1757

Cr.

By Money raised by the Act for his Majesty's Service in February 1756, and appropriated by that and the Act in September following, to be laid out in Rewards for Indian Scalps and Prisoners,...

£4000 0 0

£4000 0 0

That the Agents aforesaid have, pursuant to the Act of Assembly, entitled, An Act for his Majesty's Service, and the more immediate Defence and security of the Frontier Inhabitants of this Province, passed in September Session 1756, paid unto sundry Persons for Provisions by them furnished to the Detachments of Militia under the Command of Capt. Tobias Stansbury of Baltimore County, and Joshua Beall of Prince-George's County, the Sum of £235 17 8 and as there was no particular Sum of Money appropriated for that Service by the aforesaid Act, it must be charged against any Surplus Money which may remain in the Agents Hands, arising out of the Sums appropriated by that and the Act for his Majesty's Service, &c. passed in February Session 1756.

p. 73

Your Committee beg Leave to acquaint the Honourable House, that the foregoing Accounts are extracted from the Books kept by the Agents, in Compliance with the Directions of the Acts of Assembly passed in February and September Sessions 1756, for his Majesty's Service, and the Defence of the Western Frontier; and the following Accounts and Observations are drawn from an Examination into the Books kept in Pursuance of an Act for his Majesty's Service, &c. made in a Session of Assembly held at Baltimore-Town in April 1757: In the Course of which Examination we find, that the Sum of £10469 17 4 (or so much of that Sum which might then have been in the Hands of the Commissioners or Trustees for Emitting Bills of Credit, &c.) granted and applied by the last mentioned Act to the Raising, Cloathing, Paying, and Subsisting 500 Men, in the Pay of this Province, for his Majesty's Service, and the more immediate Defence of the Western Frontiers thereof, the Agents aforesaid have received from the Commissioners afore namd, by Virtue of sundry Orders drawn by his Excellency the Governor for that Purpose, the Sum of £8350 which has been expended and applied, as will appear from a View of the following Accounts, to wit.

The Public on the Act for his Majesty's Service, &c. passed in the Baltimore Session.

Dr.

To Sundries as follows, viz.†

p. 74

Pay of Pearis's, Ware's, Alexander and Joshua Beall's Companies, to the 8th September 1757...	£2555	15	8
Ditto of Dagworthy's Company to the 8th May, 1757,	149	4	11
Victualling 4 Companies to the 8th September,	1672	5	0
Ditto for Dagworthy's Company from 11th April to 8th July,	299	11	0
Cloathing 5 Companies as above,	1431	12	1
Bounty Money paid for 173 Men,	859	19	0
Hospital Account,	76	15	3
Expresses,	40	3	6
Petty Charges,	22	15	5
Waggon Hire,	5	0	0
To Ballance, viz.†			
Bounty Money in the Hands of Recruiting Officers unaccounted for, ..	£657	3	2
Cash in the Agents Hands unapplied,	579	15	0
	1236	18	2
	£8350	0	0

Cr.

By Cash at sundry Times taken out of the Office for Emitting Bills of Credit, by Orders of the Governor,	£8350	0	0
	£8350	0	0

Your Committee think themselves obliged to observe to the Honourable House, that of the Bounty-Money abovementioned, the Sum of £300 was delivered to Lieutenant Duncan M'Rae for the Recruiting Service, and the Sum of £50 to Ensign Burr Harrison, £100 to Ensign Alexander Somerville, and £30 to Ensign Rezin Beall, for the same Service; for which Sums, by the Terms of the Act for his Majesty's Service, &c. made at Baltimore Session, the Agents ought to have taken Bond with proper Security, conditioned for accounting for said Sums agreeable to the Directions of said Act; but upon Enquiry, we cannot find that Ensigns Burr Harrison, Alexander Somerville, or Rezin Beall, gave any Bond for the Sums aforesaid, or that Lieutenant Duncan M'Rae gave Bond with Security as aforesaid, for any more than £200. In which Instance, we conceive, the Agents have not complied with their Duty, pursuant to the Directions of the Act aforesaid.

From the preceding Account, please to observe, that only £149 4 11 has been applied to the Payment of Captain Dagworthy's Company till the 8th of May last, and the further Sum of £299 11 towards the Subsistence of said Company till the 8th July; since which Time no other Accounts relative to the Support of that Company appear on the Agents Books; and by the Certificates endorsed on the Rolls of that Company, your Committee find, that they were mustered at Fort Cumberland; and think it their Duty to acquaint the House, that from the Appearance the Muster Rolls of the other Companies make, there is great Room to suspect, that many of the Men that composed those Companies, and are certified to be on Detachment and Party, have likewise been stationed at Fort Cumberland; and that this Matter may more clearly appear to the House, your Committee have drawn up Lists from the Muster Rolls of Capt. Alexander and Joshua Beall's, Capt. Pearis's and Ware's Companies, shewing the State and Condition each Individual Person appeared in at the Time of the several Musters made for the Months of June, July, August, and September; from which Lists (herewith delivered in) it will appear, that except in a very few Instances, the same Men that were certified to be on Detachment, Party and Ranging, at their Muster in June, have continued in the same Employment through all the subsequent Musters till the 8th September; nor does it appear to your Committee, from any Papers submitted to their Perusal by the Agents, in what Service they were employed during the Time aforesaid. Your Committee further observe, in the Course of their Examination, that the following Charges have been made and paid by the Agents, which they think not warranted by the Laws; and therefore Report it to the House, that they may judge of the Reasonableness or Expediency of them.

In the Subsistence Account, there are Charges for the Provision found Four Women to each Company, amounting in the Whole to £204 17 3. In the Hospital Account, Wages paid to sundry Nurses to the Amount of £25 12.

In Fort Account, to sundry Women officiating as Cooks, £19 10. To John Linginfelter, Baker, £7 4 for 48 Days Baking Bread at 3 s. p Day.

That by the Hospital Account, it appears, the Sum of £167 17 6 has been allowed and paid the Commissary, being 6 d. p Day for 6715 Days of sick Men, over and above the 9 d. p Day Subsistence-Money allowed them by the Law.

That the Gun-Smith or Armourer, besides his Wages of 2s 6 p Day, has been allowed and paid his Account for mending Soldiers Arms to the Amount of £32 5 2 and for other small Services done for and about the Fort £17 7 9.

In the petty Charges and Expresses Accounts, several sums have been paid to sundry Persons, who have been employed in carrying Money from the Agents to their Managers at the Fort, and other Services, amounting to £29 18 of which Sum £18 15 arises due for

L. H. J.
Liber No. 49
Nov. 11
p. 77

In the Fort Account, there appears a Charge of £110 paid to Capt. John Dagworthy, p Order of his Excellency, to be by said Dagworthy paid to the Soldiers for Extra-work done by them at the Fort, besides doing their Duty as Soldiers: The Vouchers for the Distribution of which Money do not appear to your Committee.

The Honourable House will please to observe from some of the Accounts stated in this Report, that the Agents have drawn out the chief Part, if not the whole Sum, appropriated for a particular Service, before there has been a Call for the same, and charged their full Commission thereon; in which Instances the Agents may receive Commission for barely receiving and repaying Money to the Commissioners.

Your Committee having inspected the several Muster Rolls of the Companies of Soldiers in the Pay of this Province, do find, That there was mustered in Capt. John Dagworthy's Company the 8th Day of May 1757, at Fort Cumberland, the Captain, Two Lieutenants, the Ensign, the Surgeon, Four Serjeants, Four Corporals, the Drummer, and Seventy-two private Men; and in the same Company were mustered at Fort Cumberland aforesaid, p Muster Roll dated the 8th June 1757, the Captain, Two Lieutenants, the Ensign, the Surgeon, Four Serjeants, Three Corporals, the Drummer, Sixty-nine private Men, and one private Man on Furlough. Your Committee also find by the Muster Roll of said Company, dated July 8th, 1757, that it consisted of the Captain, Two Lieutenants, the Ensign, the Surgeon, Four Serjeants, Three Corporals, the Drummer, and Fifty-nine private Men, one private Man on Party, and one on Furlough; and that the said Muster Rolls are signed by the Commissary George Ross. But we must beg Leave to observe, that on the Two last mentioned Rolls, the following Nota Benes are endorsed, viz. On that for June, "N.B. The Agents are requested to observe, that the above Muster Roll was taken the 19th July 1757, (tho' the 8th June 1757 was inserted, that the Pay of the respective Companies might be correspondent); however, if this is thought to be irregular, the Commissary will make the Date exactly conformable to the Time, viz. the 19th July 1757." And on the July Roll as follows, "N.B. The Agents are requested to observe, that the above Muster Roll was

taken the 19th July 1757 (tho' the 8th July 1757 was inserted, that the Pay of the respective Companies might be correspondent); however, if this is thought to be irregular, the Commissary will make the Date exactly conformable to the Time, viz. the 19th July 1757." And on the July Roll as follows, "N.B. The Agents are requested to observe, that the above Muster Roll was taken the 19th July 1757 (tho' the 8th July 1757 was inserted, that the Pay of the respective Companies might be correspondent); however, if this is thought to be irregular, the Commissary will make the Date exactly conformable to the Time, viz. the 19th July 1757." Whence your Committee

apprehend it will appear, that notwithstanding the Muster Rolls are dated the 8th Day of June and July 1757, respectively, yet in Truth the said Company was not mustered in Presence of the Commissary till the 19th Day of July 1757: And that the Rolls aforesaid are not agreeable to the Directions of the Act of Assembly, which requires that the several Companies of Soldiers in the Pay of this Province, "shall be mustered monthly while they remain in this Province." Your Committee further observe, that from the Face of the said Muster Rolls it does not appear that any Part of the said Company went on Detachment, on Party, or Ranging, to the 19th July aforesaid, except one private Man said to be on Party June 14th, 1757.

Your Committee find, that the Muster Rolls of Capt. Alexander and Joshua Beall's, Pearis's and Ware's Companies, are returned with the proper Certificates, endorsed agreeable to an Act of Assembly made at Baltimore Session, entitled, An Act for his Majesty's Service, and the more immediate Defence of the Frontier Inhabitants of this Province. And from an Examination into the said Rolls, the following Scheme is drawn, shewing the State and Destination of each particular Company, and of the Four Companies in general, monthly, to the 8th Day of September last.

But your Committee have not been able, from any Papers which have been laid before them by the Agents, to form any Judgment of what Service the Parties and Detachments, mentioned in the Muster Rolls to be made from the several Companies beforementioned, have been employed in.

L. H. J.
Liber No. 49
Nov. 11

Below: This is getting way ahead of the story, but wars are so costly they often bankrupt governments. Maryland still owed Captain Pearis four hundred pounds, which they paid years later, about the time he left for South Carolina, as shown below, Upper House proceedings.

U. H. J.
Liber No. 36
June 22

That, of the Bills drawn by the late Commissioners, there were then unpaid four Bills amounting to £683, 12, 3, which had not been presented, that all the Bills remitted by the said Commissioners have, since last Session, been received and passed to the Credit of the Province, except One Bill of £250 which was Protested, and which the Commissioners for the Payment of the Public Claims have received, and remitted to the Trustees in London, amounting with Damages to £287, 19, 6.

Your Committee have Examined the State of the Iron Chests and find the Accounts stand as follows Viz.¹

Iron Chests	D.¹
To Balance per Report of the Committee November Session 1766	10, 5, 2
To Cash received of Col.ª Tho.ª Prather for Land Tax	33, 14, ..
To Cash received of G. Scott Sheriff of Prince Geo.ª	16, 10, 4
Co.ª in part of Rob.ª Riddles Bond	35, 5, 10
To Cash received from Littleton Dennis for Nath.ª Whitakers Bond & Costs	£95, 15, 4
Contra	C.¹
By Cash for Stationary £25 St.ª Ja.ª Anderson on Will.ª Anderson	32, 10, ..
By Cash paid the Commrs 5 p Cent Comm.ª on Sundry Debts Collected by them	23, 9, 6
By Cash paid for two Bills of Exchange £30 St.ª Remitted to the Trustees	39, 15, 10
	£95, 15, 4

Your Committee further Report, that the amount of the Journal, and List of Debts, as they passed last Session was 5623499½ Pounds of Tobacco, and £19,840, 1, 24, That the Commissioners have discovered Sundry Errors therein, by wrong Additions, which we have

carefully examined, and find the true Debt against the Province on the Journal and List of Debts to be 5841083½ Pounds of Tobacco, and £19998, 0, 0½ which amounts to 150,679 Dollars, and two fifths of a Dollar

p. 407 Your Committee have spent some time in Examining the Accounts, and Proceedings of the Commissioners, and find that they have paid to Sundry Claimants Bills of Credit, to the amount of 145,808 Dollars, the Accounts of which we have Examined up to the 5th March 1767, when the sum of 98511 Dollars and One half Dollar and two Ninths of a Dollar was paid away, and proper Vouchers and Receipts appear therefor, and the Books appear to Your Committee, as far they have Examined them, to be fairly and regularly kept, but the Number of the Payments have rendered it impossible for Your Committee to go through the whole Examination, this Session

Your Committee also find, that the Commissioners have paid away to the Printer, the Treasurer and for their and their Clerks Salaries agreeable to the Act of Assembly, and other Office Expences 3330 Dollars, and ¾ of a Dollar

	Dollars
Your Committee have received from the Commissioners	
Bills of Credit to the amount of 24601 Dollars, and ¼ of a Dollar, out of which they have paid to Sundry Claimants for Allowances on the Journal and List of Debts	2146½
To Amos Ogden for the Use of the Nanticoke Indians as directed by Act of Assembly this Session	666½
To Ann Catharine Green as directed by Act this Session	948½
To His Excellency the Governor as directed by Ordinance of both Houses of Assembly this Session	123½
To Cap.ª Richard Pearis by Ditto	400
To John Duckett by Ditto	124½
There is still due to Sundry Claimants on the Journal and List of Debts	2707½
And there remains in the Iron Chest unapplied	17466½
	Dollars 24601½

U. H. J.
Liber No. 36
June 22

But the Virginians would not let bygones be bygones. As we saw in last chapter, Acting Virginia Governor Blair had in 1758 been holding hearings about the outrages committed in the Halifax and Bedford backcountry and growing angrier by the minute. Someone must pay, and somehow Richard was implicated because he had served as an interpreter for the Cherokees when he caught up to them, and the jealous Wahatchy had intimated untruthfully that Richard pretended to be an Indian agent (just the kind of thing to set the equally jealous Atkin off). Governor Sharpe realized the truth of the matter, but relations with Virginia were already strained enough and he did not want an intercolonial incident to add to his troubles.

Richard did not lose his Captaincy, but the men under him were divided out among the other four regiments, the fifth was disbanded. General Forbes had plenty of other uses for a captain who was also a good interpreter.

Letter of Governor Sharpe to Mr. Blair, President of the Virginia Council
Sir:

14 May 1758

Colo. Braxton having intimated to me that he is just about to return to Virg^a I embrace the Opportunity to acknowledge the Receipt of the two Letters you were pleased to favour me with the 24th & 25th of March last as well as of that which the Colo presented to me.

Our Assembly broke up yesterday without granting any Supplies for the Support of a Number of Troops to act in Conjunction with those under the immediate Command of Brigadier Forbes or even for the Protection of our Frontier Inhabitants while the Expedition is depending. We have at this time upwards of 300 Men in Garrison at Fort Cumberland & Fort Frederick who have served ever since the 8th of Octob^r last without Pay in Expectation that the Assembly would have now granted a Sum of Money to discharge the Arrears that might be due & to keep them up at least untill the End of the Campaign. As I presume the General would be very unwilling to see those Men who have now served a considerable time disbanded just as he is about to march I shall encourage them to keep together till he & I meet on the Frontiers, unless I find on my Arrival at Fort Frederick where I hope to be the 22^d or 23^d Inst that your Regiments are not likely to be compleated in that Case I shall write to the Commanding Officer at Winchester & make him an offer of such of our Soldiers as are enlisted generally for His Majesty's Service, upon his paying them & the Persons to whom they

may be endebted whatever their Arrears of Pay at that time shall amount to, which will not I suppose be so much as the Bounty Money that you allow for Recruits.

I had received a Copy of the Charge ag^t Capt Pearis before I was favoured with your Lett^r which as I had repeatedly given him peremptory Instructions to concern himself on no account with the Cherokees farther than to interpret between them & the Commanding Officer at Fort Cumberland did not a little surprize me, but the Report of a Court of Enquiry which has been appointed to enquire into the Affair together with M^r Smith's opinion that little Credit ought to be given to the Indian's Information inclines me to think that Capt Pearis has not acted such a Part as he is represented to have done by the Minutes you were pleased to send me, however to remove all occasion for such kind of Complaints for the future I was determined in case our Troops had been still kept up to superseed him & to leave it to the General to do with him afterwards as he should think fit.

I am obliged to you for your Answer to the Request I was importuned by Colonel Cresap to make & will take the Liberty to communicate it to him.

Other letters of Governor Sharpe (Volume 9, Maryland Archives) include the following:

Governor Sharpe to Sir John St. Clair

Sir

Frederick Town, 1 June 1758

As soon as the Waggon's that are gone to Annapolis return hither I shall send some of them to Winchester with 400 of the Musketts & you may expect them there next Sunday or Monday. In the Letter which you sent me from General Forbes & which was dated the 25th of May is the following Paragraph "I am greatly at a Loss & much distressed how to act with regard to the 300 men that you had at Fort Cumberland & Frederick in the Province Pay. As you have said nothing about them I hope they continue as they were untill I have the Pleasure of seeing you ; At the same time I should be well pleased that they could be all got together at Fort Cumberland as by that means Part of Col^o Washington's Virginia Regiment might march to Fort Frederick in order to join the other Troops at Ray's Town, but as you will see S^r John S^r Clair I think those Things may be easily settled for the best. Since I left Winchester I have given orders for reducing the Company that was commanded by Capt Pearis & distributing the Men that composed it into the other four which will make them I apprehend about 90 men a Company

including Officers; 122 of these are at Fort Frederick & the mouth of Conegochiegh, by a Return which I received yesterday from the Commanding Officer at that Fort I find that 60 of those had the Small Pox many years ago & that 25 of the 60 have been these five Days at Conegochiegh under the Command of Capt Ioshua Beall that in Case you should think proper to send a Party to Fort Cumberland there might not be the least Danger of their carrying any Infection. Capt. A. Beall assures me that none of the men under his Command except two are suffered to go to the House where those that had the Small Pox were & he seems very sanguine in his hopes that he shall be able to hinder the Distemper from Spreading.

Governor Horatio Sharpe to Sir John St. Clair
Sir

Fort Frederick 14 June 1758

This Day I send off the Camp Kettles &c. for Winchester & Mr Shelby setts off to Morrow in order to reconnoitre & blaze the Road from Fort Frederick to Fort Cumberland. Inclosed you have the account of 70 Blanketts sent by my order to Winchester which were delivered to Colo Byrd the 9th of this Inst. With the great Pains that Capt Bosomworth & Capt Pearis have taken 9 Indians out of 14 have been prevailed on to march to Fort Loudoun & continue the Campaign. There are about 20 Indians at Fort Cumberland which I am apprehensive may be for returning back to their own Country unless prevented. I have therefore with the Advice of Capt Bosomworth ordered Capt Pearis to that Fort who is in case they are for returning home to use his best Endeavours to carry them to Fort Loudoun, as this is interfering with Indian Affairs am doubtful how it may be taken a Line of Advice with regard to this matter will much oblige
Sir &c

Governor Horatio Sharpe to (Maryland) Captain Alexander Beall
Sir

6 July 1758

This is to inform you that if you have not already, you may soon expect to receive orders from Colo Stanwix to send a Detachment of two Sergeants two Corporals & fifty-six private Men from each of the New Companies to reinforce the Garrison of Fort Cumberland. If Colo Stanwix should not particularly specify what Officers he would have march with these Detachments, You will order Capt. Pearis, Lieut Mathews, Lieut Hanson & Ensign Beall on that Service

Abraham Bosomworth to Col. Washington from Camp at Rays Town
11 July 1758 Dear Sir: I recd your favor of the 6th and communicated the Contents to Colonel Bouquet. I acquainted you in my last of a Party of 24 Indians being gone off to Fort DuQuesne, when they come near the Place they will divide into two or three small Parties by which means we shall have the greater Chance of

"getting a Prisoner. I expect them back in 14 days when I hope to send you good news; I really believe the French are but weak & that there are few Indians at Du Quesne tho' Moskingo is so far distant that there's little Dependence upon the Intelligence we receive from that Quarter. I hear Paris has Carried the Indians who took the Scalp in all 17 down to Fort Loudoun & is now on the road to this place. Majr Lewis arrived here last night. Colo. Bouquet is mightily pleased with their Dress."

Letter of Colonel Henry Bouquet to General John Forbes, 13 July 1758 from Camp near Raystown. "Sir: Captain Paris, after bringing his sixteen Cherokees, is going to Fort Frederic to receive his company's pay. From there he is to go to Fort Cumberland, according to your orders.

I believe that he would be very suitable to take the Little Carpenter from Winchester to Raystown, but as he is not in favor with the Virginians, and as I do not know what orders you may have given on this subject, I advised him to ask you for your wishes regarding this commission. He says that it is not more than forty miles from Fort Frederic to Raystown by a path through the woods which would be the best route for these Cherokees.

I have the honor to be, Sir, Your most humble and most obedient servant

Colonel Bouquet was in a bad mood two days later, much too much to take care of. Maybe he had a headache as well.

Section of letter of 15 July 1758, same parties

"There are 18 ovens built, charcoal has been made, and I am making a storehouse for hay. The 16 Indians whom Captain Paris had brought, left us yesterday like rascals, after having solemnly promised to take part in the campaign. Perhaps I wrong their leader, but I think he rather thought to put himself forward by bringing them under the lure of getting presents for their past services, instead of seeking to make them render new services. He is not a trustworthy man, in spite of the recommendations that may be given to you at Carlisle. (He left the day before yesterday to go to Cumberland with Bosomworth.)

Gist's Catawbas and Cherokees exist only in his imagination, and are reduced to 28 Tuscaroras and Nantaways, better fitted to carry off our presents than to fight. We must no longer count on any but ourselves. Yesterday I received 28 letters; I am replying to what concerns the service directly, and I hope that Major Grant and the brigade major will excuse me for today...."

(You will recall that when Indian Agent Atkin left to go back to Charleston overland, Christopher Gist had been appointed to act in his behalf. The following letter from him to Washington, though it refers to Robert Pearis, not Richard, sheds a little light on Bouquet's comments.)

Christopher Gist to Col. George Washington, 20 July 1758 Winchester
"Sir, here with you have the agreeable News of taking all the Out works at Lewisburg your Papers will come by the Command & as the Carolina Soldiers had no Arms I Sent Capt Tom with 25 Indians as far as South branch who is to come back to this town from ther; as no doubt you will Send a Guard to South Branch, to take Care of these 50 Waggon's with Stores & Provisions & as your waggon's will come again the Same Indians will come then with Me. I have advices from the Cherokee Country that the Indians will not come until the heat is a little over. I sent Smith away the 14th the express Met him in augusta. I order'd Mr. Cromwell with him who will Delay no time, they cannot be here in less then forty days from this day, I blieve it is a good thing Smith is gone there as he will Set every thing right.

"I have a Letter from Mr. Turner to General Forbes, which I am going with My Self. he is at Carlyle, the waggon's is at Parises the Bearer will Set Out at 10 o'Clock hope you will See him tomorrow let him come with the next command or Sooner excuse hast...." *

(Footnotes say the original plan was for the detachment of NC provincials at Winchester to conduct Thomas Walker's second convoy of wagons up to Ft. Cumberland but evidently the Tuscarora leader Captain Tom and his little band of Tuscarora and Nottoway had to help escort both the unarmed Carolinians and the wagon train as far as South Branch.

The express, or messenger, who met Richard Smith the interpreter probably was the man who brought Turner's letters reporting that no more Cherokees would come until fall. Whether or not due to Smith's mission or to Gist's son-in-law William Cromwell, the fact is that Little Carpenter and a small party of Cherokee did come to Winchester in October.

Commenting on an earlier report from Gist that Little Carpenter and his men had already arrived in Augusta County, see Bouquet's letter of 15 July. Abraham Bosomworth wrote Bouquet the 14th that he had found that there "are no Catawbas at Winchester nor any accounts of the Little Carpenter, Mr. Gist being too mature (as he generally is) in his intelligence." William Byrd had left George Turner in the Cherokee country in early May with instructions to conduct Little Carpenter and his party to Winchester; but in a detailed report to Forbes wrote, "to the Very Day that I was to have set off, I had no Reason to Doubt my Success, when they trump'd up a Story of their Conjurers foretelling them a great deal of Sickness and Death that would attend them in case they Went & they positively refus'd to go till the Fall."

*Gist was referring to Robert Pearis's house a short distance north and west of Winchester. He was during that period a captain in the Frederick Co. militia. Robert's role as a provisioner of troops is more fully discussed in Chapter 4.)

Evidently by 18 August 1758 Cherokee scouts are cooperating and Bouquet is no longer angry at Captain Pearis. He writes, "The Catawbases have not yet arrived at Cumberland. We are in need of two essential articles, vermilion and blankets. There isn't a single one in camp, and the nights begin to be cold...Captain Paris is also in the field with a dozen volunteers; we have several other parties out, which will not be long returning."

Captain Pearis and his Indians have been out scouting toward Fort Duquesne when Captain James Burd writes to Bouquet from "Camp at Quemahony 28 August 1758 8 a.M...Captn Paris is just arrived here who informs me that he had been in sight of Fort Duquesne but found it impracticable to take a Prisoner & that Major Armstrong is on his return. Neither of these parties has brought any further intelligence than that they saw the Fort & the Sixty Tents, the troops they Judge to be but a small Number, they say they heard a great deal of Noise over the River Ohio which seem'd to be falling of Trees, perhaps the Body of the French may be on the side of The River Fortifying there. We are very much in want of Bullocks if some could be forward soon..."

The company calendar shows that various companies arrived from Raystown to Loyalhanna at varying dates. Major Grant marched prematurely from Loyalhanna with a large detachment to reconnoiter at Fort Duquesne on September 9th and was defeated by the 14th, losing many men. Captain Pearis is not mentioned any more that year by the Bouquet Papers, probably because not directly under his command.

On 5 October 1758, Col. Washington wrote, "I have this instant received letters from Captain Waggener and McKenzie, by express. The first writes that two men were killed, captured about 2 miles from his fort. The other says that a Cherokee party, just as they were setting out to go to Capt. Waggener's, heard that Pearis was at Fort Cumberland and marched to him. The same letter has the interesting information that the monthly returns for that previous July and August had shown their strength to be 32 commissioned officers, 48 noncommissioned, and 703 rank and file* whereof 20 officers, 30 noncommissioned, and 464 rank and file were employed in the still-perilous Virginia Counties of Hampshire and Frederick. "But there are always 6 women to a company, who draw provisions." He also says that Governor Sharpe received information that two French deserters had come into Fort Cumberland about a month ago and said there were no more than 400 Men in the garrison at Fort Duquesne.

It seems that the party of Cherokees who marched to Fort Cumberland to see Captain Pearis did not hang around long, and had not been very welcome there by some of the other companies. Gov. Sharpe wrote to Col. John Stanwix, "Since I received Capt. Dagworthy's letter, I have been informed that the Cherokees who were then at Fort Cumberland are returned home...This has relieved Capt. Dagworthy from the Anxiety that he seemed to be in upon account of those Indians & he

*Compare 703 rank and file during wartime to the number of troops from any state nowadays, but total population was then small.

will not I presume be visited by any more of them while he remains at Fort Cumberland." And to think of all the trouble the Virginians went to to lure these Indians, only to have people like Dagworthy, who had an abhorrence of all Indians, treat them so coldly that they returned home. They would have fought for Waggener had they not got themselves sidetracked by their admiration for Pearis.

The last time he is mentioned in Washington Papers is in an order book entry of 10 November 1758, written at Camp Loyalhanna, not over 50 miles east of Fort Duquesne as the crow flies, but with Chestnut Ridge mountains in between, where companies from all over the South were assembled. His entry included, "It is General Forbes' orders th~~a~~t the following Officers of the Maryland Companies take rank and Command amongst the Troops in the following manner. Mr. Richd Parris as Capt; Lieut, Ens. James Gorrell; Lt., Ens. Bell (he meant Rezin Beall); Mr. Phillip Love as Ens.; and Mr. Barton Lucas as Ens." Obviously, General Forbes was giving Richard Pearis a new company, with subordinate promoted commissioned officers.

Again we come to a time in which much happened, most of it the most exciting of all, for which not enough data has been found, but there must be a lot of literature which has eluded me so far, for many books state th~~a~~t Captain Richard Pearis and his southern Indians, acting as spies, observed smoke billowing out of Fort Duquesne in late November 1758 and, in drawing closer, observed hurrying Frenchmen evacuating the place to go toward New York to fight against the forces of General Jeffrey Amherst and Sir William Johnson, et al, on the Niagara frontier, considered by them to be more crucial, and that there were not enough of them to fight in both places.

The Maryland men encountered a 12-year-old Virginia lad, captured when he was ten, who made his escape during the commotion and he confirmed their suspicions. In their haste to torch the fort and what supplies they could not carry with them, the French were not entirely thorough. Richard and his Cherokees rushed in to attempt to douse fires and save whatever they could, especially the Indian stores they so prized, and the artillery.

All of this happened just in the nick of time to change the mind of General Forbes, who had very nearly resolved to go into winter quarters because of the lateness of the season and the shortness of supplies due to the long distance and poor roads from civilization, and troops suffering from exposure. Had he done so a golden opportunity might have been lost or at least the war prolonged. Though the English would probably have prevailed anyway, it would have been at a high extra cost of human suffering, not to mention His Majesty's purse.

The accounts say Richard was commended by General Forbes, thanked by Lord Eglinton, and later made an Indian agent. When details are found, they will be inserted. (Col. Archibald Montgomery, 11th Earl of Eglinton, raised the 77th Regiment, or First Highland (Scottish) Battalion and was commissioned Lt. Col. Commandant 4 January 1757. His troops, often at the front, fought bravely. Some of them died as a result of Major Grant's defeat in September 1758.)

The best confirmation to date is found in the following letter of
Governor Sharpe to Lord Baltimore
My Lord

14 December 1758

It is with great pleasure I inform Your Ldp that L^t Col^o Dagworthy is just arrived here from the Army commanded by General Forbes & brings us the agreeable Account of His Excellencys having on the 25th of last Month taken Possession of Fort Du Quesne which the Enemy had abandoned two Days before. A Virginia Lad who made his Escape from them as they were going off says that about Half the Garrison (which consisted of 500 men commanded by Mons^r Desligneris) went down the Ohio in Battoes carrying the Artillery & all their Stores with them & that the Rest having first set fire to all the Houses in & without the Fort marched towards Venango which is about 60 Miles to the Northwd of Fort Du Quesne & where they have a small Stoccado Fort. They had it seems been some time in great Want of Provisions, (which was probably owing to the Loss they suffered last Summer at Frontenac) their Indians had all left them, they perceived that General Forbes was approaching with upwards of 3000 Men who were within two Days March of the Fort when they abandoned it & happily for us the Weather continued extreemly favourable.

The first Intelligence the General received of the Enemys being gone off was from some Friendly Indians who had been on a Scout & returned to his Camp on the Evening of the 24th. Orders were immediately issued for L^t. Col^o Dagworthy to march next Morning at Break of Day with a hundred Men to reconnoitre & if the Indian's Intelligence was true to take Possession of the Fort. He had scarcely left the Camp when he met Capt Pearis one of our Officers who had been sent out the Night before with a small Party to make Discoveries & by him he was assured of the Truth of what the Indians had before told the General.* The inclosed Plan or Draft which Colo Dagworthy has at my Desire sketch't out from his Memory will shew Your Ldp what Works the French had made & in what Condition they left them. & the other inclosed Paper will inform Your Ldp now the General has disposed of the Provincial Troops that served on this Expedition. Besides the 200 Provincials who are destined to garrison Fort Du Quesne this winter Col^o Dagworthy left most of the Highlanders & Royal Americans there but he supposes that they are by this time coming in with the General (who was in a very ill State of Health) & that all the Regulars will be sent

*Dagworthy, as chief of Maryland troops, took credit for Captain Pearis's actions, he being a subordinate.

down among the Inhabitants for Winter Quarters. As soon almost as our Troops arrived at Fort Du Quesne four or five Indians appeared on the other Side of the Ohio & desired to be fetched over & introduced to the General which they were the next Day on the 27th they were dismissed with an Answer to the Message they had brought from their respective Towns & Mr Croghan the Deputy Agent for Indian Affairs with an Interpreter was ordered to accompany them, Col^o Dagworthy does not know what passed between the General & those Indians but he says it was expected that all the Indians on the Ohio will immediately come in & sue for Peace. In my Letter of the 8th Inst I told Your Ldp there was a Report that the French had only retired to another Fort which they had built about 20 miles lower down the Ohio but I learn from Col^o Dagworthy that there is no such Fort & that those of the Enemy that fell down the River were seen more than 30 Miles below Fort Du Quesne by the four Indians abovementioned. Your Ldp will perceive by the Orders which the General gave out the 29th of Novem^r that he has sent a hundred of the Maryland Soldiers to Garrison Fort Cumberland expecting I presume that our Assembly will at least agree to support that Number. but if he has proceeded on this Supposition I am much afraid he will be disappointed & that Fort Cumberland will be soon evacuated, for the Gentlemen of the Lower House are still determined to adhere to their Assesment Bill, which I am told will be now offered to the Upper House in two or three Days. The General having thought fit to leave it to me to dispose of the Rest of the Maryland Forces I have ordered them to repair to this Place where they will be ready to be disbanded if no Supplies are granted or to receive their Arrears of Pay & be cloathed if the Assembly shall be prevailed on to raise Money at this time for that purpose.

What I consider to be the best post-victory letter of General John Forbes follows. It gives fewer details, but it took the poor man four days to write, as he was then seized of what proved to be his fatal illness. He was impressed with the richness of the stretch of fine land he had just conquered for the country.

Forbes to Abercromby and Amherst

Sir: Fort Duquesne now Pittsburg 26 November 1758

I have the pleasure of acquainting you with signall success of His Majesties Arms over all His Enemies on the Ohio, by having obliged them to burn, and abandon their Fort Duquesne, which they effectuated upon the 24th Ins^t; and of which I took possession with my light troops the same Evening, and with my little Army the next day—The Enemy having made their escape down the River, part in Boats, and part by land

to their Forts and Settlements upon the Mississippi, being abandoned, or at least not seconded by their friends the Indians, whom we had previously engaged to act a neutrall part, after thoroughly convincing them in severall skirmishes, that all their attempts upon our advanced posts, in order to cut of our Communication, were vain, and to no purpose, so they now seem all willing, and well disposed to Embrace His Majesties most Gracious protection.

Give me leave therefore to congratulate you upon this important Event, of having expelled the French from Fort Duquesne, and this prodigious tract of fine rich Country, and of having in a Manner reconciled the various tribes, and Nations of Indians inhabiting it, to His Majesties Government.

You may remember S^r that I applyed to for your orders,¹³ and instructions, how I was to behave myself in case I was so fortunate as to bring this affair to a happy crissis, acquainting you at the same time, that I had wrote to the different Governours concerned, beging of them their advice, and councill, but never had an answer to any of my repeated applications from any one person being left entirely to act upon my own weak foundation, I must now therefore beg, that as soon as possible, I may have your direction with regard to what strength I am to leave here for the protection of the Country, and for whom I must build a Blockhouse to cover them from the severity of the Season.

The Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina troops, may all disband tomorrow, as their provinces will pay them no longer, however I have used the freedom to detain 250 of them here, which indeed is more than I think I can possibly mantain during the Winter, considering 400 miles of land carriage thrô an immense Wilderness, and the worst roads in the world.

30 November

So far I had wrote you the 26th, but being seized with an inflammation in my stomach, Midriff and Liver, the sharpest and most severe of all distempers, I could proceed no farther, and as I have a thousand things to say, have ordered Major Halkett down the Country in order to explain the motives upon which I proceeded, and the various, and almost insurmountable difficulties I had to grapple with.

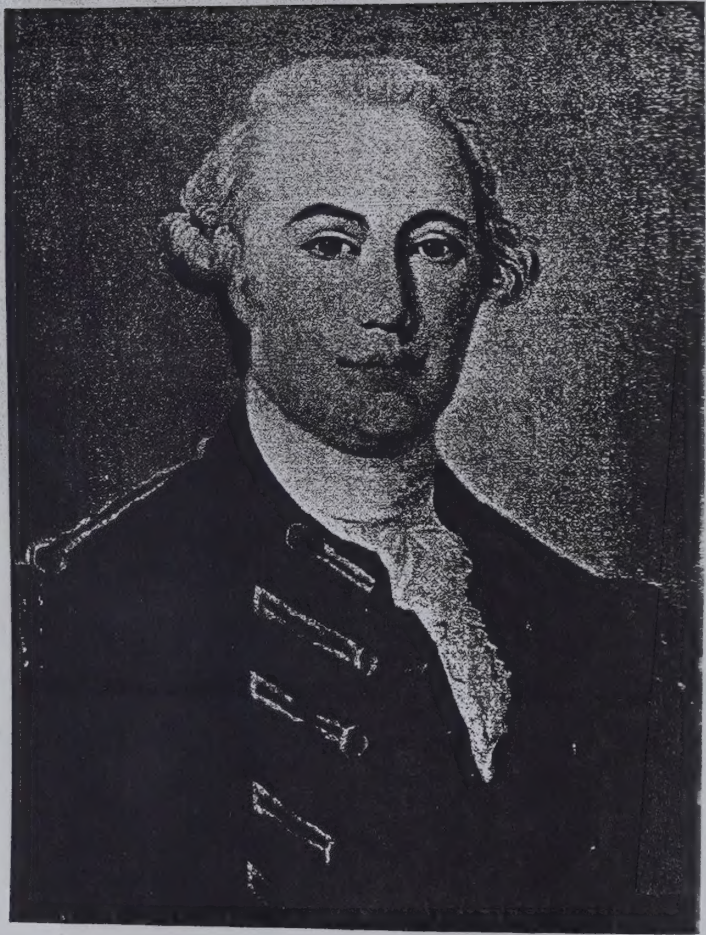
I have ordered him to proceed directly for England, which I hope you will approve off, and forthwith order a Packett to sail with him, as I cannot put pen to paper myself, and as he is the only person with me, in whom I could place the smallest confidence, or from whom I have met with the smallest assistance, Col^o. Bouquet alone excepted.

I shall leave this as soon as I am able to stand, but God knows when, or if I ever reach Philadelphia.

Portrait of Brigadier General John Forbes, presented to Royal Greys Regiment by a collateral descendant.

This letter is from Writings of General John Forbes compiled for Col Dames of America, by Alfred Proctor James (1938) pages 262-3

This portrait was opposite the title page.



I expect the heads of all the Indians in here tomorrow,¹⁴ when I hope very soon to finish with them what I have laboured hard at these 6 months, and which tho in the end has turned out as I foresaw it would, yet I had so many different Interests to reconcile, that I almost despaired of Success.

Our men had neither Tents, cloaths, shoes, or stockings, and provisions only from day to day, so you may believe it is high time for me to Seperate. I am Dr. S^r

With great regard and esteem

Y^r. Most obedt.

Most humble Serv^t.

Jo: fforbes

The book quoted is very interesting, but has no direct references to Captain Richard Pearis, though he certainly knew him and personally directed some of his duties. Another book written for the same group, by Irene Stewart, Letters of General John Forbes etc., pp 71-2 has a nice tale about the captured boy, Grant's defeat, etc., but is beyond the scope of this present story.

CHAPTER NINE — RICHARD HOLDS THE FORT

As explained in Governor Sharpe's letter, the French floated much heavy artillery, etc. (which could not be carried upstream on the Allegheny and French Creek and portaged to the fort on Lake Erie very easily) down the Ohio and then, presumably, down the Mississippi to New Orleans. Their ally Indians, being no fools, deserted them and sued for peace (though years later those same Indians, angered by white western expansion, rose up again and Colonel Bouquet and Major Lewis and others had to fight them all over again). That entailed another long, hard-fought war, but is not part of our story. After the French were gone, tortured remains of many colonists and troops were found, including soldiers from the Scottish Highlands. Before they left they also slew their prisoners rather than attempt to take them along. The 12-year old lad who escaped was lucky. These revolting facts are notable partly because wide-spread French propaganda had been that they were humanitarians whereas English colonists were crudely cruel.

General Forbes was very perceptive when he claimed to have won "a very fine country" for the Pennsylvanians. It was important to hang on to it, but at that point the soldiers barely had clothing or food. Despite the fact that their colonies would no longer support them, he ordered at least 250 troops to maintain the place. Richard Pearis and his company, composed of Maryland soldiers were ordered to maintain Fort Cumberland; he so informed Governor Sharpe, whose province had been unwilling to support their troops even in wartime. By 30 December the General was in Philadelphia on his sick bed, when the Governor sent him a plaintive letter asking for funding and suggesting many of the soldiers be furloughed for a while. After Forbes died he importuned his successor, and also General Amherst. The Maryland Captains knew there was a problem, but trusted him to find some solution. Richard Pearis did. So when you read the contents of some of his letters, you will understand this better.

Captain Richard Pearis to General John Forbes

Sir

Fort Cumberland 9 January 1759

I think it is my Duty to let you know that I never had the Complement of Men at this Fort agreeable to your Orders. the most I could get here was Ninety Rank and File, and out of them you'll see by the Return how Many is Deserted since my last. Notwithstanding all I can do with them and have Done, without Money verry soon to Pay them I don't expect there will be in a Short time any Body to Garrison this Fort but Officers, we have given them Shoes and other things but all wont do.

Sir I just beg leave to Mention Altho it was your Pleasure to Order me to this Post so that I cant have the Honour of Waiting on you without its your Pleasure. Altho' Absent have grate reason to think that you'll not forget my Past service in the late Campaign and if you are Pleas'd to think me worthy of your Favour am in hopes you'll Recommend or Reward me Accordingly.

I am Sir your most Obedient Humble Servant

Rich^d Pearis

[illegible]

Right- Portrait of Henry Bouquet

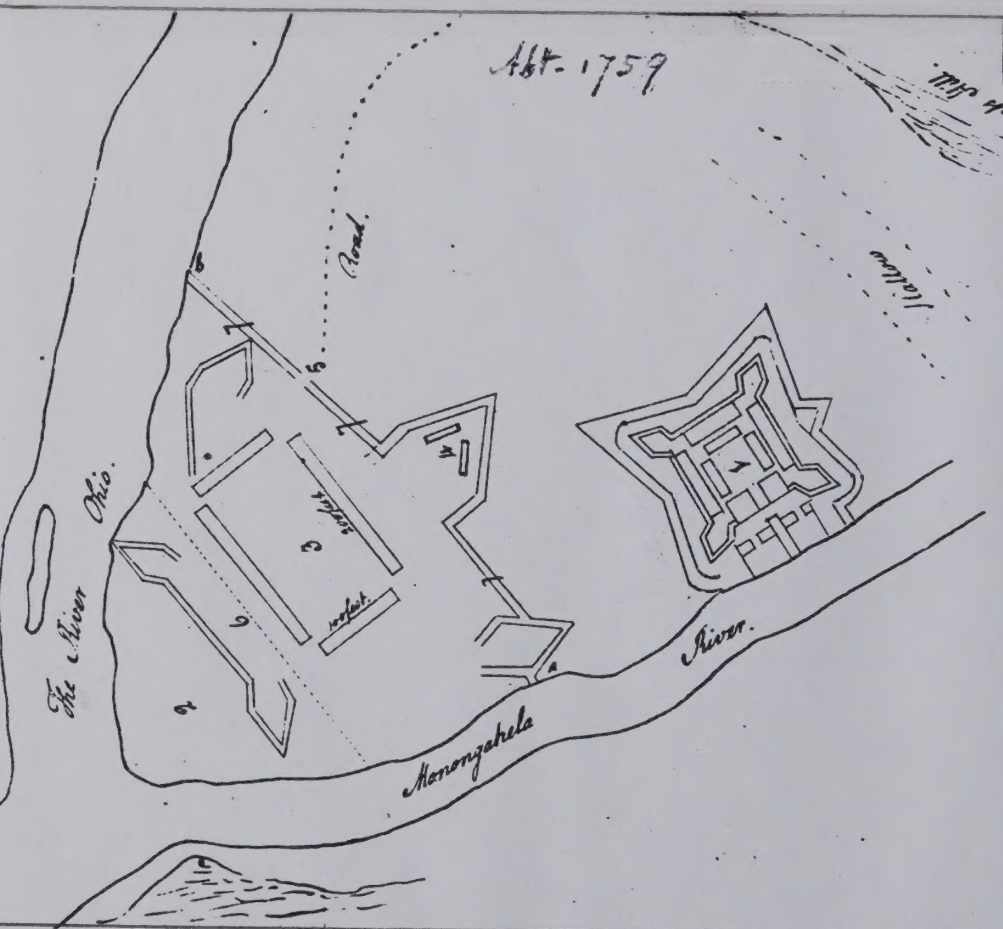
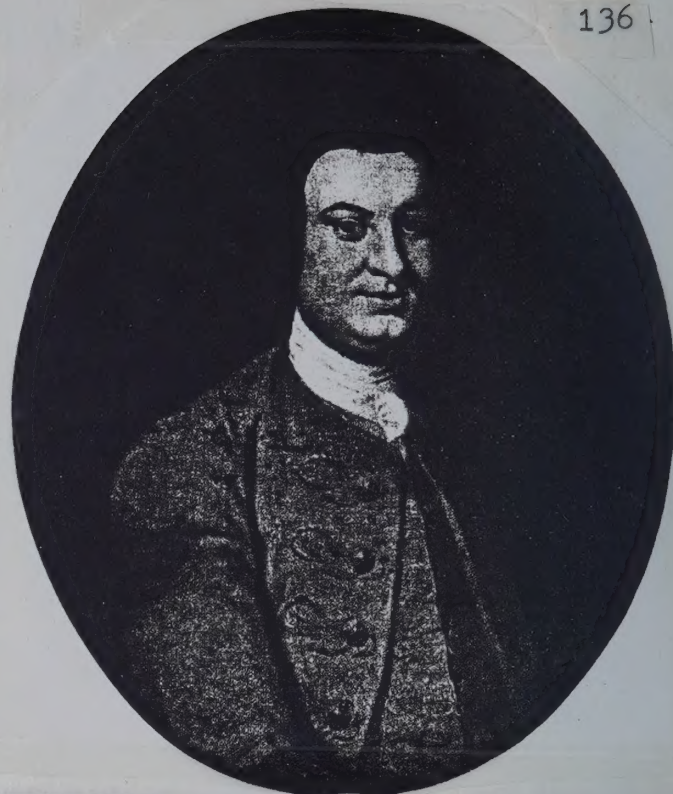
Below - Sketch of Mercer's Fort & ruins of Fort Duquesne

Most but not all of the correspondence in this chapter is taken from

The Papers of Henry Bouquet

Editors- S. K. Stevens, Donald H. Kent and others particularly Volumes II & III

(Bouquet, a professional soldier, Swiss-born, did not speak English, or at least did not write it, but French, so his letters here are all translations.)



A.B. about 450 Yds from River to River where the ditch is over from a to b

- 1 Biting by General Forbes.
- 2 Ruins of Fort Duquesne
- 3 Barnacks
- 4 Magazines
- 5 The Gate
- 6 Holkado's fort this Winter.

The two bastions at the Junction of the Rivers not to be made this Season.

It is 400 Yards right over the Monongahela at the Fort and 350 Yds from the Fort to the point in the Ohio.

7 Ditch 40 feet wide and abt. 12 feet deep.

The whole Rampart and Parapet is of Earth and proposed to be faced with brick next Summer.

SKETCH OF MERCER'S FORT AND RUINS OF FORT DUQUESNE

Hand-drawn drawing ordered "A Rough Sketch of the Fort building at Pittsburgh, with a Plan of the Fort erected there by General Forbes"

As we have already observed through documents, life in the 18th century was quite different from life in the 21st century in many ways. Those who have read books about that period, such as "Last of the Mohicans," description of the New York wilderness Fort William Henry during this same war have been amazed to learn that, during those terrifying conditions, wives and children of many soldiers, especially officers, lived with them in the forts. So it was with our family! Records do not state when Rhoda and the children came to stay with him in Fort Cumberland, perhaps because the situation was so common as to be taken for granted. When he came north he certainly would not have left them unprotected in the Cherokee towns. Southwest Virginia and even Winchester were not free from danger, either. Never having given much thought to the subject, we learned of it by accident. *

Quoting General Forbes, in mid-November 1758, his army was "400 miles in the wilderness through the most miserable roads in the world," ill-clothed with winter closing in, short of blankets, tents lacking, with food only on a day-to-day basis. He was about to turn back when Captain Pearis and his reconnoitering Indian spies saw smoke billowing out over Fort Duquesne and fleeing Frenchmen. Considering their part of the war over, most troops left, their respective colonies unwilling to pay for them. But His Majesty's government, now still in the midst of a worldwide "War for Empire" in New York, Canada, Europe and India, and demanding that Fort Pitt be established there to hold onto the conquered territory, now took over the cost of salaries and material. The task of getting supplies there, awesome under the best of circumstances, was made almost impossible by the extreme severity of the weather that followed, but act they must, and Indian goods were an immediate necessity to placate the fickle local Indian tribes, now in self-interest declaring their friendship for the English. They might turn at any moment (as they did a decade later with dire consequences).

Captain Richard Pearis, Commander at Fort Cumberland, now stayed on to be a part of His Majesty's team, he to ensure as best he could that supplies get through the rugged old Braddock's Road route. That task was greatly complicated by the ensuing weather--heavy snows then record-breaking floods and rain. Currents on the rivers were so swift that bridges washed out, including the one at Will's Creek next to the fort. Many men and horses perished trying to get supplies across. Canoes and cargo were swept away.

Now we introduce a new character, a conscientious young Quaker named James Kenney, who kept a diary starting "1758 12 month 10th day" describing his attempts to help "ye public interest" at that crucial time. It is particularly precious to us descendants because it contains rare details about "ye Captain's wife," our ancestress, who was living there at the fort with him. Though it was not mentioned, one supposes the children, including our young Sarah, named for his mother, were probably there also, danger from war being over.

*James Kenney's "Journal to ye Westward" 1758-59 Ed. John W. Jordan, Penn. Jnl of History & Biography, Vol 37:395 et seq.

Billie (Mrs. Allan) Pringle, my sweet sister, discovered this article and sent it to me as a birthday present

James Kenney, a Chester Co. Quaker in charge of the trading store of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs of PA right after Gen. Forbes successful expedition to Fort Duquesne, received a letter asking him to speak to the Commission. He reported that very day and was told that, in not sending goods in due time to ye westward, delays were dangerous to the public interest. A quantity of goods were to be sent to ye General to be distributed best among the Western Indians. And someone must go to see ye goods delivered. Accepting the charge, Kenny's route was the old Braddock road through Winchester, Fort Cumberland, Redstone, on to Fort Pitt. We pick him up 14 Feb 1759 near the Potomac.

14th.—Lodged at Mills; last night it thundered, rained & lightened. Before morning fell a Snow about ankle deep & y^e bushes all covered with it. I crossed Liking Creek, being very high, early this morning & kept along a path until I came into y^e road. Having no company I set out alone but could not go much out of a walk. Some miles distant I missed y^e old road & keeping y^e new, which was not finished I came to a gut by y^e river, which was very high with back water, and the bridge over it not finished. I sounded it at y^e fording with a long pole I cut, & found it so high I concluded to head it, led my horse up a steep hill above it & then along it some distance I found y^e old Road. In crossing big Chinnalawas my horse blundered, and y^e water got into one of my boot-tops. About noon sat down by a tree & fed myself & horse, y^e wind being high & blowing snow showers. I came to Sidling Hill, it is very steep & high & only a foot path along it & a smart creek runs close at y^e foot so that in case a man should stumble off y^e path, unless he could be caught by some sapling or bush could not stop until he went into y^e creek. My horse lame & y^e snow balling his feet made his passing something doubtful, but I lead him along & got safe across, but in swimming y^e creek y^e water got into my boots & saddle-bags. I emptied y^e bags & walked until I was warm. Some miles further on met some packhorses from Pittsburgh; y^e men told me it was 19 miles to Col Cressap's & I must swim y^e creek. It being late, and about 4 or 5 miles further, I began to look for a lodging place, which I found under y^e side of a great mountain in a hollow stump. After I cleared y^e snow out & made a floor of bark & a great fire at y^e door, I lodged with more comfort than I expected & slept some.

15th.—After feeding my horse & refreshing myself proceeded, but took y^e advantage of y^e old town creek so as not to swim it. Being very cold I walked turn about & rode until I came to Cressap's, where I stayed & put my horse to hay that night, as I heard y^e wagons had not yet crossed y^e river. Was very kindly used by y^e Colonel.

16th.—Got to Cumberland about noon, it being about 15 miles from Cressaps. Delivered Sir John St. Clair's letter to y^e Commandant, who said they would assist

us all they could. He came with me to our rented house, got it cleared of two drunken women, and a soldier that helped to clean y^e house, making too big a fire in y^e hearth, y^e chimney being very foul, it took fire which cleaned it well, without damage. It proved a timely warning to me before y^e goods came.

17th.—I walked up y^e river with Lieutenant Linn, who commanded in Cap^t Paris's absence & wrote to my employer.

18th.—Being y^e first day of y^e week, y^e wagons came this afternoon. I received y^e goods according to y^e invoices, y^e officers & many spectators by. The wagoners complain much of their bargain

21st.—The end next y^e fort of y^e Bridge over Wills's Creek fell by y^e flood washing y^e bank away, was mended today.

23rd.—My horse missing this morning, & after hunting this side of y^e creek & over y^e bridge in vain, I found his track over y^e Ford below y^e bridge & followed it along up y^e hill, and about one mile from y^e fort toward home, another track with it. They left y^e road toward y^e river & I lost it, but took a course about a mile further down toward y^e river, where I came upon him & a mare of y^e Captains lying down in y^e woods; brought both back.

24th.—Cap^t Paris spent awhile with me, & I provided some firewood y^e rest of y^e day.

25th.—Being asked I went to dine at y^e Captain's; being my countryman I presented him with y^e little book wrote by y^e New England man & y^e paper y^e was printed in Philadelphia in regard to gaining y^e Indians to our interest, & I gave his wife some of my dried Apples. Was persuaded by y^e Captain to draw some provisions & not buy bread which is so dear, altho our biscuits had come.

26th.—As my oats was almost exhausted & y^e officers persuading me that my horse would in all probability be stolen from me, especially if I took him to Pittsburgh, I sent him off by a Dutch baker that was going home to Conestoga, in Pensilvania, to be left at W^m Joliff in Hopewell, with a letter.

3rd 2^d.—Caught a mess of Trout & Fall fish just below y^e house in y^e River, and y^e Captain dined with me.

March

4th.—Being asked to dine at y^e Captains I excused myself being indisposed. Snowed some this morning.

6th.—Very cold; I keep close at the house but cannot keep warm enough.

7th.—Very Cold; as I dined today, y^e Doctor called & took a share.

8th.—Some of Geo: Clark's company that had been at Pittsburgh with goods & liquors, called here today, they say they suffered much from y^e Cold.

13th.—One of my old scholars being a soldier came & made me a pot-pie of part of half a quarter of Venison I bought & some of my beef.

14th.—My friend Samuel Lightfoot came this evening; he left y^e pack-horses at Sidling Hill, of which I am very glad.

15th.—Employed Adam McCarty, an old trader, & Jn^o Slater to help pack y^e goods & one Campbell helped me to bend y^e lead.

16th.—It rained almost all this day, but we packed y^e goods in y^e house, y^e packhorses lie about 4 miles down y^e river on y^e far side, at a place called y^e Swan ponds, where there is pasture.

17th.—We sent a lad two days since after a man who had engaged to Samuel to come with 12 packhorses but y^e lad has brought a letter from his Son, that y^e father was gone to Winchester & he knew nothing more concerning y^e affair—y^e river so high that y^e packhorses cannot get over.

18th.—We cross'd y^e river in a little canoe (that y^e Maryland soldiers had made to desert in but were stop'd) & Samuel went down to see how they fared,

26th.—We went up Wills's Creek along Braddocks old road to where it comes through y^e mountain but could see nothing of y^e horse tracks. McCarty & y^e other man returned with their load of skins, but have no account of their own horses nor ours; they say that y^e snow that fell on y^e 24th is very deep out about y^e Little Meadows & the mountains.

27th.—I engaged Adam McCarty to go back with Joseph Wright tomorrow to hunt our horses, but as it rained much in y^e night & this morning, they judged y^e creeks to be too high.

28th.—We took a walk near two miles up y^e river & it beginning to rain, turned up y^e mountains above y^e river & went across into y^e road that goes to Pittsburgh & so returned, but no sign of y^e horse tracks coming this way; it thunderd & is exceeding warm, y^e creeks too high.

29th.—It has continued to rain all y^e night & this day & night to about 12 of y^e clock it also snowed some. The river rose from about dark until midnight y^e matter of 4 feet. I was under some concern of mind relating to y^e goods that are on their way coming from F'rederick & the people out toward Pittsburgh, their being so much rain & y^e river very high so that y^e most of y^e bridges on Wills' creek is swept off. I could not sleep until near 12 of y^e clock, when I heard Adam McCarty, Jn^o Trotter & Slater and their wives talking & busy out of doors, they moving into an out house higher up on y^e bank, y^e river having overflowed into their houses, but not having y^e good nature to acquaint their neighbours. I being suspicious got up & opening y^e door, saw y^e water coming in at y^e gate before y^e door, made haste & got my clothes on, & my boots, & aroused y^e young man that came back after y^e horses, who was asleep, lighted a candle & got all y^e goods that lay on y^e lower floor, upon y^e loft, only some lead & y^e cask of biscuit, which we put on y^e top of an empty cask; put my bed & blankets up stairs & laid our chest on y^e bed-steds with some other things. By this time y^e water came in at y^e door of y^e house, we waded out about middle leg deep and went to y^e house where was about half of our powder that was left. I went in & set y^e kegs on y^e top of some coal that lay high up, & so we got to a house where y^e water did not reach & tarried until morning with several others that I called up.

30th.—The river rose suddenly & fell as quickly; about ten today y^e water abated out of y^e house, doing us no damage save carring off some firewood out of y^e yard.

April

7th.—Being informed by Cap^t Paris that y^e goods was to come to day, such as were saved with y^e canoe, I tarried at home & cut up a hide into ropes, having another cut & drying, in order to have these goods made into loads against y^e packhorses return & sent McCarty & Joseph Wright up Wills's creek about six miles, to look y^e two horses as y^e other four that we found made that way, but they brought no intelligence of them. Y^e Canoe came before they return'd & had found all y^e goods only 1 of y^e 4 small bales, y^e 2 casks of Tobacco & a large cask with sundries, 1 keg of Pipes, my saddle & 3 Pounds of Tobacco, 1 Shirt &c.; y^e saddles being y^e most damaged of any y^e rest I took them into my care, letting them have a receipt according as they seemed to deserve.

13th.—One of y^e drivers having gotten some hurt on his leg & is inflamed, he insists for this days rest & thinks he can proceed tomorrow on y^e journey out again, & y^e drivers generally insisting that some more of y^e horses are like to fail, having no food but y^e young grass, I allowed them to tarry this day.

14th.—As we had y^e loads out & ready to set off this morning, it began to rain & continues dull & cloudy so we stopt going. I let Cap^t Paris's wife have one of y^e little Brass Kettles, which weighed 24^{lb}, I likewise, let Ross's wife have one of y^e least tin kettles, as we buy milk from her.

17th.—With some considerable impatience I wait here for Adam McCarty returning with some milch cows he went to buy, one of which I sent money for & am to have my choice when they come. We heard by some that came here from Ray's Town, that y^e Indians have killed & taken some by Loyalhannan.

18th.—After having stayed until today, I went down as far as Coliers this morning to enquire after McCarty, but no account of him I returned & got y^e Captain's wife to engage to take y^e cow if he brought one, & pay us y^e money, so I set off about 2 p. m. after y^e pack-horses & walked y^e most of y^e way, so kept on until I got to y^e Little Meadows, some time about y^e middle of y^e night & made a fire, so stayed until morning.

19th.—In y^e morning it rained, but I set off & overtook y^e company in about four miles farther, so they got loaded & proceeded to y^e Great Bear Camps within Seven miles of y^e Big Youghogany. Four loads of Lead being left there; y^e Wolves having destroyed y^e ropes we were obliged to encamp there.

20th.—It Rained a good deal in y^e night & this morning, but abating awhile we got up y^e horses & loaded them, covering each load. It rained smartly whilst we were loading, but I was for getting over y^e Big Youghogany least it should rise too high for us; but we got over safe, one blanket falling off as we crossed & it floating down about 40 perches one of y^e drivers Thomas Mercer stripped all off & waded up to his armpits & brought it out, & so we encamped near y^e river upon a little creek-side, as there was no more good pasture until we go to y^e Great Meadows. This evening James Hammons & John Mickle killed a bear, which is good eating.

23rd.—As y^e pasture is so good here, I think it prudent to let y^e horses stay here this day also, as we cannot get all y^e loads along without y^e horses that failed last Seventh day & must carry y^e dead horse's loads also amongst them, & as these two days is fine weather, it is some mortification to me to wait. There was an account come to Cumberland before I left it, of two men being killed & four taken near to Loyalhannon; y^e officers at Cumberland advised me not to follow y^e lads & horses, esteeming it too dangerous, but I did not follow their advice.

24th.—Set off this morning & came to Guest's Place & met an express going to Cumberland. I received a letter from Samuel, the express & y^e letter mentioning of many people killed & taken on y^e other road.

25th.—Proceed'd today to a Bottom upon Redstone Creek, about 9 miles from Guest's Place. As our creatures are so weak we cannot go long journeys. It rained some as we went & smartly whilst unloading, but piled up y^e goods & covered them, none being hurt by it. In this Bottom grows plenty of Clover, & I found some pieces of Stone Coal that burns well.

May

17th.—This day come some pork & 2 bullocks, 2 others lost last night. Received a letter from Lieut. Linn at Cumberland signifying that our Cow had arrived & in y^e care of Capt. Paris's wife.

18th.—Bought a rifle gun of one Donnelson, that came as Packhorse Master. The Indians took y^e other 2 bullocks off in y^e night, as they tracked them.

19th.—It rained smartly & y^e packhorses with a command of men have gone back. The Colonel hired 2 Indians today to go on some errand, but returned having met some French & Indians coming this way.

20th.—This morning two strange Indians hollowed to be brought over y^e river, but upon confessing that they came from y^e French & one of them a Tawa, they were denied being sent for, but told to come in another canoe that lay in the far side, which when they found we would not send over, they came in y^e canoe, desiring to be taken to y^e Colonel & see y^e Fort, but he sent them victuals & a dram, signifying that as they came from y^e French they must not see him. So they were sent over again by a party of men & a bateau.

*"Guest" mentioned above was Christopher Gist, father of Nathaniel. He died later that year. From the mention of enemy Indians in the last paragraph, one can see how vital Denny's mission was. When he finally got back home his mother and brother were overjoyed to see him, having heard he had died.

And now, back to Army business.

Court of Inquiry Concerning William Darling

Held by Order of Colonel Bouquet at Fort Bedford Jany ye 20, 1759

President-Lieut Ourry. Members--Lieut Hubbard, Lieut Gorril*

Was examined William Darling, confin'd by Captn. Pearis, on Suspicion of embezzling two of his Majesty's Horses. Captn Pearis informs the Court, that one Varnell (who had accompanied the Prisoner from Fort Cumberland home) had inform'd him Capt Pearis that the Prisoner had bragg'd to him of the fine Hawl he had made in his Trip to Ft. Cumberland having, as he said, got a Mare worth ten Pounds & a Horse worth about five. And that the said Darling in coming back brought the Mare part of the Way, in order to dispose of her, but would not bring her so far as Cumberland, lest she should be own'd & taken from him. That upon this information he, Captn Pearis, sent for the Prisoner, and tax'd him with carrying off the King's Horses. And as the Prisoner could not give a Satisfactory Account, for being in Possession of them Captn Pearis order'd him to be confin'd 'till he procur'd Bail for his appearing in eight Days, & procuring the two Horses.

The Prisoner being ask'd by the Court, what right he had to take the Mare out of the Fort says, that he claim'd her, as his Brother's Property, and on that Claim obtained Leave to take her away, being ask'd if he attempted to send her back, or acquaint the Commanding Officer at Ft. Cumberland of his mistake, answers, not till he was sent for, which Captn Pearis says, was more than three Weeks after taking her away.

The Prisoner says also that he gave 25 Shillings for her to a Soldier of the 2d Virginia Regimt And as to the Horse, he says, he took his from John Goolding** & Danl McFall, out of Pitty, that he might not suffer by hunger. The Prisoner informs the Court that Varnell had a parcell of Tires, &c, conceal'd under his Bed, which he believes belong to the King's Waggons at Fort Cumberland. Lt. Ourry

(*James Gorrel was Richard's Lt. though the book, relying on the old militia rolls, says he was of Dagworthy's Co. See Washington's orders of 10 Nov 1658, prev. chapter. **Goolding, who sold the stolen horse, was from the 1st VA Regt.)

According to Lt. Ourry's journal, kept at Fort Bedford, on Tues 16 Jan 1759 he "Received William Darling, Waggoner, sent Prisoner by Capt. Pearis for embezzling the King's Horses. Confin'd him on the Gaol in this fort." Pearis & Gorrel came there for the trial on the 20th & left on Mon AM Jan 22 for Fort Cumberland. Darling was that day released on 200^l bail by John Cockendall for appearance in Hampshire Co. VA Court, the following March 17th.

Before Richard left Fort Bedford, he consulted with Colonel Bouquet, telling him that the situation at Fort Cumberland was so bad that many of the disillusioned men were actually leaving the fort. The Colonel then drafted the following notice to the troops for Richard to read to the men in hopes of preventing further desertions.

Col. Bouquet to the Maryland Troops Fort Bedford 11 February 1759

To the Soldiers of the Maryland Forces in garrison at Fort Cumberland
Gentlemen

As it is represented to me by Capt Richd Pearis that you have received no Pay for a considerable Time, by which deficiency you are reduced to such distress that you think of abandonning the Fort if not relieved in a Short time.

I have there upon thought proper to let you know that the money lately voted by your Province as a gratification for your past good services, Shall be punctually paid to you, according to the Intentions of the Government, without any deduction for the advances you may have received from time to time, which advances are to be Stopped afterwards when you receive your full Pay; and in order to enable you to wait a few days for your Share of the above Gratification, I have impowred Capt Pearis to advance 20 Sh. to Each man, which Shall be deducted from ye said Gratification.

And wheréas the Settling of your arrears and Pay requires Some time; I do expect from your Fidelity, honour, and duty, that you Shall wait patiently untill the 15th of March next by which time, and perhaps sooner, I hope to See all your affairs Settled to your satisfaction. I place such Confidence in you that I make no doubt of your ready Compliance to my desire, and I think you too wise to loose by a precipitate and rash Step, the fruit of all your Labours, your reputation, and your Money.

I propose to set out to morrow for the settlements where I shall represent in the Strongest terms to the General your Situation, and the Justice of your demands, and Shall inform Capt Pearis of the Success of my sollicitations in your favour.

It has been reported to me that one Balsar Kern, a Soldier, Should have Spread among you false Reports from me. That I had offered him ten Pistoles to Enlist in the R.A.R. and other infamous Insinuations tending to dispirit the Garrison, and make you take wrong and pernicious measures. I therefore have thought it necessary to inform you myself that I never did Speak to, or even Saw the Said Balsar Kern, who has basely and maliciously contrived the above falshood to bad Purpose; Therefore I have given Strict orders to Capt. Pearis to have the said Balsar Kern tried by a Court Martial, and punished with the utmost severity of the Law against such Seditious discourses.

I recommand you again to have Patience, till you hear from me, which will be in a Short time, and continue to do your duty in Such a manner as to inforce my Recommendations in your behalf and you may depend upon my utmost Endeavors to See you righted in your Pretensions. Given under my hand at Fort Bedford 22 January 1759

Col. Bouquet to General Forbes Fort Bedford 23 January 1759

Sir: I have seen with much pleasure from your letter of the 14th that you were so near Philadelphia, and that your trip in such a bad season has not made your condition worse. I trust the rest and care you will find in the city will soon restore your strength and health...

Captain Pearis arrived here yesterday from Cumberland and told me that the garrison had resolved to abandon the fort, as they no longer wished to serve without receiving their pay. With a great deal of trouble he made them promise to stay until he had spoken to me. He informed me that the province of Maryland had voted £1500 to be distributed as extra pay to their troops, on the refusal of the Council to pass the bill for their pay and arrears.

The soldiers who are at Fort Frederic have received their share of this extra pay, and Lt. Colonel Dagworthy must have the rest for the troops which are at Cumberland, but he has not written a word since his departure, and the soldiers make very insolent remarks regarding him and this money.

In the hope that the province will finally provide their pay, or the government if they default, I thought it my duty to prevent the complete desertion of these men by the only means which lay in my power, which was to write them the enclosed letter, which I hope you will approve under the present circumstances. Pearis believes they will make no difficulty about remaining on that footing until March 15th, a sufficient time to make a decision regarding them. I shall learn their decision by express.

The number of horses and wagons stolen during the campaign is so great that I have no doubt you will order search warrants in the three provinces. These rogues will betray one another, and punishing them will prevent similar crimes in another campaign. Captain Pearis sent me a prisoner, a Virginia farmer, who stole two horses. I had him examined by a court of inquiry, and released under bail of £200 sterling.

Capt. Pearis to Col Bouquet Fort Cumberland Jany 23d 1759 9 0 Clock

Sir I am sorry I have to inform you that on the 21st Inst at Night Deserted from here Serjt Fill* and fourteen Men with him Notwithstanding the Promises they Made to me, agreeable to your Orders. I Read your letter to those Remaining, they all Return you hartly thanks for your kind Proposals, and Care for them and says they will do their Duty with Spirit agreeable to your Request untill the 15th of March, I beleave if those that Deserted on the twenty first, had not been gon before I Came home they would not gon. tomorrow Morning I send Ensign Love with the Copy of your letter after those that are gon hoping that it will have the Desired Effect on them to Return. I also send a copy to Governor Sharpe with a list of the Deserted in hopes he will send some of them Back in Case they go to Annapolis. Balser Kern shall be tried to morrow. the Rest of the men Appeares to be Much Displeased with him for his false seditious Reports.

(*Sgt John Fell--the book says both he and Ensign Philip Love were in Dagworthy's company, relying on the muster rolls now out of date. They were both in Captain Pearis's company.)

Capt. Pearis to Lewis Ourry (ade Quartermaster General at Fort Bedford)
Dr Sir Fort Cumberland 31 January 1759

Since I have Wrote my sentiments to Coll: Bouquet and you, I am informed by Mr. Love that Coll. Dagworthy sent 100 pounds of the Present Money to Mr. Riley* who is now Deceased to bring here for the men at this Garrison, I Cant see the Reason why he Did not send the whole without he Intends to Defraud them out of it, as the Men says, for I think

He has no right to make any stopages. Also, I have Just heard by Mr. Love that Coll Dagworthy gave privit Orders to Mr. Lenox unknown to me who he new was to Command untill he Came, to let aney of the Men have furloughs that wanted them which he had don without my leave Notwithstanding the Generalls orders for 100 men to be kept here. This I beg you would acquaint Coll Bouquet with or enclose this to him. Am Quite tired of this Command without Matters were Carried on in a more Juster manner than has Been.

(*Lt. James Riley or Ryley died of smallpox at Fort Frederick on 26 Jan)

Capt. Pearis to Col. Bouquet Fort Cumberland 5 February 1759

Sir I send you Inclosed the Proceedings of a Court Martial held to try Corpol. (John) Ragon of Coll Dagworthys Company where in You'll see what insulting Mutenus behaviour Rains amongst the Men of this Garrison Notwithstanding ye Money I have paid them Agreeable to your Orders, and the Promises made by them. I have sent the above Ragon Prisoner to Fort Bedford untill your pleasure is known, knowing him to be a Soer of Muteney amongst the Rest. I also send you a Return of what Horses loaded with flower has pass'd for Pitsburg since my last, many more yet following. According to Your Order I sent to William Rosses, who was Accused by Creasep for Concealing some of his Majestys Horses, where Ensign Mearns found three, two of which appears to belong to the Virginia Officers and one to his Majesty. Ross says he took them up in the Woods, also Ross informes me on one Eves and one Plum who lives at Cresaps that they have Conceald ten or twelve of his Majestys Horses. Cresaps Servant Man Confirms what Ross says, only he says ther is but seven of them belongs to the King. I have sent an officer to bring both Men and Horses in Case they are taken, would Be Glad to Receive Your Orders how to Proceed, Nothing else Extrodinary.

(William Ross had a home on So. Branch of Potomac River. Thomas Cresap, a frontier leader, had a settlement near present-day Oldtown MD. William Ives or Eives, an Indian trader, deserted from Dagworthy's Co. the previous July. He was killed by Indians in 1763.)

ENCLOSURE--PROCEEDINGS OF COURT MARTIAL

A Court Martial Held at Fort Cumberland the 5th Day of February 1759

Lieut William Linn Pres...Members Lt. James Gorrel, Ens. Samuel Mearns To try such Prisoners as Shal be Brought Before them. Jno Ragon Corpl confind By Capt Richd Pearis for Goeing from the Garrison Seven Miles Without Leave threatning to Desert if he Could Gett Any Good fellow to Goe wth Him & Insulting Ensn Love. The Prisoner being Examind Confesses he went to Isaac Colliers without Leave.

George Teeter* of Capt Alexr Bealls Compy Being Examind Says that this Morning in ye Hospital he heard the Prisoner Say that if he had but a Good Fellow wth him he Soon would Goe of for He had No Right to Doe Duty in this Place without pay. Ensn Love Proves to the Court that he Saw the Prisoner on the Parade & Knowing him to be Confind Ordered

*This young man, George Teter, by then a Sgt. in the 1st VA Regt., two years later became Richard's son-in-law. Data about ordinary people so long ago is now rare. Though stationed at Fort Bedford, this proves the two were already acquainted. Both were from the Winchester area but of different backgrounds. George is also our ancestor.

him to ye inside of ye Guard Room & Said it was a fine Usage on these words ye Prisoner Damd him & the Usage too, and the Prisoner Confesses he Expressed the Words.

The Prisoner in His Defence Says he thought he had No Right to Ask Leave to Goe Abroad he Serving without Pay.

The Nature of the Prisoners Crime being Such that ye Court Judges thot they have Not a Right to Pass Sentence on Such Crime it Being of too henious a Nature.

(Comment: The meanings of words and phrases have changed so much in almost 2½ centuries that I cannot translate all of it, especially what they meant by henious, but when Ragon said he had no right, he meant that it was not morally right that he should have to serve without pay. Heinous means hateful.)

Lewis Curry's letter below is presented in its entirety partly to show how trying a job it was to be a Quartermaster in those years.

Lieut. Lewis Curry to Colonel Bouquet Fort Bedford 9 February 1759

Dear Colonel Captain Pearis, who has sent me two Loads of Hay, acquaints me that Several Horses have been found, conceal'd by divers Persons who, as soon as detected, discover others, which he has sent an Officer to take up. And he asks my Opinion, what he is to do with them. I told him I would write to receive your Directions on that head. But in the meantime I thought he would do well to make them produce the Horses immediately and give Bond for their appearance at the next Court, and to make what Discoveries he could by taking Depositions of all Informers.

As I have now, many Horses up here, and plenty of Forrage, I hope to send you soon agreeable Returns of the Provisions in the upper Garrisons. The Horses gone by Bradocks Road have met with some obstacle or other, for tho 196 had passed by Fort Cumberland between the 23d of January & the 5th Inst not onewas arrived at Pittsburgh the 3d as Col Mercer informs me. But a Suttler who left that Place the 3d at Night, tells me that Intelligence was just brought to the Colonel, of upwards of 200 Horses being within 20 Miles, and that he sent out a Party to meet them.. As I suppose I shall be order'd down very Soon I would be glad to know whether any body is coming to releive me, or if I am to leave the transacting of this business to the Commanding Officer, to whom I have hinted that I immagin'd it might fall to his Lot..and have been Striving to initiate him in that agreeable Amusement, for which he does not shew the Strongest Inclination. My right hand man Boggs the Horse Master, will ease him much in the Laborious part, but I believe he will need more Assistance in the other Details.

The Country People coming with Corn to sell here & Liquor etc to carry up are returning with a thousand requests & Difficulties will perplex anybody that is not a little innur'd to that variety of Occurences &.. throw things in great Confusion. The want of ready Money cause abundance of Trouble when one has to deal with People from Sundry remote Places... I have lower'd the Price of Grain, And tho' I at first gave Forrage to encourage People to go up to Pittsburgh, I charge them for what they take now to be deducted from the Price of their Goods, which lessens both the demand and the expense.....

(Horses and backcountry farmers found the way to Fort Pitt through the wilderness harrowing. The King's Horses often got lost.)

Lieut Curry to Col Bouquet Fort Bedford 26 February 1759

Dear Coll Since my last to you of the 24th Curt I have receiv'd two Letrs from Captn Pearis, who informs me that Numbers of People returning from Pittsburgh have been greatly distress'd having suffer'd much hardship, through cold & hunger, & sustain'd great losses by the Death & loss of their Horses, Starved & Stray'd. Some that took up Six brought back one, some two. Several Men in Swimming their Horses, nearly lost their Lives. He has assisted them, & got the Flatt afloat which is of great Service. He recommends building another, about 5 Mile below Cressaps, one at Bruery Cox, as being between 30 & 40 Miles nearer from Winchester than the other Road, by that means he thinks the People from those parts would be encouraged to carry up Provisions. He has recover'd 8 or 10 Horses which I have sent for.

He acquaints me also that he has receiv'd Directions from Sir John St. Clair to receive in his Stores a Quantity of Indian Goods 'till they can be transported to Pittsburgh. They are arrived there.

INVOICE: INDIAN STORES

The list at right is the goods he sent the next day by Ambrose Newton, Conductor to the Royal Artillery.

Fort Bedford, not shown on the map in Chapter Nine, was NNE of Fort Cumberland where Captain Pearis was in command, but the latter was on the old Braddock Road, whereas Bedford was on Forbes Road. Neither were more than rough, stumpy trails, but Braddock's was rougher by far and more dangerous from swollen creeks. The bulk of the supplies there came from across the Potomac in VA, whereas Bedford was provisioned by good Pennsylvania farmers.

Provisions for Fort Pitt came through both of these forts.

To 39 Horse Loads sent by Christopher Smith the Particulars are as followeth	Horse Master	
To Blankets	468	
English Match Coats	45	
French Brown Match Coats	116	
White old ones	5	
French White Match Coats	80	
Scalping Knives Dozens	27-7	
Clasp Knives Dozens	73	
Black and White Beads about lb.	4	
Brass Rings Dozens	30	
Sleive Buttons Dozens	3	
Pipe Tomahokes	16	
Gun Locks	23	
Yelow Binding Peices	12	
Gartring Peices	2	
Wire about lb.	1 1/4	
Vermillion about	2	
Check Shirts	18	
White Ruffled	2	
Aul Blades Dozens	7	
Jews Harps Dozens	6-9	
Some Screw Nails for the Guns	..	
Half thick for Stockings Yards	38 1/4	
Strouding Half thick Yards	7	
2 Peices of Strip'd Flannel Yards	17 1/4	
1 Remnant of a Peice of White Linn ab' 2 Shirts ..	..	
Blew Britch Clout Yards	11	
Peices of Half thick	10	
Peices of Callico	1	
Pairs of Red Half thick stockings	1	
Barr Lead, Peices	984	Barrs
Flints about	2000	
Tin Quart Mugs	16	
Tin Pints Ditto	39	
Indian Guns	20	
Pistols	2	
Silver Gorgets	18	
Silver Lac'd Hats	22	
White Wampum	2000	
Tomahoaks	96	

[Endorsed] Indian Goods Sent to Pittsburgh

None of the Deserters being return'd, but on the contrary several more having lately gone off, & the few remaining being discontented & not to be relied on. And this Additional Store of Indian Goods being lodged there, I took the Liberty to remind Capt'n Davis of the Reinforcement you mentioned in case that Place should be abandon'd, which he acquiesced to send an Officer and twenty men, who March this Day. I suppose on their arrival the remainder of the Marylanders will all go away....

Capt Pearis to Col Bouquet Fort Cumberland 4 March 1759

Sir You have the Monthly Returns by Mr Ourry, who I have sent them to, as I am informed you are gon to Philadelphia. I Beg leave to trouble you, to Indeavour to have my Indians Accounts Setled, which is in the hands of Capt Bozmouth (note-Captain Abraham Bosomworth) as I cant attend myself. I hope you wount think it two troublesome to see them adjusted and Setled.

The Men left in this Garrison wates Impatient untill the fifteenth of March when they will all abandon the Fort without their pay, there is maney of them at Fort Frederick that left this is Willing to Return on hearing of their Money being Come. I hope at least you'll order the Present money here that I may be able to stop what I advanced by Your Order. You'll see by the Return that there is Maney of them Deserted sence I advanced to them and purhaps may Receive the whole money Below.

Bouquet to Pearis (letter never found to but acknowledged below)

Capt Pearis to Col Bouquet Fort Cumberland 17 March 1759

Sir With great satisfaction I Receiv'd your favour this Day & Read part of your Letter to the men in this Garrison indeavouring to let them kno of the maney Disappointments you Laboured Under in Regard to the settling of their affairs, which I have made them sensible of, and are Quite Satisfied untill your farther Orders is known, on the 15th I was Obligated to Confine 13 of the Men and on the 16th they Petitioned me for Releasment which I Granted on Promising they would stay till Your Letter Came. I this day Borrowed forty Pounds from Coll. Cresap to give them, which I believe will satisfie them untill I Receive further Orders if soon. They blame Coll. Dagworthy greatly for keeping their Present Money from them as they have Never Receiv'd one farthing of it yet. I hope you'll take care to Order it here that I may be able to make Stopages for what I have advanced for them.

If the Men had got that Present money when Granted by the Province, I am Confident the cheafest Part of them would abeen here yet. Inclosed you have a Return of the strength of the Garrison. I am sorry to hear General Forbes' ill state of health. I will use all Proper means to Continue the Men untill I Receive further Orders. I have no News. I am Sir Your most Obedient Humble Servt.

P. S. Sir, I relie on your Intrust in regard to my Private Affares.

(Colonel Thomas Cresap, the man who lent the money, lived at Oldtown, Maryland, on the far western frontier. The enclosed return of troops has not been found.)

Brigadeer General Jeffrey Amherst to Maryland Governor Horatio Sharpe
Sir

New York 18 March 1759

It having become Necessary, by the Demise of Brig^r Gen^r Forbes, that an Officer of Rank and Experience should without Loss of Time proceed to Pennsylvania to take on him the Command of his Majestys Regular Troops and those to be raised by the Southern Provinces to Act in conjunction for the Defence and Security of those Provinces, or otherwise as opportunities shall offer, or the Exigences may require I have thought it for the good of his Majestys Service to appoint Brig. Gen. Stanwix to that Command and he does accordingly set out Tomorrow for Philadelphia to take upon him the same; I am therefore to request you that during such his Command, you will upon every immergent Occasion, Correspond and co-operate with him in the same manner as you are enjoined by M^r Secretary Pitts Letter to do with me, which must prove of great Benefit to the publick Service, as from my removal from hence into the Back Country, whether I may be called soon, it prove very prejudicial to the safety and security of the southern provinces to wait for the answers to any of the Letters you may have Occasion to write to me in relation thereto and I have accordingly directed Brig. Gen. Stanwix to Correspond and co-operate with you in Like manner.

I am, with great Regard

Sir Your most Obedient
Humble Servant
Jeff Amherst

Virginia Governor Francis Fauquier to Maryland Governor Horatio Sharpe
Sir

Williamsburgh 19 March 1759

The Expedition which is requisite to be used, in order to raise Men to compleat our Quota of Men to act in conjunction with the rest of his Majesties Forces, has encouraged me to give Leave to some of the Officers to try whether they can enlist any in your Colony where they think they have some Acquaintance and Interest. I therefore beg the Favour of you not only to give them Permission, but to assist them with your Countenance and Protection for the promoting his Majesties Service at least so as not to interfere with any Levies your Colony is about to raise for the same Purpose. I am with great Esteem
your Excellency's most Obedt Hum. Servt Fran: Fauquier

It was about this time that the Cherokees had gone over to the side of the French! This must have caused Captain Richard Pearis much heartache. No wonder he had implored Col. Bouquet to "have my Indians Accounts Setled." It must have been soon after this that his future son-in-law, George Teeter, of Captain Beall's Company, enlisted as a corporal in the First Virginia Regiment, Captain Nathaniel Gist's Company.

These two letters from Maryland Archives 9:213-4

31 MARCH 1759

PEARIS: DIMENSIONS OF BRIDGE

[B. M., Add. MSS. 21644, f. 119, A. D. S.] Bouquet PapersFort Cum^d March 31st 1759

A Return of the Dementions of a Bridg to be made over Will's Creek¹ supposed to be sufficient to stand any flood. With the Dementions of two Connewe's [canoes] already made for the use of his Majesty's Service at this Garrison.

	Feet	Inch ^s	
The length of the Bridg	270		
The N ^o of Pillers is 6 Each Piller	24		
and	12		
The Highth	20		
The form of y ^e Pillers to be filled with stone			
The length of the large Connew is	29		
The Wedth is	2	6	
The Debth is	1	7	
The length of the Small Connew	20		
The Wedth	1	9	
Debth	1	5	

If it's thought Proper to be ordered made by these Dementions I think it will stand any Flood & will be of the utmost Service for Carrage's Passing for Pittsburg both from Virginia & Mary^d and in purticular this Garrison as Timber is very inconvenient to be got any other place then by Crossing Will's Creek, some People on their Return from Pittsburg has been oblige to stay here this 4 Days on aCount of the Creek being so high and Rapped that y^e Connew Could not Cross and likely to stay severall days longer without Swiming their horses, one ho[r]se was Drowned Yester Day attempting to swem it.

RICH^d PEARIS

¹On the Potomac River at present site of Cumberland, Md.
As following pages show, there was a desperate need for this bridge and several others which Captain Pearis would soon build. Note the size of the "connews." Men were smaller then than now.

General Amherst to Governor Sharpe
Sir

With my Dispatches from M^r Secretary Pitt, this moment received by the Hallifax Packet, came the Enclosed for You, by which you will see, that the King has been pleased to direct me, and Brig^{er} General Forbes, to lose no time in concerting the properest and speediest means for compleatly restoring, if possible, the ruined Fort du Quesne, to a defensible and respectable state, or for Erecting another in the room of it, of sufficient strength, and every way adequate to the great importance of the several Objects of maintaining his Majesty's Subjects in the undisputed Possession of the Ohio; of effectually cutting off all Trade and Communication this way, between Canada and the Western and Southern Indians; of protecting the British Colonies from the Incursions to which they have been Exposed since the French built the above Fort, and thereby made themselves Masters of the Navigation of the Ohio; and of fixing again the several Indian Nations in their Alliance with, and dependance upon, His Majesty's Government;—for all which wise and good purposes, it is His Majesty's pleasure that You should use Your utmost Endeavors with Your Council and Assembly to induce them to Exert every means in their Power for Collecting and forwarding the Materials of all Sorts, and the Workmen which shall be wanted, and which the Commander in Chief in North America, or Brig^{er} General Forbes, shall require for this Service; and that Your Province do also furnish Every other Assistance of Men, Cattle, Carriages, Provisions, &c. &c. that shall be necessary for the support and maintenance the King's Forces, that shall

Maryland Archives 92324-5

New York 28 March 1758/9

be Employed in this Essential Work, as well as in all farther Operations to be undertaken in those parts the Ensuing Campaign.

These Directions being so full and Explicit, leaves me nothing further to add to them, than my warmest Wishes and hopes that they will meet with a speedy and vigorous Execution, as well on the part of Your Province as of those of Virginia and Pensylvania, who are equally with You, so particularly and nearly interested therein, and to whom the same is likewise recommended in the strongest terms.

And as I have already Signified to You that I had appointed Brig^{er} General Stanwix to succeed Brig^{er} General Forbes, in the Command to the Southward, and desired of You to Correspond and Cooperate with him on every matter relative to the Service in those parts; I am now to request of You, that all the Aid and Assistance required of You, by M^r Secretary Pitts within Letter, in favor of the Late Brigadier Forbes, may be granted to Brigadier Stanwix, to Enable him, in the most Expeditious manner, to Execute the beforementioned great and salutary Work, or any other that may be found necessary for the good of the Service, and that You would look upon whatever he may ask or require of Your Province, during his continuance in that Command, as coming from Myself.

I am, with great Regard,

Sir, Your most Obedient Humble Servant
Jeff Amherst

All this has left Governor Sharpe "up the crick without a paddle," as the old saying goes. In a letter to Calvert on 17 April 1759 he laments that only a court of Inquiry by the King's Ministers could resolve the dispute between the MD Upper and Lower Houses and get funds loosened up.

Governor Sharpe, an intelligent man, can see the wisdom in Minister Pitt's desire to restore the ruined Fort du Quesne and open up the navigation of the Ohio to the English. Brigadier-General John Stanwix would quickly embark on this task, now that he had been appointed to succeed General John Forbes, who had recently died in Philadelphia.

So now it is time to tie up loose ends. No quitter, Richard stayed with the fort until all the Maryland troops were gone, which was soon after that. We have seen from a previous page showing Maryland Assembly Upper House proceedings of 22 June 1768 that they finally got around to paying Captain Richard Pearis his salary of four hundred pounds. Captain Pearis, who had been so concerned about getting his soldiers and his Indians paid, had all of this time received no salary himself. Is that patriotic, or what?? (And there are still historians reading the old propaganda who style him as devious and grasping, a liar who would do anything—even horse thievery—for a little money!) And before 1768 but still in the future, the Lower House on 25 Nov 1763 voted to pay 23 persons small amounts for "sundry services at the fort." He received 17 shillings 6 pence then.

Now it is the last week of April. Though it is vitally necessary that western Pennsylvania and western Maryland be protected and the Ohio River navigable to protect the interests of all the colonies, they are disbanding their forces. General John Stanwix is in charge, but he is at the moment fighting desperately on the New York frontier, and vitally aware of the need to maintain and expand conquered territory. In the following letter, only part of which is repeated here, Colonel Bouquet says nice things to the General about Captain Pearis's recruiting efforts for the Pennsylvania Army.

Colonel Henry Bouquet to General John Stanwix

Yorktown (PA) 26 April 1759

[He says conditions are bad on the frontier. Some men totally unfit for service. He will keep the rest of the invalids who are fit for garrison duty.) Lieut (Archibald) Blane arrived yesterday with 1 Serjt, and 18 privates having left the rest of his party sick at Ligonier. He brings bad News from the frontiers: The Magazines are Empty, The Roads Spoiled, and the Bridges carried away with the last flood. The Enemy's begin to appear upon the Communications, and have killed and Scalped 11 sick going to Bedford, and taken a Prisoner at Ligonier... The Virginians are not cooperating. Roads are bad, supply wagons not coming, bridges not built or rebuilt. Only perhaps pack horses can supply Pittsburgh from Ligonier. ... (Many new levies will have to be raised to accomplish what has now been demanded by Prime Minister Pitt) Now he speaks of recruiting, and the competition by Virginia for the departing Maryland soldiers and others. They are offering a pretty good bounty in VA.]

(Lieut. James) Ralfe has got twenty men at Fort Cumberland which he brought yesterday. He would have inlisted the 14 remaining had not some of their officers interfered. Col. Byrd had Sent one of his officers to that Post who offered £10 Bounty, but Ralfe had been beforehand..and he did not get one. Captain Pearis who goes down was very assistant. I promised and paid him 30 shillings currency for Each man for his trouble and supposed expenses on that Occasion. I think he would be able to raise 50 or 60 more in Maryland if you thought proper to make an agreement with him. There are four officers of the Marylanders remaining at Cumberland who, having been ordered there by Brigr. Forbes, desires your order for their conduct. The men being near all gone, they can be of no further service there as their Province does not Seem disposed to pay them.....

In Review: Much had changed since Richard left Virginia. Francis Fauquier was now governor. Col. Washington had wooed and won the hand of widow Martha Custis, and had settled down to plantation life and a seat in the House of Burgesses. William Byrd III was now Colonel of the Virginia Forces. Richard still owned the plantation near Winchester

CHAPTER TEN - CAPTAIN PEARIS, THIRD BATTALLION PENNSYLVANIA REGT.

A LIST OF OFFICERS OF THE NEW LEVIES & THE DATES
OF THEIR COMMISSIONS—1759. (a.)

Colonel. William Clapham.		
Surgeon. William McMeehan, May 7, 1759.		
Chaplain. Andrew Bay, May 1, 1759.		
Adjutant. William Ewing, May 30, 1759.		
Capt.—William Clapham, April 21, 1759. Lieut.—————, April 28, 1759.	Capt.—John Bull, April 29, 1759. Lieut.—William Ewing, May 1, 1759.	Capt.—Samuel Postlethwait, May 9, 1759. Lieut.—James Fulton.
Capt.—John Mather, April 22, 1759. Lieut.—Ezekiel Dummev, April 21, 1759. Ensign—Cearly Campbell, April 21, 1759.	Capt.—David Hunter, April 30, 1759. Lieut.—Andrew Finley, May 2, 1759. Ensign—James Sinkler, May 3, 1759.	Capt.—Richard Gardiner, May 10, 1759. Lieut.—Charles Ford, May 8, 1759. Ensign—John Potts, May 1, 1759.
Capt.—Robert Curry, April 23, 1759. Lieut.—William Darrugh, April 29, 1759. Ensign—David Pensly, April 22, 1759.	Capt.—Thomas Hamilton, May 1, 1759. Lieut.—William Clinton, April 22, 1759. Ensign—Hugh McKean (McKeen), May 1, 1759.	Capt.—William Johnston, May 11, 1759. Lieut.—David McAllister, April 20, 1759. Ensign—Menucan Hughes, May 2, 1759.
Capt.—John Haslet, April 24, 1759. Lieut.—David McCay, April 30, 1759. Ensign—Alex. McDowell, April 23, 1759.	Capt.—John Clark, May 2, 1759. Lieut.—Samuel Scott, May 3, 1759. Ensign—Robert Lowry, April 27, 1759.	Capt.—Francis Price, May 12, 1759. Lieut.—John Shelly, May 12, 1759.
Capt.—John Singleton, April 25, 1759. Lieut.—William McDowell, April 27, 1759. Ensign—George McDowell, April 24, 1759.	Capt.—Richard Pearis, May 3, 1759. ✓ Lieut.—William Work, May 4, 1759.	Capt.—James Armstrong, May 13, 1759. Lieut.—John Forster, May 11, 1759. Ensign—Benjamin Polstain, May 6, 1759.
Capt.—Robert Boyd, April 26, 1759. Lieut.—William Boyd, April 23, 1759. Ensign—Stimerel, April 25, 1759.	Capt.—Evan Shelley, May 4, 1759. Lieut.—Reason Bell, May 10, 1759. Ensign—Evan Shelley, jr., May 7, 1759.	Capt.—Samuel Price, May 18, 1759. Lieut.—Charles Stuart, May 13, 1759. Ensign.—John Foulke, May 4, 1759.
Capt.—James Sharp, April 27, 1759. Lieut.—Sir Collingwood Flemming, April 24, 1759. Ensign—Samuel Lindsey, April 21, 1759.	Capt.—Samuel Jones, May 5, 1759. Lieut.—George McKnight, May 5, 1759. Ensign—John Mullen, April 28, 1759.	Captains—Old Levies. John Prentice, May 14, 1759. Samuel J. Atlee, May 15, 1759. Charles Brodhead, May 16, 1759. James Hyndshaw, May 17, 1759.
Capt.—Samuel Nelson, April 28, 1759. Lieut.—John Nelson, April 26, 1759. Ensign—John Brisbane, April 28, 1759.	Capt.—Andrew McDowell, May 6, 1759. Lieut.—James Bambridge, May 9, 1759. Ensign—Ratchford Duffield, May 5, 1759.	Lower County. (Delaware) Captains—John McClughan, May 21, 1759. Comm. revoke French Battell, May 22, 1759. Henry Van Bibber, May 23, 1759. John Wright, May 24, 1759.
	Capt.—Samuel Grubb, May 7, 1759. Lieut.—James Massey, May 6, 1759. Ensign—Rees Howell, April 29, 1759.	Lieuts.—Benjamin Catlin, May 21, 1759. Archibald Towney, May 22, 1759. William Conwell, May 23, 1759.
	Capt.—Joseph Richardson, May 8, 1759. Lieut.—Samuel West, May 7, 1759. Ensign—Josiah Harper, April 30, 1759.	Ensigns—William McMeehan, May 21, 1759. Ryves Holt, May 22, 1759. Jonathan Caldwell, May 23, 1759.

PA Arch. (5th Series 1:295)(1906)

I have not yet found any rosters of Captain Pearis's Pennsylvania troops if they still exist, but it is obvious from what Col. Bouquet wrote to General Stanwix that some of them were Marylanders. It would be interesting to compare the list to his last Maryland command to see how many stayed with him but, as we have seen, that roll has not been preserved for posterity. The Maryland Gazette item in Chapt 9 shows him in Annapolis recruiting as late as 14 June 1759, and we know that he had Governor Sharpe's blessing to do it.

Bouquet Papers do not mention him again until early September, still very busy at Fort Cumberland. One assumes, because the need was so obviously there, that much of his time, besides recruiting, was spent in making the route to Pittsburgh safer. Not only was Braddock's Road deteriorated and overgrown through neglect and bridges washed out, but northern Indians were increasingly on the prowl again, even with less French instigation.

Col. James Burd to Col. Henry Bouquet

My Sear Sir Camp at Martines* 10 miles from Fort Cumberland
5 September 1759

I have only gott thus farr upon my march, we have had a prodigious heavy Constant Rain for those three days past which makes it very difficult to gett our Wagons along, however, you may depend no time will be lost. from Cumberland hence is hilly road & stonny & we have crossed in this little distance I think 14 or 15 Creeks so farr as I have March'd there is not one single Bridge repaired neither can I observe any thing done on the road by Mr. Fenny** and I am told theres very little done before me but I shall Suspend my Judgement untill I see it.

I have lost 17 men by Desertion since I left Cumberland. A great many of them old troops of the best men in my Battallion. I have sent Advertisements to Virginia & Maryland & as Capt. Vanbiber*** is on his March from Pittsburg to Cumberland his Reinforcement will make that Garrison very strong. I have desired Captn Paris to send one Officer & twenty or twenty five men, down the Pottomack to try if some of these fellows could not be taken lurking about these Remote places.

....I have had a Vyolent fever for some days past but I'm in hopes I shall gett the better off it by the Assistance of Jesuits Bark.**** I don't know wheither I mentioned to you in my last that the Virginia Pack horses are the best we have ever had in the service but the Horse Mastr Complains very much of the badness of the sadles he says they will Ruin all their backs which will be a very great pity...

Col. Shippen desires his kind Compliments to you.

P.S. Since writing the above I have Reced A letter from Capt Paris from Fort Cumberland acquainting me that he is in great distress for want of meat for his Garrison. I gott 4 bullocks that had been lost from the drove that went up to Pittsburg & I sent Captn Paris 3 of them the 4th being killed.

(*This was at John Martin's plantation located on Braddock's Road, about halfway between Fort Cumberland --west of the fort--and Little Meadows overlooking present Frostburg MD. **Alexander Finnie, head sutler of the VA Regt. ***Capt. Henry Van Bibber of the Lower Counties (Delaware) troops. This is an exanple of the many areas from which the present War Department personnel came. ****also known as Peruvian bark, used to treat malaria and other maladies. In the present US known as marsh elder.)

Captain Pearis to Colonel Bouquet

Sir Fort Cumberland 7 September 1759

Last Night I Recd a letter from Coll. Burd wherein he mentions 17 Men being deserted from him since He left this & desires that I would send 20 or 25 Men with Lt. West* to Scour the woods about Potomack in order to find them if Possible. I have offer'd the men to Mr. West but he says it is to no purpose to go out without he goes to Susquehannah or perhaps over, therefore I think Proppor not to let the Men go so far without your Orders. theron. I have therefore sent Mr. West to You in order to Receive Your instructions. I have just now

heard from Coll. Mercer he is Expected as far as Crissops** this Night. I have just now sent an Officer & 20 Men to Clear the Roads as far as Ashby's Fort*** Have also sent another Party clearing the Road to Crissops meddow. they are in great want of Axes. I hear of no Provision coming from Virginia.

(*Lt. Samuel West had at Burd's request come there on his way to deliver the above letter to Bouquet.**Col Thomas Cresap, the man who had lent the money for the MD troops. ***Fort Ashby, now W VA, was located 5 miles south of the Potomac River on Patterson Creek. Captain (now Colonel) George Mercer was the Virginia officer (see Chapt 8) who was so bewildered about how to deal with Swallow and the recalcitrant Wahachy two years before.)

The mention of all those Winchester people in the following communications, like Col. Mercer and provisioner Rutherford, made it sound to me as though they were speaking of Captain Robert Pearis rather than Richard. But the book positively identifies him as Captain Richard Pearis. Since he, also, was well acquainted with all those people, still had the plantation in Winchester, and the provisioners' route was certainly through Fort Cumberland, it does make sense that it would be he. So now we see him rubbing elbows with Virginians in a mutually cordial way.

Instructions to Captain Woodward (no signature)

Sir

Fort Bedford 10 September 1759

In Answer to a Letter of this Day's Date to Colonel Bouquet, I am desired to inform you that Mr. Rutherford being acquainted with the scarcity of Provisions at Fort Comberld will immediately Supply that Garrison. it is a Pity he was not informed of your Stock some time before it got so low.

I am Surpriz'd you could not get a Horse to Send with the Express, two went from hence to be Stationed at Fort Cumberland for that purpose. The two Hundred Pack Horses carrying from Winchester to Your Garrison are to be disposed of in the following manner. The first 100, loaded with Forrage, are to proceed to Pittsburgh, under Escort of an Officer & twenty Men of your Garrison (none of them to be of Burd's battalion) Pennsylvanians. The Second 100 partly loaded with Forrage & partly Flour, to go to Redstone Creek Escorted by Captn Pearis & his Company. *

The Bullocks also coming from Winchester to be forwarded to Pittsburgh and Escorted by an Officer & 25 Men. And as Lieut Jones of the 2d Batt Pennsylvania is to join his Corps at Red Stone Creek with his Party of 25 Men, you will Order him with the next Convoy that goes that Road, after Captn Pearis.

In general you are to furnish Small Escorts to any Considerable Convoy going either to Pittsburgh or Redstone Creek in Case they apply for it or as you Judge it necessary. Any Application from Lieut Coll George Mercer, for Men to Escort Convoys, or any Duty relating to the Service, is to be Complied wth. When the Pack Horses return from Pittsburgh or Red Stone Creek, They are to be put into Pasture to recruit, and allowed a reasonable time to get strength, and in that time the

*See Fort Burd (Redstone Old Fort) on map following, also sketch next page. This was on Monongahela west of Braddock's Road, which was closer to the Youghiogheny.

Saddles, Bags, &c are to be refitted, the Horses Shod and everything prepared for their next Trips. And their loads to be either flour or forrage, every Bag to be weighed, and not to exceed 150 or 160, according to the strength of the Horses, who are for the rest of the Campaign to Carry to Red Stone Creek only. And in Case you should be relieved, this is to be delivered to the Commanding Officer that Succeeds you, for his Instruction.

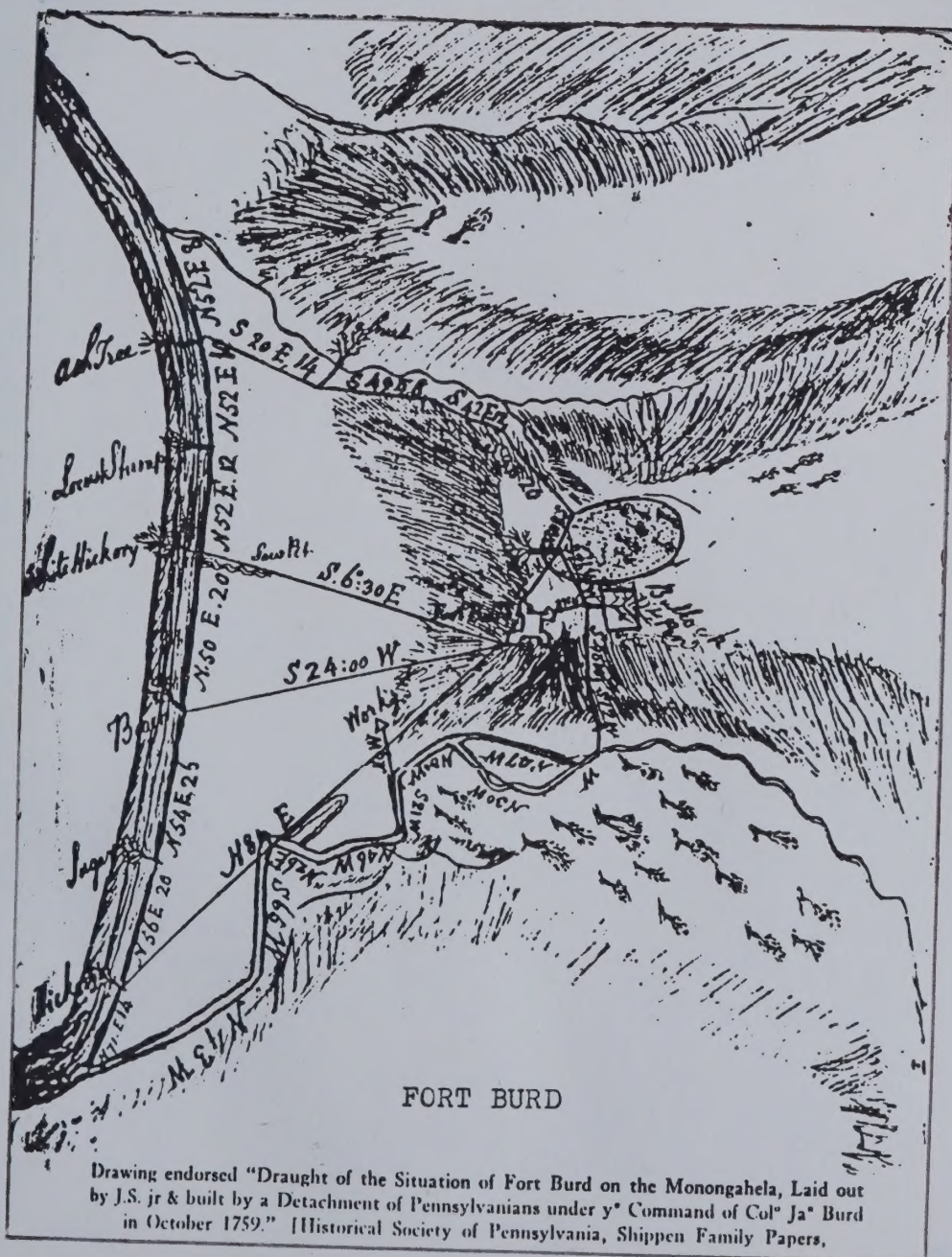
Col. Burd to General Stanwix

Camp at the Mouth of Memocallings* Creek on the Monongahela, one Mile above th Mouth of Redstone Creek

Sir

30 September 1759

I have cut the Road from Guests** and came to this Ground the 23rd Currnt I would have wrote your Excellency ere now but have been hourly expecting the arrivall of a Battoe from Pittsburg.



(*Nemacolin. **Christopher Gist's Plantation, located on Nemacolin's path, was about half-way between present-day Uniontown and Connells-ville PA. The town of North Braddock is on the plantation site.)

(Since we hear no more complaints about the missing flour, we may assume Richard's crew arrived shortly afterwards. There could have been myriad reasons for the delay, conditions being what they were.)

Dear Sir
Camp at Monongahelo 29 October 1759
It was with great pleasure I Reced your Agreeable favor last night of the 24th Currt. I am glad the Genl approves of the building the two houses at the Crossing. Our affairs there go extremely well. I likewise observe the Genls approbation of a Bridge across the Little Youghyogany & that he desires I would have it done, which you may assure his Excellency I will with pleasure; I have sent Captn Paris this morning to the little Crossing to Vew the propper place & to Return & make a Report to me; as I shall leave Captn Paris here I thought it proper he should see both Crossings in order that he might understand my instructions to Him.I sent Lieut Scott & four men in the Battoes with 5 deserters as I thought they might be a hindrance in my March...from here to Pittsburg on Sunday... I shall give the Officer here particular Directions concerning the Regularity of his Entrys & Certificates for Stores, & every respect leav things on such a footing as to prevent all manner of Confusion...

Col. James Burd - Instructions to Captain Richard Pearis

Sir Camp at Monongahela 29 October 1759
As I intend to leave you with those of your Company that are here to Garrison Fort Burd, and the Great Crossings of the Youghyoganey, * You are to detatch One Serjt & ten Men to Garrison the Block house & storehouse at the Crossing. Give the Serjt a particular Charge of the Flatt and what Stores may be left there &c with the Remainder of your Company. You'll Garrison Fort Burd & you'll please receive into the King's Stores all Provision, Forrage &c that may be sent giving proper Certificates for the same & Inform the General or Colo Bouquet thereof that they may order up Batteaus to carry the Stores to Pitsburg.

You'll please to keep a Book in which you'll make regular Entrys of all the Stores you receive & what you send to Pitsburg sending all ways Invoices with all you send from hence. And you'll please observe that you must raise three acctts in your Book viz One for Mr. Adam Hoops, one for Lieut Colo Geo: Mercer and one for Mr. William Ramsay & in the Invoices you send to Pitsburg you'll mention of whom the different Articles are received.

You will proceed from hence to the Great Crossings this Morning & from thence you will take with yo Ensign Duffield with as many Men as can be spared from the Work there conveniently and goe to the little Crossing at Youghyogany and endeavour to find the best place there for building a strong Bridge with his Party and give him the necessary Instructions there anent; The Leggs must be well pin'd down upon the Peers with dry Locust Pinns and covered with good Fascines & Earth.

You'll please desire Mr. Duffield to keep a regular Acctt of the Men that work at both Places & I will gett them paid at Pittsburg & acquaint him that I will send a Waggon with Rum for the Men that work in the Water at the Bridge & all the Tools that he will want in a few Days.

As soon as Mr. Duffield has finish'd the Bridge & the Houses & Flatt at the Great Crossings he is to march immediatly to Pitsburg with all the Soldiers of the Sec Battn The Ship Carpenters & Sawyers & to carry with him in the Waggon all the Tools leaving only at the Great Crossing with the Serjeant two falling axes.

I must begg that you will superintend all New Works & contribute as much as yo can to have them soon finish'd and well; Shall always be glad to hear from you and I am with Esteem, Sir, Your most hble Servant

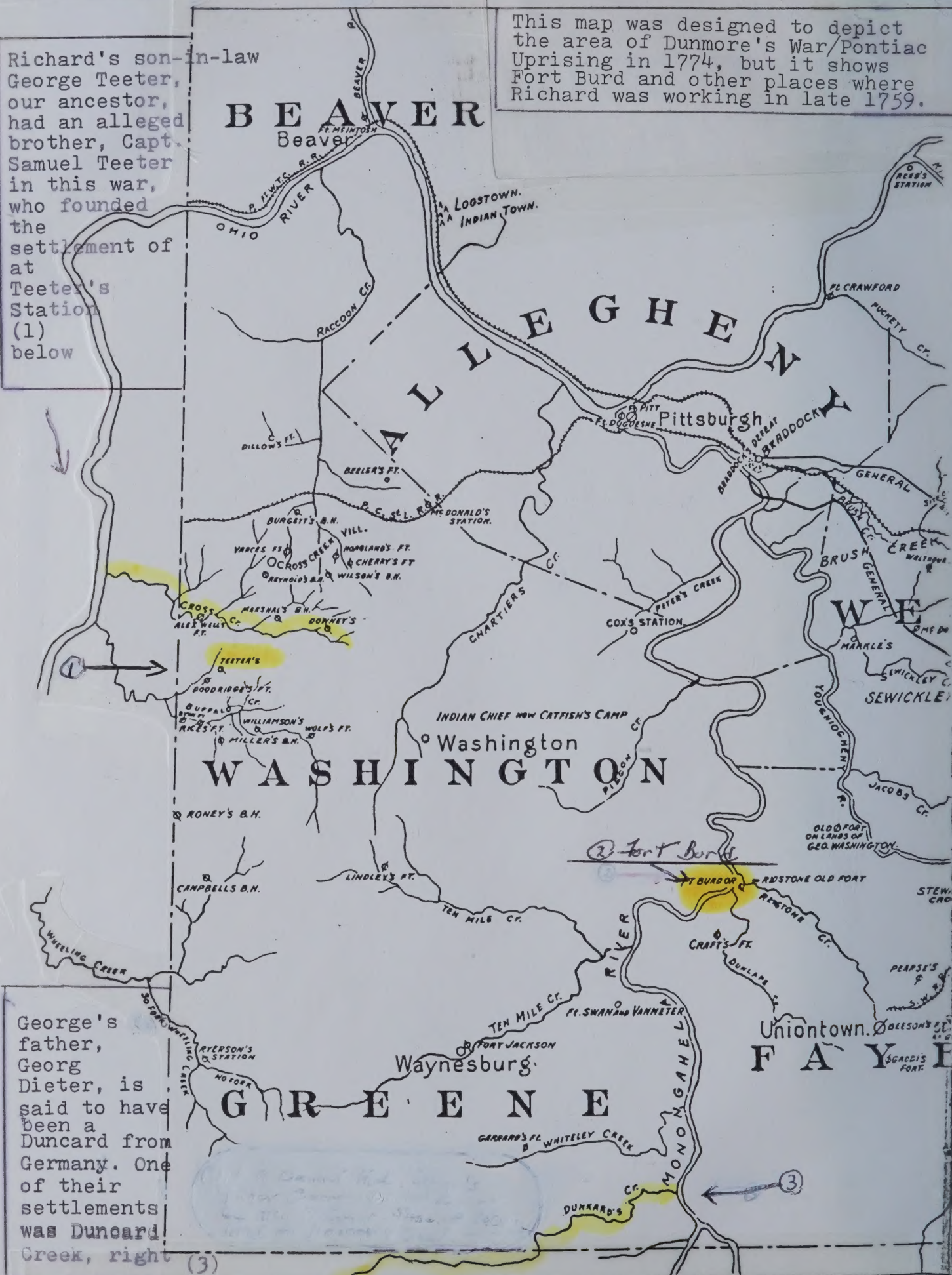
Colonel Bouquet to Captain Pearis

Sir Fort Cumberland 27 November 1759
You are to march to morrow Morning with Your Company to the Bridge now making over The little Crossing of the Youghyogeny with four days Provision for your Party, Cutting and clearing away all The Trees & other incumbrances that you may find on the Road from hence to that place and Cut a New Road round such places as the Waggons can't pass

*See location of Fort Burd on next page.

Richard's son-in-law George Teeter, our ancestor, had an alleged brother, Capt. Samuel Teeter in this war, who founded the settlement of at Teeter's Station (1) below

This map was designed to depict the area of Dunmore's War/Pontiac Uprising in 1774, but it shows Fort Burd and other places where Richard was working in late 1759.



George's father, Georg Dieter, is said to have been a Duncard from Germany. One of their settlements was Duncard Creek, right (3)

You will find A Tree with Three Noches upon it about A quarter of a Mile on this side the little Crossing, from which Tree you will open a New Road to the Bridge along the Valley, and from the other side of the Bridge you will cut as good a Road as you can into The present one. At the present Crossing you'll find a Bridge out of Repair, you'll cutt new Loggs and make it Sufficent.

You are to Join Ensign Duffields Party and work upon the Bridge until it is quite Compleated, after which you are to march your whole Detachment to Fort Bedford and there wait for further Orders. when you have finished Bridge you will find at the Great Crossing the Sillards* all the Tools and what Provisions &c you have not occasion for and take The Sergiants Receipt for the same. You take with you three Bullocks, and you'll send to thegreat Crossing for what flour you may want for your Detachment, and you will give each Man of your Detachment one Jill of Rum pr day and keep a Regylar Accompt of those that work & send it to Colo James Burd who will pay them. you are to pin down every Logg upon the Bridge but you need not Cover them with Fasheens** and Earth as formerly directed.

(* by sillards he meant steelyards, a type of balance for measuring weights used in olden days. **fascines are bundles of sticks. They used them for filling ditches or building parapets.)

Captain Pearis to Colonel Bouquet

Sir

Fort Cumberland 12 December 1759

Agreeable to Your orders I have finished theBridge Clear'd & Cut the Road on both sides thirty feet wide. I did not cut the road the way you mark'd as I found Washington's road* much the best & measured both the old & New roads and find the New to be nigher than the old by fifteen chains** I have also renewed & made good every Bridge between the little Crossings and this Place, Cut round all Places where Waggon's could not easily pass, have measured the road from the Bridge to this Place & mark'd it and find the distance to 23 1/8 Miles. I was obliged to get more Liquor for the Men as Mr. Duffield deliver'd me but three Gallons. I have sent all theTools on the Great Crossings but 12 Axes one Spade one Shovel & one Grubbing hoe which I have delivered at Cumberland with the Horses & Guns &.

I have Inlisted Ten or Twelve Men & expect a great many more, should be glad you would be Pleased to order an officer to Receive them from me at Carlisle as my Bussiness requiers me to return from there if discharged at that Place. I am Sir Your most obedt Hum Servt

Richd Pearis Captn, 3d B.P. R, (3rd Branch PA Regt)

(*He preferred the road taken by Washington in 1754, ** 15 chains equaled 22 yards. Men who worked in the muck under bridges were given liquor, often rum, as a health precaution, in Colonial times.)

The only other mention of him in Bouquet Papers is in connection with the following statement, which seems to have been in connection with a court hearing.

I gather from the last paragraph above that he was not re-enlisting.

Pearis and Duffield: Statement against Livingston

COPY

Fort Cumberland

19 December 1759

This is to Certifie That we the Subscribers were present and heard Major Livingston Tell Mr. Richard Graham that he the Said Graham was very much to blame for bringing back Macraes* Horses. And that Said Graham Answer'd that he tho't it was agreeable to all the Gentlemen here at the time as they were all present when the thing was propos'd, on which we the subscribers heard Maj. Livingston reply that it was not agreeable to him, and further added that he would not Suffer another Horse that was coming up the Road, to be impressed to Carry Salt, let the consequence be what it would. And he the Said Livingston further Said that Colo Bouquet would not Suffer to be taken the Horses that were coming up for that Service. with many other things to the same purpose, Still blameing Said Graham to the highest degree for offering to proceed in that Manner.

As witness our hands this 19th Day of Decemr 1759, Fort Cumberland & Sign'd

Richd Pearis Capt
3d B. P. Regt

Ratchford Duffield
Ens. 2d B. P. Regt

(Endorsed in Bouquet's handwriting, Certificate of Mr. Graham against Mr. Livingston Fort Major at Cumberland. *Clerk's mis-spelling of Edward McGeary, horse master. In days before refrigeration, salt was vitally necessary to preserve food.)

The rest of that year, the Bouquet Papers are full of the settling of accounts with Virginians and other duties necessary for winding up the affairs of the late campaign. Forts were built at Pittsburgh, others like Fort Burd on the Monongahela and so on, roads widened, bridges built, river travel improved, and Prime Minister Pitts' mandates were bearing fruition. Everything might not not be perfect yet, but the framework had been built.

Some books mention Richard's being an Indian agent at Fort Pitt. I have not seen evidence of that, and it was the southern Indians, not the Shawnees, etc., that he was involved with. Perhaps he was appointed an agent to them soon thereafter, as the Cherokees were the next year defeated by an invasion from South Carolina, not Virginia. As stated before, he NEVER would have fought them. If important new details on that subject are found, they will be added later. Confusion with Robert, militia captain at Fort Pitt?

The war was not yet over in the northern sector in January 1760, but the final outcome had been more or less assured when General James Wolfe defeated Montcalm on the Plains of Abraham in Quebec on 13 September 1759, though both lost their lives. Fort Ticonderoga and Crown Point* fell to General Jeffrey Amherst the next summer, Fort Niagara to Sir William Johnson 24 July 1760, Montreal to Amherst 8 September 1760, when hostilities ceased. The Cherokees, who retaliated due to Governor Lyttleton's mismanagement, were invaded through South Carolina the same year, and soundly defeated--crushed is a better word. The Treaty of Paris was finally signed in 1763.

*Our ancestor in quite another line altogether, Lt. Samuel Freeman of Sturbridge MA, fought at Crown Point.

CHAPTER ELEVEN - THE GENTLE FREDERICK COUNTY FAMILY

When Captain Pearis was assigned to be Indian agent at the remote Fort Cumberland, Maryland, by Governor Sharpe in 1756, that place, being a busy Army base, was far safer from enemy attack than most any other place west of the Blue Ridge. French-led Shawnees and their counterparts down on the Alabama River were busy massacring and pillaging through every mountain gap from Toquo to Winchester. So devastating were the attacks that untold numbers of families fled, never to return, leaving their lives' savings behind.

Strange as it may seem to us today, all over the world it was common for the families of soldiers, especially of officers, to stay with them at the forts, either inside or next to the structures, coming inside in case of actual attack. So unremarkable was the custom that old annals of war seldom bother to mention it. There is nothing in writing telling us when he brought his family there to stay with him. My guess is that they were there almost as soon as he, for safety's sake, and that some of their babies were born there. Private quarters were assigned to officers with families. Sometimes well-educated enlisted men earned extra money tutoring groups of children when not in combat. Social get-togethers among the wives and children, even occasional balls when men were present. Virginians have always loved to dance. Though confining, life at Fort Cumberland was far from dismal, even when the troops were away on duty.

But with the war winding down in 1760 and all the old critics gone from Winchester, the family was eager to get back to normal. The nice plantation inherited from his father, George Pearis Sr., was there waiting for them, and perhaps some of his father's nice clothing, also inherited. Any lacking schooling or social skills of the children could now be taken care of. By now there was a handful of them--Sarah, Margaret, George, Robert and Susan. (The youngest, Richard Jr., yet a boy in 1776. must have been born in Winchester a little later.)

This seems to be the best place to interrupt our narrative to examine a vital subject--who was the mother of the Pearis children? Augusta County deed records show that on 16 November 1762, Richard and Rhoda Pearis of Frederick County sold a tract of land on Dunker Bottom, located only a few miles west of his brother George's family home. This is the first time the first name of Richard's wife is mentioned in any document found so far. How can we be sure this is the same lady we have already met, that is, William Hatton's half-breed daughter, sister of John Hatton? How do we know that Richard did not leave her behind in the Cherokee country when he came north to fight the Shawnees? Or that she did not die sometime before 1762 when he showed up with a wife named Rhoda? I have to admit that years ago, before doing all this research, I had almost taken it for granted that he, like many Indian traders in the south, had both a white wife and an Indian mistress. But there are other factors to consider.

First, we know from American Loyalists Claims records that the oldest son, George Pearis, named for his grandfather, was part Cherokee, for it was through this son's influence that he was enabled to buy land from the tribe on which to build the South Carolina plantation. The reports state that his mother was a squaw who lived with the family. Any white stepmother would certainly have objected to such an arrangement. Richard was very voluble about his financial losses during the war, and about all his military service, but very tight-lipped in other respects. For instance, an officer named Christopher Nealy testified for him. Probably he was a nephew, but neither of them mentioned that. George was then a grown man who preferred living with the tribe in Indian country, probably as a trader, and did assist the British during the Revolution. When his father went into the French and Indian War in 1756, George must have been a pre-adolescent who had lived among the Cherokees most of his childhood. There is no question about his ethnicity. The question is whether he had the same mother as his siblings.

Not all old Frederick County marriage records have survived, but a great many have, and various other books list implied marriages, among them the family identity of brother Robert Pearis's wife, Elizabeth Lemon. And we have learned that sister Christian married William Nealy and that brother George married Sarah Pepper. There is nothing there about Richard marrying a lady named Rhoda, and if he had, unless she were a second wife, it would have had to be very young in life for the both of them--much younger than was customary in that time and place.

In 1756, during the aftermath of the Big Sandy fiasco, but before going to Fort Cumberland, and while still in "Augusta County" perhaps at or near brother George's home, and certainly with their mother present, he caused doweries to his daughters Sarah and Margaret to be entered into the court records. Based on the later date of her marriage early in 1762, Sarah must have been about twelve at the time. The little girls were with him then, for he said he had discussed the matter with them and given them copies to keep, and stressed that their marriages must be to young men of whom their Papa approved! The girls, especially our Sarah, were too old to have been daughters of a second wife. And there were still Cherokee warriors in his charge at the time--who had told Governor Dinwiddie that one reason they so admired him was his devotion to his woman, a Cherokee! Those warriors would have been very turned off if he had showed up with a white wife and children.

After that there were all those incidents when Cherokees kept coming to visit him at Fort Cumberland, even though the other officers, notably Dagworthy, disliked Indians. Some of this must have been partly because Rhoda was with him (again, a white wife would have been a turn-off). Also, we have seen that in March through May 1759, Quaker Indian factor James Kenny visited them at the fort and interacted with them. I personally did not notice any deference, but my sister Billie sensed that he reacted to "ye Captain's wife" as a half-breed.

PEARIS FAMILY

Though Captain Dagworthy tried to claim credit for the actions of all the company, it was our Richard and his Cherokee scouts, still fond of him, who were first to enter Fort Duquesne at the French evacuation late in 1758--at which time his wife was at the fort, and they lived there until his discharge in the beginning of 1760.

There is always the chance that she died between 1760 and 1762, and that Richard married a lady named Rhoda (_____) in the interim but no evidence of that exists. Added evidence that his wife was part Indian will be exhibited later in this book, in a Hite Family sketch by Cartmell in which it is stated that Mrs. Jacob Hite was warned by a friendly squaw ((Margaret? Pearis) about a raid by Cherokees at the beginning of the Revolution.

Another guide is that the "History of Greenville, South Carolina," built on the site of Richard's old plantation, assumes that Richard's wife was a Cherokee. Whatever the case, simple arithmetic proves that our Many-Great Grandmother Pearis was the daughter of South Carolina trader William Hatton, no matter what her first name was, for her daughter Sarah was married by 1762.

With all these points considered, and no proof to the contrary, we will continue in this book to consider that our ancestress was Rhoda (Hatton) Pearis. As we know, there are snobs everywhere, but William Hatton, himself, was of upper-class birth. Most people in those days would have taken notice of that. And Rhoda was literate enough that she always signed her name to documents. The majority of southern ladies could not do that in those days. Most men in the south were illiterate, virtually all women.

As we have seen through the Bouquet Papers, 20-year-old soldier George Teeter * was on furlough on 05 Feb 1759 from Captain Alexander Beall's Maryland Company. That day he and Captain Pearis testified for the prosecution in a court martial case at Fort Cumberland. George also hailed from the general vicinity of Winchester, though he had been in the service since he was 17, and it is entirely possible he had been at the fort occasionally by then. Being at liberty on this date, perhaps the young man, sitting near the Captain, was invited to dine with the family, where he was charmed by pretty adolescent Sarah, oldest child. Being a quarter Cherokee, she probably possessed some of those lovely features and manners that many men found so beguiling.

Whether that is really the way they met is hard to say, but meet they did, though at this point the girl was too young to marry and the boy as yet had little to offer. That changed slightly before the beginning of next year when war-weary Virginia, now being plagued by raids from disaffected Cherokees, had trouble enlisting enough soldiers and was paying generous bounties for volunteers

*Born 09 Mar 1739, baptized 29 April by itinerant minister Rev. John Caspar Stoeber at the Opequon River settlement. His sponsors were George Bauman and wife Maria, daughter of Jost Hite.

plus bounty-land incentives that might be redeemed in the distant future. George signed up, and then or shortly thereafter was promoted to Sergeant. Washington having resigned, the VA Regiment was commanded by Col. William Byrd. And whom do you suppose his Captain turned out to be?--Captain Nathaniel Gist, wouldn't you know it?

There is a Teeter Family history in this set, so we won't give it all away here, just a short synopsis. The army base was Fort Lewis--see large map in Chapter Three--where Boyd's Store is also featured, and not far from where Uncle George Pearis lived. (He had run up a tab at the store there.) It goes without saying that Sarah and her parents sometimes visited him. That is another place for the young couple to meet.

There was a paucity of Virginia volunteers, and the next year such a terrible drought occurred that the House of Burgesses had the government parcel out grain rations to the underfed populace. It was hard to feed and provision the army, though they had been commanded to march to the Cherokee towns. The army built roads in Southwest Virginia. Col. Adam Stephen took over from Byrd who resigned, and he and a few troops including Captain Gist's Company with George included, got as far as Long Island where they built a new, larger fort. By then the Cherokees were less active and the troops were disbanded, the officers first.

Somehow starry-eyed Sarah persuaded her Papa that George would make a good husband, he having demonstrated that he had potential as a go-getter, and they were wed immediately after his discharge early in 1762. They lived two or three places in SW Virginia, one of them being on Crab Creek on New River, and later on his bounty land in Kentucky. Their daughter Sarah Teeter married Samuel Griffith, born in South Carolina, who soon became a Methodist minister. The rest of the Pearis children were married after they left Virginia, into richer families, as will be shown later.

Meanwhile, Captain Richard Pearis may have earned some money recruiting soldiers for Pennsylvania or Virginia (he was very good at it) to tide the family over until he received his back pay. He plunged immediately into business matters, improving the plantation, investing in a millsite purchased from the Stroud Family, and in other real estate both in Frederick County and Augusta (then covering most of SW VA) in conjunction with old Sandy Creek army buddies Capt. John Smith et al. You may be positive that he would under no circumstances have acted against his beloved Cherokees, no matter what.

As you may have noticed by now, old deed book entries sound quaint. Much different customs applied then, a hangover from Old English law involving quitrents and so on. These and other debts were customarily settled on Lady Day (March 25) each year. Short term debts might be settled on Midsummers Day (June 24) Michaelmas Day (Sep 29) or Christmas.

Frederick County Deed Books, Volume 6

page 439 29 Nov 1761. (Lease) Between Edward Stroud of Co of Frederick to Richard Pearis & Lewis Pearis of said Co...consideration of five shillings, parcel of Land Containing one Acre lying & being on Opechon Creek..part of greater tract of 360 acres..rent of one pepper corn on Lady Day next.*(signed) Edward Strode, Elioner (E) Strode Wit: Basil Magruder, John White, Mary (+) White. Recorded 2 Dec 1761

pg 440, 1 Dec 1761 (Release) between Edward Stroud & Elener his wife of County of Frederick to Richard Pearis & Lewis Pearis of said Co., for and in consideration of Forty Shillings..One Acre (same as above). Wit: same as above /s/ Edward Strode, Eleanor (E) Strode. 2 Dec 1761

pg 518, 14 Jan 1762 (Release) Between Lewis Pearce Sen. of Co. of Frederick to Richard Pearis of said County...consideration of Five Shillings..150 Acres...(same as above) Wit: same as above. /s/ Lewis (L) Pearce Sen Rec. 2 March 1762 (Lease part not shown)

pg 520, 27 Jan 1762 (Release) Between Lewis Pearce Jun. of Co. of Frederick to Richard Pearis of said County..Consideration of Five Shillings...One Acre of Land belonging & being part of a Certain Tract-Containing 360 Acres lying & being on Opechon Creek (in possession of Edward Strode) Rent of one Ear of Indian Corn on the last day of said Term../s/Lewis Peairs, Mary (X) Peares. Wit: Jas. Blair, Holloway Poor, John Hardin

pg 522, 27 Jan 1762 Release) Between Lewis Pearce Jun of Co. of Frederick to Richard Pearis of said county, consideration of Five Shillings, acre of land as above. /s/ Lewis Peairs, Mary (X) Peares Wit: same as above, Rec. 2 Mar 1762.

NOTE: In those days throughout Virginia, men were better educated than women, who mostly learned the domestic arts, though there were exceptions. You will notice Eleanor Strode signed (E), Mary White signed (+) and Mary "Peares" signed (X). Lewis Pearce, Senior, (L) signed (L) and his son signed Lewis Peairs. As you may have noticed before, Richard always abbreviated his name "Richd Pearis." Rhoda must have been pretty well educated, for she always signed her name, "Rhoda Pearis." Would a Cherokee have done this? Most, even chiefs, were illiterate and pretended not to understand English though they really did, as a ruse. (Chiefs, that is.) That makes it appear that Rhoda was from a very literate white family, but the distinguished William Hatton's daughter evidently received special training.

Most of the deeds will not be repeated in the text. The above is just something to mull over on the outside chance that it might be significant. The acre on Opequon Creek was utilized as a Saw Mill, probably a very good investment.

Augusta County Deed Book 11 (abst. by Lyman Chalkey)

pg 8. 18 May 1762. Johannes () Miller, of Anson County, North Carolina, to John Smith of Augusta and Richard Pearis of Frederick County, £52.15, 380 acres, part of 900 patented to Garrett Zinn 30th June 1754, on Woods River (Note: Original name of New River)

opposite an Island; corner Imanuel Eberling. (Note: Emanuel Eckerling or Eckerlin was a Dunker physician who migrated further north when the Shawnees started their hostilities, winding up in Duncard Creek in Pennsylvania of all places. Somewhere along the line he visited Williamsburg, and is mentioned in Washington Papers. More about him is told in the Teter Family story. The Dunkers, or Dunkards, were a German pacifist sect, vegetarians who never shaved, even if their beards should grow so long they touched the ground, and observed the 7th day Sabbath. Our George's father came to America with a group of them. Though deed books show a 1753 patent date, they had come there much earlier, and were well established on New River before 1750 when the explorer--later Richard's business associate and before that official provisioner for Virginia during the late hostilities--the omnipresent Dr. Thomas Walker, visited them there on 1750 on his way to acquire land in Kentucky for the Loyal Land Company. The Dunkers, already on the site, secured title to the land by the accommodating services of Col. James Patton, later one of the first victims and special targets of Shawnees led by French-Canadian Francois-Marie Picot de Belestre. They captured Captain John Smith who was later ransomed. I do not know whether he was the man mentioned in next paragraph. The reason the patent was issued so late as 1753 is that papers could not be made out until surveys were completed, which often took many years to accomplish.)

pg 18. (month not shown) 1762. £ amount not shown. John Smith to Alex Sayers, one half of a tract held jointly by John (Smith) and Richard Pearis, containing 380 acres, part of 900 patented to Garrett Zinn, 20th June 1753 (Either this is wrong or 1754 shown in the previous entry is) and conveyed to us by John Miller 18th May 1762, described as in above conveyance. Sent to Col. Preston by his order Oct 1773. (I don't know what this has to do with it, but Col. Preston was Col. Patton's nephew. Preston was one of the officers in the Big Sandy Expedition.)

pg. 87. 16 November 1762. Richard Pearis and Rhoda, of Frederick County, to Alexander Boyd of the Virginia Regiment, £ amount not shown, one half of a tract containing (blank) acres in upper part of Dunger (sic) Bottom, conveyed by John Miller to said Richard Pearis and a certain John Smith, August 1762. Delivered: Alex Love, November 1763.

Richard's motives in acquiring the land at Dunker Bottom are unclear. It would have been an ideal site for development, had he decided to do that, and Sarah and George later bought some land not far away, but he sold the land to Alexander Boyd "of the VA Regiment." This is the same family who owned the trading post (or store) at Fort Lewis, to whom his brother George became so deeply indebted. George's brother-in-law Samuel Pepper, living nearby, also was indebted, but he was a prosperous man owning much land and later established the famous ferry at present Radford VA. He remained on cordial terms with George's sons later in life.

Evidence that our Pearis family attended church regularly is shown in the following record. Rules were then such that usually only members were permitted to participate in communion services, which were held only a few times a year. To become a member, one had to convince church elders that they were pious and well informed in doctrine.

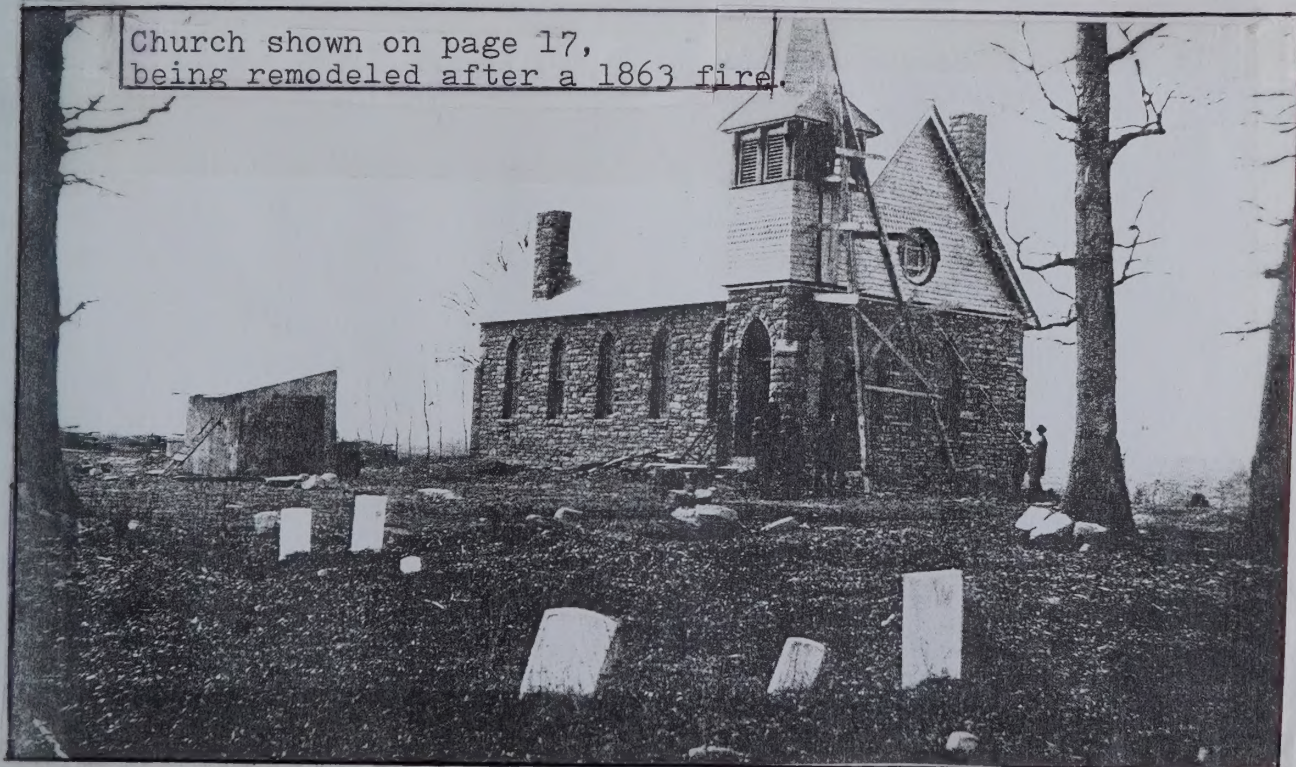
Old Frederick County Parish Record (From Kerns, cited pg 28)

Two pages from a Frederick County Parish record show signatures of parishioners who participated in the communion (Eucharist) during 1761-1763. The register was found in an original book among miscellaneous Frederick County records in the Virginia State Library, Archives Division. At the top of the register is the statement, "I do declare that I do believe there is not any transubstantiation in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and in the Elements of Bread and Wine, at or after the Consecration thereof by any Person Whatsoever." This was one way of saying that the communion table was for Protestants only.

Some persons who signed the register were: Nicholas M. _____ (German). John Hite, Jacob Morgan, Thomas Caton, _____ Mandley, James Clark, James Ireson, John Neaville, John McKensie, John Christopher Heintz?, James Keith, Thomas Speake, Lewis Moore, Cornelius Vansdell, Peter Hog (on June 1, 1762), Joseph Longacre (German sig.), Joseph Glass, John Lindsey, Thomas Bryan Martin, John Sheen, Richard Pearis, John Watson, John Taylor, Edward Robinson, David Shepherd, Jeremiah Odell, John Shealy (his X Mark--the only person who could not sign his own name), Charles Smith, Gabriel Jones, Thomas Rutherford, Thomas Whitson, William Overall, Thomas Wadlington, Archibald Wagner, Humphrey Wells, Isaac Russell, Thomas Lowe, John Kennedy, Joseph A (illegible), Elijah Isaacs, John Linsey, Daniel Bush, John Edwards, Edward Rogers Jr., Morgan Morgan, Walter Moffett, John Waton (German), Van Swearington, John Wager, Wastley Whit, John Dark, Alex Lemen, John Jenkins, Martin _____ (German), Richard Jackman, Adam Stephen, Burr Harrison, Angus McDonald, Thomas Helm, and Henry Netherton

With several exceptions, this list represents persons in the power structure of Frederick County in 1761-3. It is obvious that no women signed the register.

Church shown on page 17,
being remodeled after a 1863 fire.



PEARIS FAMILY

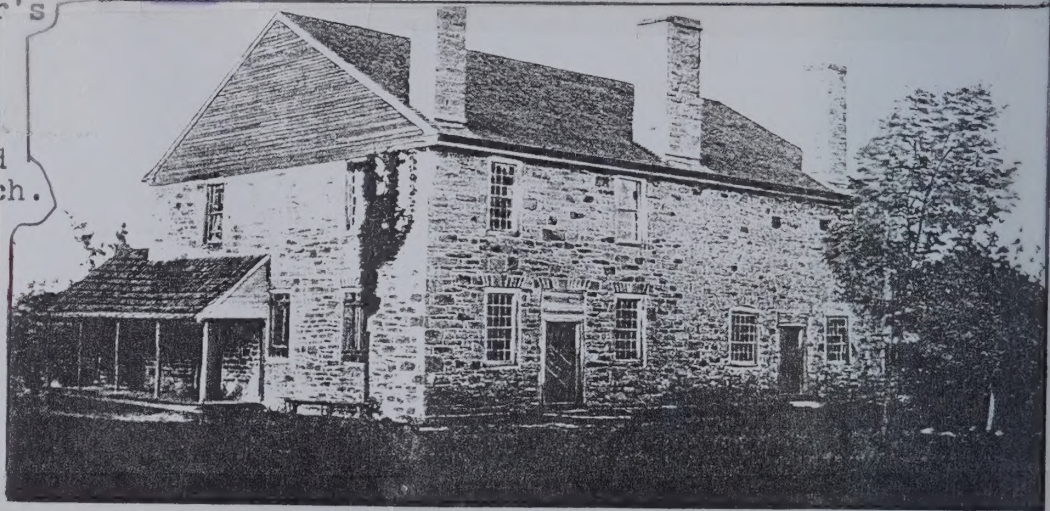
Our family had been gone for a century when these photos were taken during the late 19th century, but they were familiar with all these places.

Right-very old market at Winchester



Center-Old meeting-house of the Hopewell Quakers, located a couple of miles north of George Pearis, Sr's homestead.

Below-group of mourners at Opeckon graveyard next to the church.



Taken from:
Shenandoah
Valley Pioneers
and their
Descendants
by T. K.
Cartmell



<u>Frederick County Deed Book Data - RICHARD PEARIS</u>		<u>Purchase Price</u>	<u>Sales Price</u>
11 Feb 1747/8	Richard Pearis was one of 4 witnesses for the Grubb Family sale/transfer of land		
12 Nov 1761	Richard Pearis & Lewis Pearis/Pearce Sr. purch. 1 acre on Opechon Creek of Strodes	0/40/0	
14 Jan 1762	Richard Pearis 150 acres from Lewis Pearce Sr. adjoining the above(former Strode)	0/5/0	
27 Jan 1762	Richard P. 1/2 acre(other half of acre above from LewisPearce Jr.(for sawmill)	0/5/0	
8 May 1762	Richd. & Rhoda Pearis, 210 acres to Strother Jones (acquired from Fairfax 7 Sep 1761)		20/0/0
8 Sep 1762	Richard Pearis 180 acres from Stephensons at Swan Pond, drains of Opechon (He had this confirmed by Fairfax.)	47/0/0	
2 May 1763	Richd. & Rhoda Pearis to Stephen West 400 acres from Fairfax "waters of Potomac" 810 " adj. Fairfax Manor & Vanmeter march 150 acres from Lewis Pearce 180 acres at Swan Pond from Stephensons 1 acre sawmill site from Lewis Pearce Jr.		819/17/05
28 Dec 1763	Richard & Rhoda Pearce to Samuel Jones 573 acres (origin unspec.-Fairfax?)		375/10/0
3 Feb 1763	Richard Pearis purchase sundry tracts from brother Robert Pearis of Salisbury NC	1000/0/0	
25 Oct 1766	Richard & Rhoda Pearis to David Hunter 536 acres from Fairfax on road to Watkins Ferry, Tuscaroah Branch near Poison Field		740/0/0
25 Feb 1768	Richard & Rhoda Pearis to Cornelious Thompson 260 acres on Opechon, line of Morgan Bryan, devised by his father's will 290 acres from Fairfax 2 Apr 1762 57 acres from Fairfax 7 Sep 1762		500/0/0
16 Mar 1770	Richard & Rhoda Pearis to David Davis & Meredith Darling - 1195 acres bought of Robert Pearis		1340/0/0
23 Mar 1770	Richard Pearis Power of Attorney to Thomas Hite of Frederick County to sell 373 acres purchased from nephew George Pearis III, devised to said George by will of his Grandfather George Pearis*		

This summary is provided because actual deed records would consume way too much space. Amounts shown are in pounds, shillings and pence. Inflation accounts for some increases in price.

* Deed Books seen by this author do not show sale of this land. Another source, perhaps less reliable, says 175 acres (this tract) was assigned to Jacob Hite on 10 October 1765 for 80 pounds. by George Pearis III--this conflicts with deed entries.

The foregoing Frederick County deed book data demonstrates that throughout most of the 1760's Richard was busy acquiring and improving land, mostly from Lord Fairfax, and selling some at a profit while he operated large plantations and the sawmill with hired and slave labor. He was meanwhile expanding his horizons, partly due to contact with Jacob Hite, his old mentor during his late-teen trading days, his wartime associate Major Andrew Lewis, and Loyal Land Company executive and part-owner, Dr. Thomas Walker of Albemarle County. I regret not having details about how he became involved with Lewis and Walker and assume Hite may have had something to do with it, but that it did happen is amply proven in old Colonial South Carolina court and Indian records, many of which are adverse. Richard Pearis did have a talent for stepping on exactly the wrong toes!

This is all very complicated, again involving history, so before getting into it, loose ends of what we have discovered of his Virginia involvements need tying up; as evidenced in the following, he must have had many dealings we don't know about in southern Virginia. Pittsylvania Co. 1767 tithes show his overseer William Lowry and five slaves. No acreage was shown. As explained on next page, we know the workers were a little bit southeast of brother George's home, which was on Glade Creek in what is now Roanoke Co.

(MPL-R929.3 V816)

TITHABLES OF PITTSYLVANIA COUNTY, 1767.

(Contributed by Mrs. N. E. Clement, Chatham, Va.)

	Tithes	Land
Swinfield Hill.....		150
Austin Shot.....	1	
Thomas Shoat.....	1	
John Vanbibber.....	1	400
Henson McDonal.....	1	
Francis McGuier.....	1	
John McGuier.....	1	
Thomas Carter.....	1	
John McGuier Jr.....	1	
Merry McGuier.....	1	
Paul Henson.....	1	
John Henson.....	1	
William Henson.....	1	
James Standeford.....	1	
William Murphy.....	1	113
Miller Dogget.....	1	
Richard Hough.....	1	
Joshua Barton.....	1	107
David Barton.....	1	
Isaac Barton.....	1	
William Ferguson.....	1	
Thomas Miller & William Sumers.....	2	
Francis Bird.....	1	240
Andrew Ferguson.....	1	
Joseph Rentfro.....		280
Robert Jones, Thomas Jones & Henry Jones.....	3	520
John Jones.....	1	400

Virginia Tax Records -(Geneal. Publ. Co.)

Robert Jones Jr.....	1	220
Philip Smith.....	1	150
William Cook.....	1	610
John Pushon.....	1	225
James Rentfro jr.....	1	
James Rentfro Sen, Joseph Rentfro & Peter Rentfro.....	3	600
Veath Dilingham & negro Jeany.....	2	100
Peter Vanbibber, jr.....	1	200
Isaac Vanbibber.....	1	
Mack Poster Sen.....	1	
Richard Pearis's tithes are, William Lowry, negroes: Jack, Harry, Jeany, Hannah & Silviah.....	6	
Anthony Little.....	1	170
Christopher Lackenair.....	1	
John Meadly.....	1	200
John Dilingham.....	1	
James Lamb.....	1	
William Webb.....	1	
John Ramsey.....	1	230
Joshua Weaver & Isaac Weaver.....	2	
Holden McGee.....	1	
Edward Richards.....	1	140
William Dilingham & Joshua Dilingham.....	2	93
Amos Richardson & negro Moll.....	2	150
Benj. Jenkins.....	1	300
Robert Tormet.....	1	
John Hall.....	1	200
Francis Farley.....	1	
Wm. Heard, George Heard & Wm. Beans.....	3	400
Thomas Bird.....	1	
Richard Shoat.....	1	
Jeremiah Muray.....	1	526
John Stevenson.....	1	
John Callaway, negroes Flemen, Asher, Nan & Nell.....	5	500
Abraham Motley & negro Peter.....	2	

I recognize the names of most of these Pittsylvania County people as having lived in what is now Franklin County in the area between Blackwater River and Snow Creek, having learned of them through search in another ancestral line, that of Michael Dunn, not related to the Pearises, who lived on Snow Creek when the Revolution broke out. This was very broken country--with many rolling hills which must have soon become depleted, probably by attempts at raising tobacco, in short order. Michael stayed only a few years, as did others. Most of the Rentfros became very early Tennessee pioneers. Some went to the Red River, a tributary of the Cumberland River, with Colonel John Donelson, prominent Pittsylvania citizen who ran the survey line for the Treaty of Lochaber shown on an upcoming map, which much distressed Hite, Lewis, Pearis, and Walker. Other Rentfros settled in Daniel Boone's old Nolichucky hunting grounds in Green Co. TN. Some of the others on the list, like Callaways, were prominent in the initial migration to Kentucky. It was a highly mobile society.

Our Sarah (Pearis) and George Teeter were also among those who migrated rather early to Kentucky. They seem not to have lived in Frederick County very long if at all, but in the Valley. Their oldest son Samuel, in Revolutionary War papers filed when he was an old man, reported that he was born in Botetourt County on 27 February 1763, which was probably almost a year after his parents' wedding. Botetourt County was created in 1769 out of the huge old Augusta County, and its boundaries then included the Crab Creek area on New River, presently in Montgomery County. This proves that the couple were then living within easy visiting distance of her Uncle George, and his sons George III and Robert who moved across New River when they grew up.

Augusta County Deed Book 15

pg 81. February 1768. Frederick Starn to George Teetar, L(Chalkey does not specify amount but it was ten pounds) 85 acres by patent 22 August 1753, on Crab Creek, a branch of New River. Teste: W. Ingles, William Davis, John Taylor, John and William Buchanan. Sent to George Teeter by his order April 1769.

Frederick Stern, the original patentee, a sheriff, was moving further west to North Fork of the Holston River area, where our Teters also went a few years later. Most of those witnesses were Pearis Family associates of long standing. Uncle George had witnessed a Glade Creek deed for James Davis, relative of William; William Ingles, whose family was victimized during the Drapers Meadows massacre, had participated in the Big Sandy Expedition as a guide. The Buchanans, who later moved on, were of the same clan which produced a later US president. Ingles, by the way, later sold the tract of land on New River higher up, to cousin Captain George Pearis III where he established his own ferry and the present town of Pearisburg, VA.

CHAPTER TWELVE - LAND HUNGER

Details of just how and when Jacob Hite and/or Richard Pearis became involved with Doctor Thomas Walker and Major Andrew Lewis in their quest for land is lost to history. Like today's insider trading, some things never became public. In that era the path to riches was filled with intrigue, though land speculation was nothing new. Virginia Colony had long made huge grants of frontier land as a way to counteract French expansion, though the class-conscious burgesses were careful to deny any petition for such to any man of the "inconsequential sort." That is how Frederick County was settled-- by a grant to Jacob's father. Such grants were made all up the Valley, some of the acreage going to Dr. Walker's own Loyal Land Company

But no sooner was the ink dry on the treaty of peace signed in Paris in 1763 than the British Government dumbfounded the colonies with a Proclamation declaring a moratorium on all settlement beyond the Alleghany Mountains. The purpose was laudable, to prevent Indians from attacking whites over land encroachment. Most members of the Board of Trade and Parliament knew almost nothing about American geography and cared less. Even the more informed failed to realize the extent of settlement already in the forbidden area. Settlers there were ordered to evacuate. There was still much vacant land in New York, which they insisted should be filled up first. That was true, but it was because it was all tied up in huge Manors and the lords of the manors would not sell but insisted on renting and treating the renters as serfs in the Medieval style, already obsolete in the mother country. Most Americans were too independent-minded for anything like that.

Most Americans were outraged. They had also felt the sting of being considered lowly provincials by the British Army, and felt they had won the country by fighting for it. George Washington, one of the more active land speculators, opined that he could never see that proclamation as "anything but a temporary expedient." Soon other issues, like the 1765 Stamp Tax to force the colonies to pay part of the cost of the late war, became so irksome that a spirit of civil disobedience was fostered. Certain it is that many of the Scotch-Irish beyond the Line, some of them squatters, never did move. Much effort had already gone into the development of the Fort Pitt area, for instance. People like Christopher Gist had long lived in far Western Maryland and would not budge. Many Virginians now lived around Redstone Old Fort (Burd) and so on. Thomas Walker owned 4500 acres at Burke's Gardens, another large tract at Wolf Hills (now Abingdon VA) and many others beyond the Line. Andrew Lewis also had holdings at Burke's Gardens and elsewhere.

Other more skilful manipulators than these men were after much more extensive claims, some overlapping theirs, like Samuel Wharton of Philadelphia, on intimate terms with men like Sir William Johnson, Benjamin Franklin, and Governor William Franklin of New Jersey, to whom he gave enough slices of the pie to keep them interested. Wharton's Company was Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan. Captain William Trent, one of the associates, used his influence on Sir William Johnson, powerful Supt. of Indians in the North, to organize a conference which resulted in the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, signed 5 November 1768.

Fort Stanwix & Hard Labor

Negotiations of the Treaty, as described in The Mississippi Valley in British Politics, (1959) by Clarence Walworth Alvord, Vol II pp 68-71

There was an immense crowd gathered for the Treaty, with an estimated 3400 Indians. Both colonial representatives and Indians realized that one of the most important treaties ever made in the forests of America was about to be consummated, and they both had hopes that it would result in a long peace between the two peoples. Sir William Johnson opened the meeting with the solemn and figurative language usually employed in addressing the natives. He recalled that in 1765 he had laid before them the plan of a boundary line to which they had agreed and told them that now the time had come to run the same. Great emphasis was laid on the fact that the king was prepared, in return for a grant of land, to give the large and handsome present which was conspicuously arranged before the eyes of the assembly.

Without doubt this array of gifts had its effect on the savage mind; there was at first great opposition to granting all that Sir William demanded, particularly in the colony of New York; but by dwelling on the subject of the presents and by means of private gifts, this objection was partially overcome. The boundary line, however, was not extended to the lake at the north.

When the question of the southern end of the boundary line came to an issue, Sir William found difficulties of another kind. The Indians made certain conditions before they would make any cessions. The first conditions were undoubtedly the fruit of the conferences with the Whartons held before the assembly met at Fort Stanwix. Secret meetings with the same persons during the period of the congress further strengthened the Indians in their purpose, and there is even considerable evidence that Sir William lent his influence to gain the same end. At any rate he was not surprised when the Indians demanded that they be permitted to give a tract of land to the traders who had suffered at the hands of the Shawnee and Delawares in 1763. This tract was a very large one, situated in what is now the state of West Virginia; it was later christened "Indiana." The Indians further demanded that George Croghan, who had previously bought from them many acres of land, which now proved to lie within the boundaries of Pennsylvania, should receive another cession in compensation. Both of these grants were dated two days before the other stipulations of the treaty.

These cessions to the traders and Croghan were within the territorial claims of Virginia, and were therefore not looked upon with favor by her delegate. (This was Dr. Thomas Walker, who was now alone, Lewis having returned to Virginia in the meantime.) In later years Walker made a declaration upon which the following charge of dishonesty was based:

The whole transaction wore the face of mystery and knavery; for though Dr. Walker was there as a public commissioner for Virginia, he was refused access to the conferences, the caution was used to conceal from him what they were about, and everything until the business was finished, was conducted privately with the Indian chiefs by Sir William Johnston (sic) and the traders.

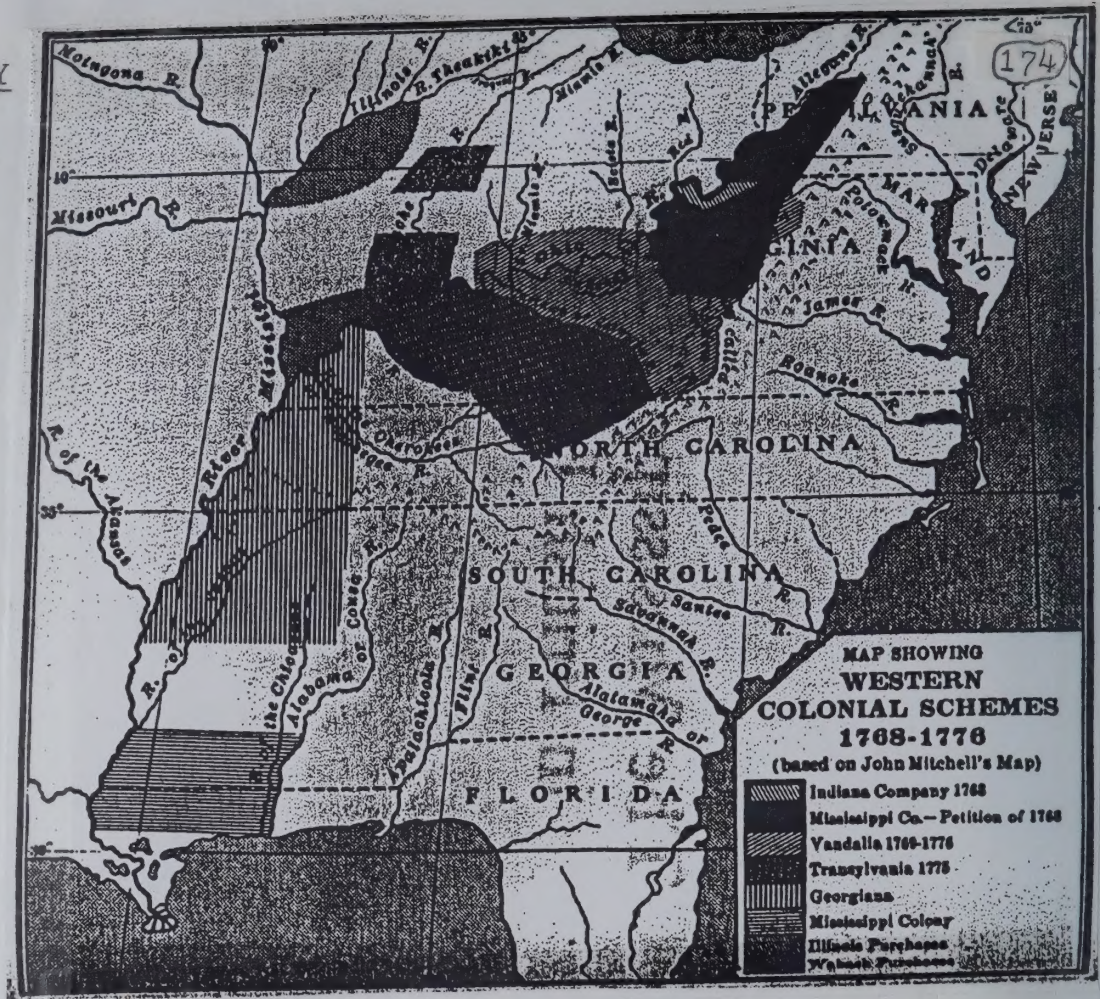
Though Doctor Walker was unable to protect the territories of Virginia from encroachments, he was successful in accomplishing the object of his mission, the cession of the Iroquois claim on the western frontier of Virginia. Johnson's mind was also prepared for this act on the part of the Indians by being shown a deed "for a great part of these lands which they (the Virginia commissioners) assured (him) had formerly met with encouragement from His late Majesty and the then ministry." He was also assured that the Virginians intended to settle the region and that no power could prevent them. What methods were employed to persuade the Indians to part with a title to such a large extent of territory is matter of some doubt, since the story of the secret negotiations was carefully guarded. There are, however, indications of the means that were used.

A few years later Colonel William Preston, who was in a position to know, informed Lord Dunmore that Walker and Lewis made a purchase of the territory from the Indians. Of course no such a purchase is to be found in the public minutes of the congress, nor is there contemporary proof of it. Still, if Preston was correct, the whole affair has a sinister aspect. At least some contemporaries, having their opinion on information no longer accessible, believed inducements to make the cession were given to the Indians. Superintendent John Stuart received, shortly after the congress, information concerning the methods employed by the Virginia commissioners that aroused his suspicions of the whole transaction.

PEARIS FAMILY

Alvord used this map to depict land schemes of that date and a little later, not all of which succeeded.

The land hunger of those days has been likened to the gold fever of the mid 1850's that fueled a rush to California.



Below is how boundaries were fixed in the south by the Treaty of Hard Labor:

John Stuart, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the South, concluded a treaty with the Cherokee Indians, the results of which he communicated in a letter of 17 October 1768, from Hard Labor, to the Governor of Virginia. In it he defined the resultant boundary line as

"From the place called Towahilie, on the Northern Branch of the Savannah River, North 50 degrees East course in a straight line, to a place called Dewisses corner, or yellow water, from Dewisses, or yellow water, a North 50 degrees East course in a straight line to the south bank of Reedy River, at a place called Wanghoe, or Elm Tree, where the line behind Carolina terminates. From a place called Wanghoe, or Elm Tree, to the South Bank of Reedy River, a course in a straight line to a mountain called Tagon Mountain where the great ridge of the mountains becomes impervious.* In a straight line to Chiswell's mine on the Eastern Bank of the Great Conhoway River, to a N.B.E. course, and from Chiswell's mine on the Eastern Bank of the Great Conhoway in a straight line in a North course to the confluence of the Great Conhoway to the Chio."

*Spellings have changed - DeWitt's for Dewisses, Kanawha for Conhoway, Tryon's Mountain for Tagon Mountain, etc. The quote is from History of Southwest Virginia by Lewis P. Summers, pp 90-1

This and other Wharton endeavors helped sly old Ben Franklin and his son grow wealthy much faster than they ever could saving pennies a la Poor Richard's Almanac. If you really dig deep, you will soon discern that every one of the Founding Fathers of America was involved in land schemes. Thomas Jefferson's father before him, Peter Jefferson and his partner Fry were Loyal Land Company partners; when Peter died, Dr. Walker became his guardian. As late as the 1820's, Alexander Hamilton's son grew wealthy operating lead mines in Southwest Wisconsin while it was still Illinois Territory. (Richard's great grandson, our own John W. Griffith was there at the same time.) And on and on. Those gentlemen did whatever they could get away with of that nature, and the only thing that made it wrong was being on the losing side, in which case your enemy's epithets stuck and history called you evil.

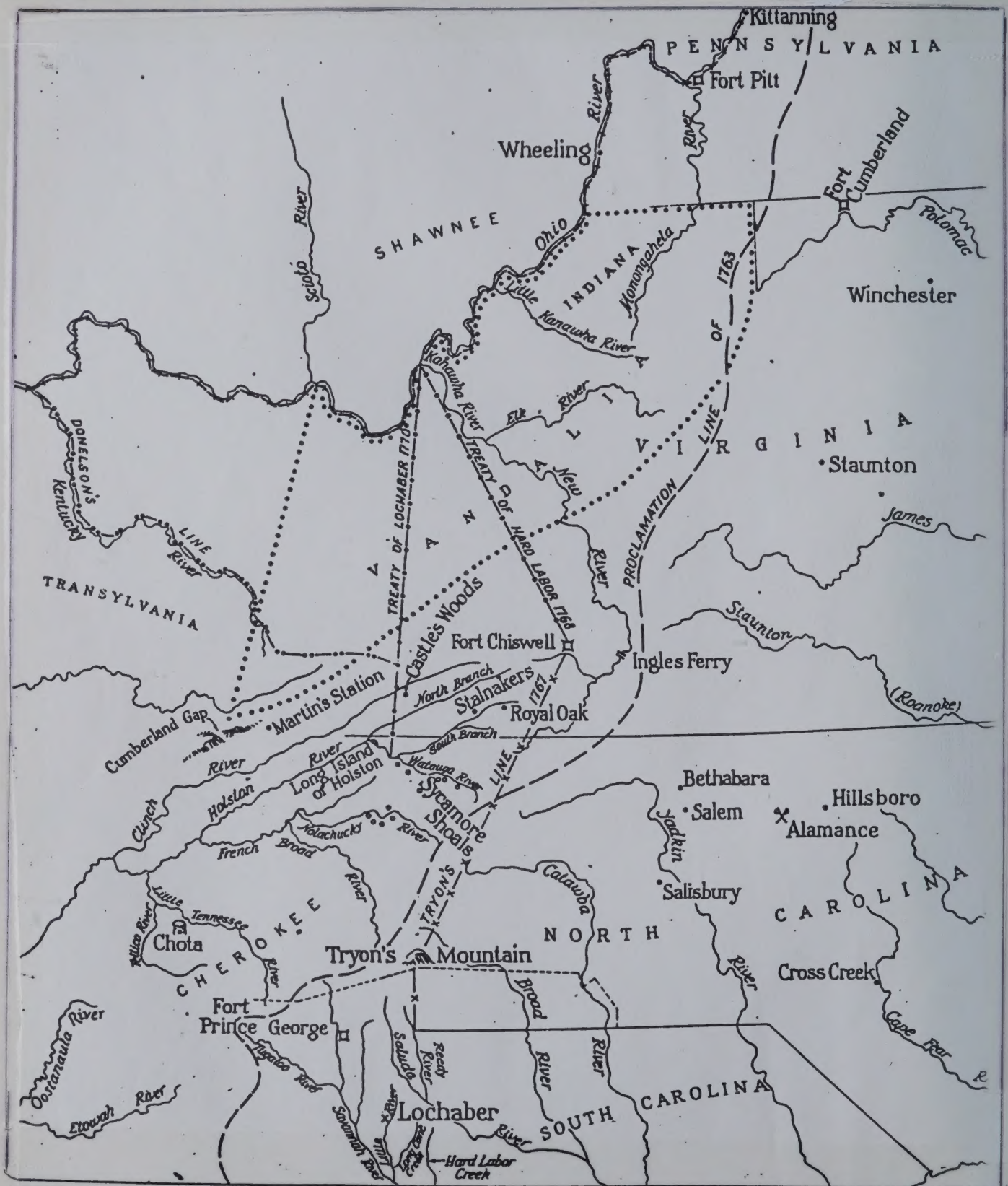
The Treaty of Hard Labor takes us to 1768, the year Richard Pearis moved to Indian Territory beyond the South Carolina boundary, to be near the Cherokees. He built his home and a grist mill smack in the center of what is now downtown Greenville, South Carolina, where his image has become a local icon, sort of an anti-hero. He is known as the Old Tory who once dwelt there.

The histories say he was an Indian agent, ordered south where he "could be more centrally located" near his Cherokee charges. I have not been so fortunate as to discover what they meant by that. If true, it must have been a Virginia appointment of some kind.* Sir William Johnson was superintendent of Northern Indians. He did have helpers, like Croghan, but not our Richard. The Superintendent of Southern Indians was his enemy, though Wars make strange bedfellows and they later collaborated; but not in land matters. John Stuart, rescued by the Little Carpenter from Fort Loudoun when most of the other South Carolinians were massacred, had every reason to hate them, but instead he became their staunchest defender--whether they wanted it or not. The British ministry appointed him Superintendent, with great powers Atkin never had. He was just the opposite of Sir William, an ally of Lord Hillsborough in England, nominal boss of both of them, who insisted on strict adherence to the Proclamation Line of 1763 limiting all white settlement to the area east of the mountains. Though posing as lenient to northern negotiators, Stuart also was determined to enforce that rule.

Though the Cherokees really did sell Richard Pearis land, the hard-nosed Stuart persuaded them to lie and deny it before the negotiators at the Treaty of Lochaber, and say they thought the paper they signed was an application for trade. (A case of epithets of one's enemy repeated in history) Richard knew he had bought the land, and it took more than Stuart to budge him. But Walker and Lewis were after more than a big plantation. Even when they got Governor Botetourt to back them, they got no where with Stuart. Their tale has been started, in case it involved our Richard, and needs, therefore, to be finished briefly. It is important history if nothing else, and did have at least an indirect effect on our family.

*Perhaps confusion in interpreting his American Loyalist Claim, though afterwards he made his living as an Indian trader, looking out for his Cherokees informally.

Colonel John Donelson, then official Pittsylvania Co. VA surveyor, was appointed by Gov. Lord Botetourt as his representative at the Treaty of Lochaber. Subsequently Donelson deliberately misunderstood his mandate to run the line to the Louisa River (really a branch of the west fork of the Great Sandy River) instead calling Kentucky River the Louisa. This map shows the status after that.



Not many years later this Pittsylvania County man would lead a flotilla down the Tennessee River and up the Cumberland to begin the very first settlement in middle Tennessee at the site of Nashville. His youngest daughter Rachel would become bride of future President Andrew Jackson. But back to our story. Sir William Draper, hero of the capture of Manila in 1762, visited Charleston in early 1769 and espoused Stuart's cause, and swayed his admirer Botetourt.

"Certain it is that Botetourt was henceforth unwilling to give his support to Walker and Lewis. In the summer of 1770 Jacob Hite,* their agent, forged a letter from Ouconnostotah to Botetourt. This forgery urged the governor to ignore Stuart and to arrange a congress with the Cherokees on behalf of Virginia, at which gathering this chief would see to it that Virginia obtain all the lands she desired. The Virginia speculators also arranged for the appearance of Saluy before the governor and his council on 17 August to support this forged "talk"; and Lewis urged Botetourt to comply with the supposed request of the Great Warrior. But Botetourt refused to listen."

It was considered significant that, though Walker and Lewis represented Virginia at the proceedings at Lochaber on 18-20 October 1770, they instead sent Hite and Richard Pearis as their agents among the Cherokees. Lochaber was Alexander Cameron's plantation, located on Penny Creek, a stream flowing into Long Canes Creek from the northwest. It contained about 2600 acres, 2000 of which were granted to him in 1765 by virtue of his service in the French and Indian War. He was Stuart's Deputy.

By this time the Cherokees were very upset because white settlers were beginning to encroach in the area near Long Island. (Daniel Boone's neighbors, the Beans, for instance, had built a secluded cabin near Watauga River, and others had followed.) They were extremely unhappy when a concession was made for settlers, "...beginning where the boundary line between the province of North Carolina and the Cherokee hunting ground terminates, and running thence in a west course to a point six miles east of Long Island in Holsten's River, and thence in a direct course to the confluence of the Great Conhoway and Ohio Rivers." "Intrigues of Richard Pearis and others for further private cessions did not pour oil on the troubled waters. The Cherokees actually refused at first to ratify the Lochaber cession and Ouconnostotah was sharply criticized because he had taken the leading role at Lochaber, but at Cameron's insistence they finally agreed to join in surveying the line."

Because Pearis represented Virginia at the Conference, he was singled out with especial venom by Stuart, as an example to anyone else who might attempt to emulate his methods. "As early as the summer of 1768 certain Cherokee chiefs had evinced willingness to make cessions of land to private individuals, in spite of the Proclamation of 1763. At that time Ouconnostotah and Saluy attempted to persuade Stuart to permit the Cherokees to give a piece of land twelve miles square in the

*John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier, by John Richard Allen (1944) quotes this page and next from pages 279-281 and 298-301

"valley of the Saluda River beyond the South Carolina Indian line to a son of Cameron by a Cherokee woman. When Stuart pointed out that their proposal was contrary to the proclamation, the chiefs adroitly argued that the proclamation did not apply, since Cameron's son was an Indian. At the Congress of Hard Labor the Cherokees importuned the superintendent so forcefully that he placed the matter before Hillsborough. The Cherokees actually measured off the land they desired to give, although Stuart prevented..the cession.

"In the winter of 1768-9 another scheme..came to light. When Dr. Walker came to Charleston in January, Walker carried to Cameron a letter from David Ross, formerly a factor in the Virginia..company. Ross proposed to Cameron that they persuade the Cherokees to earmark for them some desirable lands and to insist the grant be consummated at the next formal treaty...Cameron reported the overture to Stuart, who placed it before Hillsborough...Ross's scheme fell through...

"The next attempt to consummate a private purchase--in the final analysis a successful one--was made by Richard Pearis. According to Cameron ..Pearis was a finished scoundrel; Cameron claimed that Pearis even managed to cheat Walker and Lewis while acting as their agent among the Cherokees. Certainly Pearis's activities in behalf of Walker and Lewis did not occupy all his energies. In 1769 he secretly and fraudulently secured the consent of a number of Lower Cherokees to a cession twelve miles square in the valley of the upper Saluda for his half-breed Cherokee son. In the following year with the aid of Saluy, whom he promised maintenance for life in return for his services, Pearis strove to secure the approval of the whole Nation. He obtained signatures to a deed by representing to the Cherokees that it was a petition for the establishment of a trade with Virginia."

We need to keep in mind that all this information is not necessarily true, for it was extracted from letters written to England by Pearis's bitter enemies, Stuart and Cameron. Taking our cue from that, let's hear some of it direct. Following are excerpts from Stuart's letter of 28 Nov 1770 to the Earl of Hillsborough, reporting the proceedings at Lochabar.* You will notice that he did not confront Pearis during the meeting when all participants were present, but afterward when he had cleverly arranged that only those Indians he could rely on to say what he wanted them to were there.

"..Every step that could be thought of was taken by a set of self-interested men in the province of Virginia to embarrass me in the settlement of a boundary line. Emissaries were sent into the nation to practice upon the Indians and prevail upon them to refuse treating with me. The Young Warrior, Saluji, was decoyed into Virginia and a talk put into his mouth...Forged letters were sent to Lord Botetourt and the Indians were brought to sign them under pretence that they were directed to the Government..requesting a trade from that province. The persons employed to transact this business were not unattentive to their own interest...These were Jacob Hite and Richard Pearis, formerly an Indian trader. The former wrote the letters, conveyances of land, etc., and carried off the Young Warrior Saluji who died on his return home; the latter speaking their language remained to manage matters with those Indians.

*Documents of the American Revolution, K.G.Davis, Editor (1972) Vol II pp 261-2. Verbatim minutes of those proceedings begin on page 210.

SECTION OF MAP ENGRAVED IN LONDON IN 1775

FROM ACTUAL SURVEYS

By HENRY MOUZON and OTHERS.

English Miles 69 1/4 to a Degree.

LONDON. Printed for Rob^t Sayer and J. Bennett, Map and Printers, N^o 53 in Fleet Street. Published as the Act directs, May 30th 1775.

Their land was situated not far from
Paris Mountain, at the Fork of
Reedy River, and extended
almost to the
Enoree.

PEARIS PLANTATION



"I had information of their practices, which they knew; for which reason Mr Peares did not choose to appear at the congress without my permission, which he applied for as he said in order to justify his conduct. After the treaty was signed I sent for him and he came. I confronted him with the Indians in presence of Colonel Donelson, and they declared with great indignation their utter ignorance of the letters and talk referred to in the minutes of the Council of Virginia, as well as of the titles of land obtained from them, persisting that they understood them to be letters soliciting a trade as aforementioned....."

Following the meeting, Stuart sent another letter to Charles Town, whence Ouconnostotah was then bound to collect presents due him for his assistance on that day. Included among the presents were much finery for the chief and his wife!

Stuart succeeded in preventing most of the private purchases, like that of Edward Wilkinson. In 1770 Wilkinson, a Cherokee trader, made an agreement with cherokees providing for the cession of a large strip of land contiguous to those reserved for the sons of Cameron and Pearis in cancellation of debts of over £8000 to him. Stuart thought that would start a bad trend among other traders. Wilkinson even went to England to argue the issue, but did not prevail. Stuart later (08 Jan 1773) sent to England a map of lands surveyed by Patric Calhoun, Deputy-Surveyor, drawn on 08 Dec 1770 for Wilkinson, along with the reservations of Cameron and Pearis. (What we wouldn't give for a copy for that map--probably it is still locked up in some vault in England!)

The person who did succeed was Georgia Governor Wright. In payment of debts to him, The Cherokees actually granted him Creek lands, thereby creating something of an incident. Ouconnostotah happily supported that deal! Cameron, being absent, was unable to stop it.

Lest the reader should get the idea that Stuart was steadfast in his support for the abused Indians, the following incident disproves that. Georgia Governor Wright, powerful and influential with some of the English peers, was able to make the ploy about Indians owing him large amounts from his trading business stick. "Stuart was one of the chief negotiators at the treaty which was made at Augusta. The Creeks were not willing to make any cessions. However, at the treaty which was completed on 1 June 1773, the Indians finally ceded 2,100,000 acres comprising land in Wilkes, Lincoln, Taliaferro, Green, Oglethorpe and Elbert counties, Georgia. The Indians were discontented with their bargain...the traders had been expected to furnish the goods for the treaty but failed to do so, and Stuart...made a few hasty purchases. Stuart and Wright insisted that the Indians punish murderers of white settlers on the new purchase, and when Creeks hesitated an embargo was placed on trade with this tribe...by Oct 1774 the Creeks seemed willing to meet British demands. During these negotiations, Stuart discovered another deal in which Jonathan Bryan of Georgia leased from Creeks located in East Florida. The Indians tore up the deed at the conference, but on the way home Bryan inveigled them into renewing it.

The following illustration will demonstrate that Stuart cast around for any support for his policies he could get. Sometimes he was successful, others less so. He attempted to get North Carolina Governor William Tryon as an ally, without much success. It could even be that Mitchell, the Salisbury merchant alluded to, was acquainted with Richard's brother Robert??

From: Colonial Records of North Carolina (2nd Series) Robert J. Cain, editor. Volume IX, page 237
Records of the Executive Council 1755-1775, Minutes 1770

Given under my hand and the Great Seal etc. at New Bern 27th August 1770.
Wm. Tryon.

His Excellency was pleased to lay before this board Several Letters of Correspondence that passed between him, Mr. Steuart the Superintendant of Indian Affairs, and one from Mr. Cameron the Deputy Superintendant (with a Letter from Mr. Mitchell Merchant in Salisbury) and desired the Opinion of this Board whether any measures can be taken to prevent Richd. Paris from Settling the Cherokee Lands on the Western Frontiers of this Province. It is the opinion of this Board that as Richard Paris is not an Inhabitant of this Province, they are at a loss to know what Steps to recommend to remedy the matter complained of by Mr. Steuart, But that this Government will take Effectual care that no Settlement shall be formed on the said Lands but under Grants from the Crown.

Then His Excellency desired the Opinion of this Board, as the Suggestions in Mr. Steuarts and Mr. Camerons above Letters intimate a dissatisfaction of his conduct towards the Cherokees, whether in his Behaviour to the said Indians he has at any time been wanting in Attention and regard to their Interest. It is the Unanimous Opinion of this Board, that the Suggestions set forth are false and frivolous and that the discontent of the said Indians appear to have been excited by the Traders settled amongst them.

His Excellency informed this Board, that in pursuance of a Petition from the Freeholders in the Town of Hillsborough, he thought fit to Grant a Charter of Incorporation¹²³ to the said Town, bearing date the 9th day of July last, with a power of returning a Burgess to the General Assembly Ordered that the said Charter be read, and recorded in the Secretarys Office.

At a Council held at the Council Chamber at New Bern on thursday 18th October 1770. Present His Excellency the Governor. The Hon'ble John Rutherford, Lewis DeRosset, Alexr. McCulloh, Robert Palmer, and Samuel Cornell Esqrs.

(WI State Hx Soc #F257 N67--1994)

North Carolina, lacking a seaport, was less prosperous than either Virginia or South Carolina, calling themselves, "A modest colony between two proud ones." They were a little weary of being dictated to by their richer neighbors. Perhaps these proceedings reflect that.

Though it is quite possible Richard Pearis had visited that part of South Carolina before 1768 in his travels as a trader, the family had never lived there, and probably were shocked by the conditions they found. Regulator groups were riding roughshod as they dealt out summary justice to suspected wrongdoers, and many a man was "hung by mistake" before the real culprit was discovered. And the once proud Cherokee nation was in a pitiful impoverished state, easy prey for men like Williamson and Georgia Governor Wright and others who inveigled them into debt and then demanded land in payment. To understand the part of the story that follows, it is necessary to understand what brought this all about.

All South Carolina histories will tell you these things, but for the benefit of those who have never read them, I will try to do it briefly. Earlier in this book, we left our Cherokees (or they us) becoming increasingly disenchanted by the "Great Men of Virginia" and other whites. Before that we mentioned Fort Loudoun, built near Chota to replace the Virginia Fort, never manned, which Richard helped build. Governor Glen, who had been a very good governor (and who, by the way, had tried to get the Charleston Council to build courts as early as 1753 in the backcountry which would have prevented the later Regulator mess) was on his way to help supervise the building of the fort in the summer of 1756, when he learned that he had been superseded by Governor William Henry Lyttleton, a baron and former ambassador to Portugal, who felt supremely confident in his ability to handle a few rude savages. His very undiplomatic handling led many of them, who never would have done so had Glen been there, to listen to the inducements of the French. He did encourage warriors to go north to help General Forbes' Army. But, as we have seen, some of those who went, were there to see who would give the best gifts. A series of frontier killings (not handled well by authorities) led to a state of war in September 1759. Some Indians were locked up as hostages at frontier Fort Prince George, as precaution, to be traded for the real culprits. An insufficient number of guards were left when other troops left. Cherokees seized the fort and slaughtered the guards. For the next two years the frontier blazed with gunfire. Lyttleton was withdrawn to England and left the colony in the better hands of Governor William Bull. Among the devastated settlements was Long Canes (shown on the Lochaber Treaty map) where Ulster Scots lived. Nearly 100 Cherokees fell on them and butchered men, women, and children, among them the mother of Patric Calhoun, grandmother of powerful statesman John C. Calhoun.

Patric Calhoun, you will remember, was the man who surveyes the Pearis estate. Naturally, his mother having been slain by Cherokees, he took the Patriots' side in the Revolution. So did most of our ancestors, Richard Pearis being an exception. More typical was our Thomas Dyal, Jr., of St. Mark's Parish in old Craven County, northeast South Carolina, who fought against the tribe in 1759-60. Thomas was great-grandfather of our Mary Ann Dial who married John W. Griffith, Richard's great-grandson. (See chart at the beginning of our book.)

This example brings us back to the point in our story at the end of Chapter Seven, where disenchanted Cherokees were raising a ruckus in Bedford and Halifax Counties, Virginia, and listening

to overtures of the French, thus leading up to the attacks on Long Canes and elsewhere in South Carolina. They suffered mightily for that error in judgment, to such an extent that their population was sharply reduced by starvation. After the slaying of Captain Raymond Demere and his troops at Fort Loudoun, the Colony appealed to General Jeffrey Amherst for aid. At length he sent Colonel Archibald Montgomery (Lord Eglinton) and his Royal Scots Army (1200 men including other men picked up on the way) and marched into the lower Cherokee towns on 01 June 1760 burning villages, destroying crops, and killing or capturing those he could. Boasting that he had "chastised" the Indians, he left prematurely.

In 1761 Amherst sent another Scotsman, Colonel James Grant with 1200 regulars plus 400 South Carolinians* with other militia who marched over the mountains, burning all of the Cherokee towns, destroying all crops, and driving the Cherokees into the mountains to starve. The Cherokees had no alternative but to sue for a humiliating peace which left the Piedmont open to immigrants. (Under Old Hop in 1756, and Governor Glen, in return for Fort Loudoun they had ceded to King George II all the Cherokee lands in South Carolina except for the northwest corner comprising present Greenville, Anderson, Pickens and Oconee Counties.) During that time North Carolina had built Fort Dobbs not far from Salisbury, on the route immigrants from Virginia and Pennsylvania followed into North and South Carolina. The Cherokee War was scarcely over before a tide of mostly Ulster Scots but including others were pouring down over that road to settle, expecting little but subsistence.

The Upcountry was too far distant from markets to attract planters who hoped to get rich from the labor of slaves, though a scattering of Low Country planters, perhaps with clairvoyance about the future, contrived to get grants there, but much greater opportunities were at the same time opening up in Georgia, for rice grown near the Savannah river, etc., and for forest products marketed by the same route. William Henry Drayton, considered a patriot later but to us a villain, tried to get land in the Indian Territory but was quashed by Stuart. Perhaps that made him even more rabid in his later endeavors. Governor Wright, as we saw, fleeced the Cherokees and especially the Creeks in the Georgia Upcountry.

Selfish tidewater planters who had grown very wealthy from the forced labor of gangs of maltreated slaves, controlled the government from Charleston, where all the courts were, run by grasping lawyers who wanted to collect all the legal fees to be had in the entire colony. Through their influence, the Council refused to let any seats of justice be established anywhere else. Backcountry victims had to spend more than the case was worth to travel to the

*Evidently Grant had learned much the hard way from his premature attack on Fort Duquesne a few weeks before its fall. While all this was going on in SC, Richard was involved in building roads to Fort Pitt. His son-in-law Sgt. George Teeter was building roads to Fort Robinson (Long Island) under Capt. Nathaniel Gist and Col. Adam Stephen, but they got no further and disbanded.

city, where cases were often postponed indefinitely. Many entire books have been written on the subject* Finally taking matters into their own hands, the Regulator movement was formed in desperation. Even before the Cherokee outbreak, the planters had become almost paranoid in their fear of insurrection of their African slaves, even though, in their quest for riches they continued to import more, and also in their fear of the Indians on the frontier who were becoming increasingly angry because South Carolina traders were fleecing them.

Instead of addressing the Indians' grievances, they decided that the menace from both races could be solved by the settlement of poor white farmers in the backcountry. Three new townships were set up west of a line from Ninety-Six to Due West (AKA Yellow Waterm Devisses and DeWitt's Corners), i.e., Boonesborough on Long Canes, Hillsborough on Little River, and Belfast or Londonborough on Hard Labor Creek. Eager to bring in settlers, the Assembly in 1761 provided passage money of £4 sterling for "respectable poor Protestants" from Great Britain and Ireland. Children twelve to two received half. Bounties were also given for purchase of tools, leading to a flood of both Ulster and lowland Scots, Welsh and English as well as a few French Huguenots at New Bordeaux and Abbeville; and even a few overseas Germans or Swiss. Others came from Pennsylvania and Maryland, some of them criminals fleeing justice--these formed gangs of banditti and preyed on their fellow man. Eliminating this class was one of the goals of the Regulators, since the authorities in Charles Town would not help.

Many came with only a pitiful supply of this world's goods--a horse and cow if they were lucky, the clothes on their backs, one or two cooking pots, two or three pewter spoons and a hunting knife or two. Most contrived to get some sort of much-needed firearm. A quilt or two was included and the indispensable axe with which to make a crude dwelling. Their small claims were tax-exempt for ten years. All were grateful to King George who had made the subsidies possible and loathe to fight their benefactor later on.

The ill will aroused by Charles Town's long disdain of the people on the frontiers helps to account for the unwillingness of those people to throw up their hats and cheer for the "Patriots" when the war broke out. The memory of a bitter struggle over the court act made many a man a few years later scorn to follow, against the sovereign who had given him his land, the cross-country politicians from whom he felt he had suffered far greater wrongs than any imposed by Parliament or King. All of these factors contributed to make the War to follow far more costly and bitterly fought in South Carolina than in any other place in the nation to follow.

*One such unusual, entertaining book is The South Carolina Back-Country on the Eve of the Revolution, the journal of a high-church Anglican missionary, Charles Woodmason, who set out about that time to convert the whole backcountry to his particular brand of theology. Knowing nothing of their culture and bigoted against all other faiths, he exaggerates grossly, especially against Presbyterians, who told him bluntly that they "wanted no god-dam black-gowned sons of bitches there." Despite all this, in due time he became sympathetic to their plight and assisted Regulators in their petitions to establish seats of justice.

PEARIS FAMILY

At length, after a great struggle involving the Regulators and to circumvent them, a circuit court act became law, approved by the King on 25 Nov 1769, providing for seven court districts in this vast area, meeting thrice a year in Charles Town and twice in Beaufort, Orangeburg, Ninety Six, Camden, Cheraw and Georgetown. The first trials were held in 1772, in which Stuart indicted Richard Pearis for illegal possession in Cherokee Territory at Ninety-Six courthouse. (By the time of the Revolution the back country had also elected three representatives to the legislature, a pitifully small number but a start. Among them was Patrick Calhoun of Long Canes.)

When Stuart had quashed his attempt to have his grant approved at Lochaber, Pearis had not been dismayed. With Jacob Hite to whom he had sold part of the land, he simply assumed the cession was complete and legal and continued to make use of it. Stuart finally appealed to the Governor and Council for help and was referred to the acting Attorney General James Simpson. Simpson unearthed an act of 1739, forbidding private purchases, and prosecuted Pearis and Hite. Late in 1773, both were fined at the Ninety Six court as guilty of violating the act, forced to renounce titles, and also fined. On 21 Dec. Stuart reported this to England and said he hoped this would set a good example by deterring others from trying any such attempts in the future, but said the success was due to the old law, and might not work elsewhere.

But Pearis was not budging. He simply had the Cherokees place the grant in his part-Indian son's name and had it surveyed in the winter of 1774/5, and persuaded Edward Rutledge to make out titles for the son in the same court. He settled on the land until he was driven from it by the Rebels at the start of the Revolution, and was later compensated for its loss by the British Loyalist Commission.

Cameron, who detested Pearis with fiery vengeance, was ready to believe any rumor about him, or probably make up one himself. Though he had been prevented from obtaining title to the land adjacent to him in his own Indian son's name, he somehow contrived to occupy it for grazing purposes, raising huge herds of cattle thereon. Thus he was able to spy on him and, not communicating, imagine all sorts of things. Knowing how contemptuous Richard had been of people who stole "the King's horses" while he was stationed at Fort Cumberland, the following accusation seems far-fetched. On 11 Oct 1773 he wrote Stuart that Richard Pearis was smuggling rum into the Cherokee tribe, also that he was encouraging whites and reds to bring in stolen horses which he then sold in Virginia.

As we already know, Richard had been a lover of fine horses all his life. He brought some with him, who flourished in this excellent new environment. Others he purchased from England, delivered for him at Charles Town. Our Sarah had already received fine horses as her wedding present. Virginia was not very close, but there would have been a demand for fine horses. He would not have been the first to provide rum for the Indians but cared too much for them to be a great offender.

17 December 1774 Cameron wrote to Stuart that Richard Henderson and others were among the Cherokees and he suspected that they were trying to make some land purchases. These preliminary negotiations culminated in the Henderson purchase of 17 March 1775 at Sycamore Shoals. By this purchase a large tract of land bounded by the Kentucky, Holston, Cumberland, and Ohio Rivers became the property of Richard Henderson and Company. Henderson was undoubtedly influenced in this purchase by an opinion supposed to be derived from the eminent British jurists Camden and Yorke to the effect that deeds made at public conferences by Indians as sovereign nations and the bona fide owners of the land were valid conveyances and required no confirmation by the Crown.

"This purchase aroused opposition, and protests were made by Stuart, Cameron, and the Governors of Virginia and North Carolina. Although Virginia held the Henderson deed void against the state she later considered it valid against the Cherokees." Thus, at Henderson's expense, Virginia became owner of Kentucky in March 1775. By the same date five years later, Richard's son-in-law George Teter and his wife Sarah (Pearis) Teter were already owners of bounty land there.

Everyone knows the story of Daniel Boone and his sponsor Judge Richard Henderson. Only enough will be told here to show that Captain Richard Pearis, his former trading partner Nathaniel Gist, and former partner, Thomas Price were there as interested spectators. Price, who also still worked occasionally for Pearis was used as an interpreter during the ceremonies.

Extracted from Dawn of Tennessee, Samuel Cole Williams (1939) pp 402-5

In the autumn Richard Henderson and Nathaniel Hart, representing the company, passed through the Watauga and Nolachucky Settlements on their way to the Overhill towns to treat with the Indians. They were joined and guided by Thomas Price, an old trader to the Cherokees and an interpreter, who then lived on Cherokee Creek, in the present county of Washington, between those two settlements. Henderson and Hart, also, returned through the settlements.

The visit of the Carolinians to the Cherokee towns was promptly reported by Cameron to Stuart and by the latter to Lord Dartmouth in London.

The chiefs of the Cherokee Indians, after Henderson's visit, delegated Little Carpenter (Attakullakulla), their reliance in diplomacy, to go to North Carolina to view the goods proffered as consideration for the desired lands.⁷ We have a glimpse of the chief and his party as they passed through the Moravian towns:

Nov. 23, 1774. Two Indian men and a woman arrived today, accompanied by several white men.⁸ They were going to Col. Henderson, who they say, has bought land from the Cherokees,

some 300 miles square. The Indian chief, or king as they call him, is on his way to receive payment for the Cherokee nation; this nation is not at war, but is quiet and peaceful . . . The Indians wondered much at the organ, thinking it must be alive if it could make a sound like that; the organ had to be opened for them, for they had heard children inside, who sang . . . They say they are to receive 4000 pounds in goods—it can hardly be believed.⁹

The goods had been assembled at Cross Creek (now Fayetteville, North Carolina) and they met the approval of the Indian delegation—the squaw shrewdly examining the goods in the interest of the women of the tribe.¹⁰

Six wagons loaded with the consideration goods made their toilsome way westward with this party. "The Indians would scarcely let their leader, Col. Henderson, out of their sight. The whole province is stirred up over this purchase of the land by private individuals; indeed some say that it did not really belong to the Cherokees."¹¹ Significantly, the Moravian "Br. Bagge changed several gold pieces for Col. Henderson."

Attakullakulla and Henderson had fixed upon the first day in March as the day for the Cherokees to meet the Carolinians in treaty and Sycamore Shoals-of-Watauga as the place. But as early as January eager Indians gathered at the rendezvous where the goods had been stored after the arrival of the transport wagons. By the latter part of February their number had swelled to hundreds; and, according to Felix Walker who was present, the treaty lasted about twenty days.¹⁴ By many accounts, the number of Cherokees on the ground finally reached 1200, one-half warriors.

For the subsistence of such a horde, the Wataugans furnished food (largely beeves and corn-meal), crediting Henderson and his associates.¹⁵ A God-send was this to the men isolated on the western waters; a market for their surplus products was brought to their doors.

The country-side practically emptied itself of men* with more than a sprinkling of women and children present to witness the scenes. It was not only the greatest event that transpired in their midst; it was the most colossal transaction in lands by individuals or a private corporation that America has ever seen. Nearly 20,000,000 acres were involved.¹⁶

Real negotiations began on March 14th, Henderson at the outset, questioning the Cherokees concerning their ownership of the lands for which his company

had bargained. The chiefs went into council, as was their custom, and returning replied that they owned the lands. On the following day, the chiefs resorted to a bit of finesse: they offered to sell the region between the Sandy and Kentucky Rivers which Colonel John Donelson had bargained for and included within the line surveyed in 1771, acting as agent for Virginia, and for which that province had never paid the five hundred pounds promised.¹⁷ Henderson refused to treat for those lands; he was not interested in lands claimed by Virginia, nor, indeed, in any small boundary "as he had a house full of goods for them"—the Indians—but would keep them unless negotiations should proceed upon the already agreed basis.¹⁸

* Attendees included:

Luttrell, Thomas and Nathaniel Hart; other North Carolinians, Col. Martin Armstrong, Valentine Searcy, Tilman Dixon, Samuel Henderson, and Jesse Benton, the father of the Missouri statesman, Thomas Hart Benton, "Old Bullion." From the present county of Rutherford, North Carolina, there were: Capt. Wm. Twitty, Samuel Coburn, James Bridges, Thomas Johnson, John Hart, William Hicks, James Peeke, Felix Walker, and his father Col. John Walker. Of local notables, John Sevier, James Robertson, Charles Robertson, Isaac Shelby, John Cowter, Wm. Clark, Wm. Clawson, Richard Calloway, William Blevins, John Smith, Thomas Price, William Bailey Smith, Wm. and John Farrar, John Redd, Samuel Crawford, Jesse Dunham, Moses Crawford, Zachary Isbell, Thomas Butler, Joseph Vann, interpreter, Jacob Brown, Wm. Cocke, Thomas Houghton, Samuel Wilson, John Lowry, John Carter, Castleton Brooks, John Shelby, Richard Hogan and Matthew Decker. Among the Indian traders present were, Ellis Harlin or Hartland, Isaac Thomas, Edward Rogers, Thomas Benn, Richard Pearis and Nathaniel Gist.



Sycamore Shoals, near Elizabethton, Tennessee, taken in September 1941 during a period of extreme drought.

PEARIS FAMILYCHAPTER THIRTEEN - CAUGHT IN THE JAWS OF WAR

Captain Pearis, sick of war, had no inclination to make it his career. Vigorously recruited by Governor Dinwiddie after the dreadful Drapers Meadows massacre of 1755 and urged to raise Indian troops, he had continued to serve as long as he felt vitally needed, for the sake of family and country. Now middleaged, he longed for a peaceful life as an upcountry gentleman, surrounded by Rhoda, his maturing children, and his Cherokees. Though some histories say he was ordered south to be closer to the Cherokees as an agent, and others that he went there to get land from them (both of which might be true) they overlook mentioning what may have been one of the most compelling of reasons--to be with his Cherokee son George in the Cherokee country. There is no doubt he loved his oldest son dearly, or he would not have named him George, for his own father. All three of the Pearis sons named their eldest son George.

Coming as they did in 1768, the family had not been there to experience depredations of the "banditi" which led to the Regulator movement, and thus were appalled by the amount of violence often wreaked by overzealous members of that group as they pursued suspected wrongdoers. However commendable their original purpose may have been, too many acts of rowdyism and oppression were committed in their name. Now peaceful people started complaining so loudly that even Charleston took notice, and sent special agents with broad powers to counteract the excesses. Unfortunately, it appears that the agents were not screened carefully enough, as some turned out to be unscrupulous manipulators who used their position for unsavory ends. At least, that was reported of one Joseph Coffel (also known as Scoville or Scofield) who was assigned the district lying between the Saluda and Broad Rivers, with instructions to break up the group in that area.

Feelings ran so high after this agent came that the populace was soon divided into two camps pro and con. (But having read so much contemporary material, and so much about our Richard which cannot have been true, it appears possible others could have been maligned as well.) Each side exaggerated so much in Revolutionary days that the truth must lie somewhere in the middle. Revolutionist William Henry Drayton's writings are still being quoted as gospel because, being on the winning side, he is considered a hero--but as you will see in upcoming pages he was one of the worst tricksters of all. He hated Coffel for being a Tory--being called a "Scophalite" then became one of the worst perjoratives he and his cohorts could dream up.

Once the court system was established, Coffel was withdrawn because he was no longer needed, but the nickname stuck. You guessed it, Richard Pearis, eager for proper law and order and disliking the excessive violence of the Regulators, supported Coffel. When we get to that part of the story, you will see Richard and his second son, Captain Robert Pearis, labeled as Scophalite captains. As this chapter unfolds, quotations from parties on both sides of the Revolution will be presented. You will notice the invectives each side hurled against the other. As you read them, think of our own times. Those of you who

are old enough to remember wars of the 20th century will remember when Wartime propaganda machines taught us to hate "Japs" and "Kikes" and other horrendous characters. Then, lest anyone considers propaganda to be a late phenomenon, read "Of Plymouth Plantation" by Mayflower group Governor William Bradford, and notice how he exaggerates as he castigates even those in his own group whose actions he does not agree with. Poor misunderstood but heroic Isaac Allerton was hated clear out of the community! Write what is expected of you on history exams at school, but as you go through life question everything you read. This is my advice to my descendants. (And it is fine if you question what I write, too.)

The County history* says, "The best known of all pre-Revolutionary settlers in Greenville County was, of course, Richard Pearis who took up his residence on the site of present Greenville City between the years 1766 and 1768. Pearis was an Irishman of some education and pronounced ability...in commendation of his services in the (French & Indian) War, he was publicly thanked and given the post of agent for Southern Indians with headquarters at Fort Pitt. But after filling this position for a short time, he decided to move to South Carolina and take up his residence among the Cherokees, since his wife was a Cherokee woman... (underlining mine.)

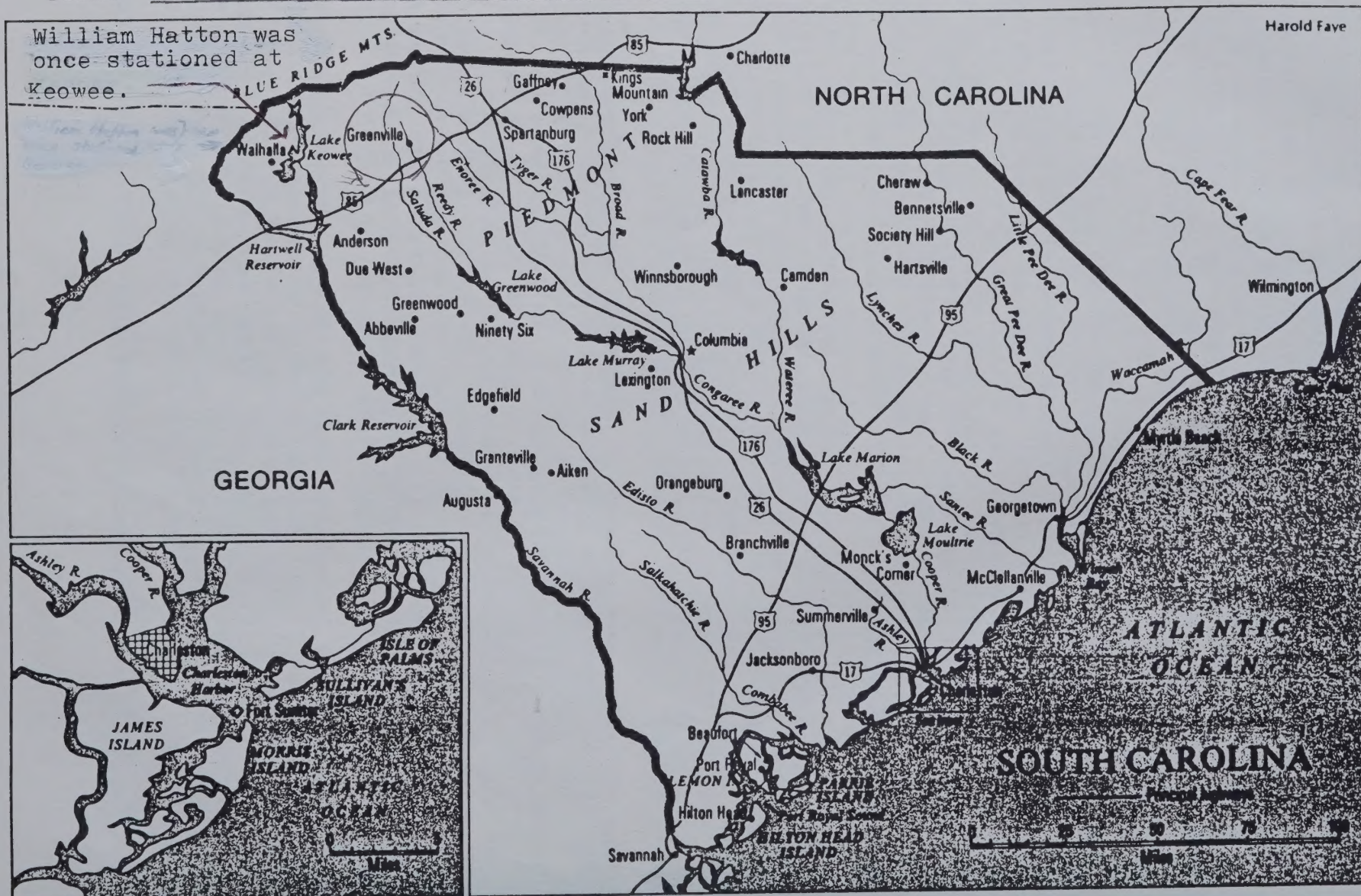
"Pearis established his trading post and erected a corn mill near the present location of Camperdown mill, at what was then called, "Great Plains," and was soon engaged in a lucrative business with the Indians. His holdings of land were extended year by year in every direction, till at the outbreak of the Revolutionary war, he is said to have claimed title to ten miles square....from Pearis comes the name of "Paris Mountain," which beautiful and pleasant summer resort of Greenvillians today was included within his holdings..."

Jacob Hite's plantation was situated on the NNE side of the Pearises, on a fertile plain near the Enoree River. Despite any misunderstandings, the two families remained on such cordial relations that a Hite son became engaged to a Pearis daughter. But on the area to the south in the beautiful Golden Grove area of present Greenville county, the land was used by a belligerent Scotsman by the name of Alexander Cameron who (though illegally by his own definition) grazed vast herds of cattle so close to the Pearis plantation that one wonders whether at times they encroached upon it. Cameron, also, had an Indian son through whom he claimed ownership, but was prevented by John Stuart, his employer, from establishing claim.

The dour Scotsman was infuriated that his rival, Richard Pearis, managed to stand on his rights and continue to occupy the land adjacent to his. After all, Richard had paid the Cherokees for it, something Cameron probably neglected to do. If perchance fights occasionally broke out between herders hired by the rival sides, the tension would increased even more, especially since Richard was also raising horses. Cameron's actual residence was at Lochaber. (page 152)

*History of Greenville County, South Carolina, James M. Richardson, (1980) pages 32-3

From: South Carolina, A Bicentennial History, by Louis B. Wright



20th century map of South Carolina. The Pearis plantation was at what is now the city of Greenville, far upper left. The road which is now highway 85 was already there, also the one over the Blue Ridge Mountains, though the latter was more of a path through a gap.

PEARIS FAMILY

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Regarding Jacob Hite, son of original Frederick County Proprietor, Joist Hite.

Jacob Hite, second son of Joist Hite, chose for his homestead a large tract of land in the northern part of Frederick County, where he erected substantial buildings for his own family—and also numerous buildings for several other families who joined him—and also “quarters” for his slaves. It was not long before his settlement acquired the name of Hite's town; but later on, when Berkeley County was formed, and the County seat to be chosen, Hite felt secure in his claim that his village was the most central and offered to dedicate land for a Court House and Public buildings. Martinsburg was then a village and entered the contest. The rivals for the prize were led by two men of pronounced ability, Gen. Adam Stephen for Martinsburg, and Jacob Hite, for his village (Now Leetown). Stephen and his followers secured the selection of Martinsburg. Hite always claimed that fraud had been practiced, and proved his case, but too late to serve his purpose. He then sought relief before the House of Burgesses, and endeavored to have another County carved out of the Eastern part of Berkeley and a slice from Frederick, but when he found this formation would leave his village in Berkeley County, the project was abandoned. Jacob was very prominent in the early settlement. He is found with his father, the elder Hite, before the Governor and Council, seeking cause of delay in confirming the *Minor Grants* to the families who were erecting their homesteads on the original grant. Then he is found before the Courts of Orange, assisting his father to secure the services of the County Surveyor to “lay out roads,” in the Southern part of what was afterwards Frederick County. The family records and tradition show that he visited Ireland in the interest of the infant Colony, that his father was planting in the Sherando Valley, and was successful, returning with quite a number of Scotch-Irish families who soon became helpful in the development of the country. On this return voyage he made the acquaintance of Catherine O'Bannon whom he married. She only lived a few years, leaving three sons who became distinguished men in their day, Capt. John, and Col. Thomas Hite, and Jacob O'Bannon Hite. Jacob's second wife was Mrs. Frances Madison Beale.

Her father was Ambrose Madison, descendant of the emigrant who settled in Gloucester County, 1653. It was through this line that we find James Madison Sr., son of Ambrose Madison and Frances Taylor, who married Nellie Conway 1749. Their son James became President of the United States. By the O'Bannon marriage Jacob had two daughters, viz. Mary Hite married Rev. Nathaniel Manner and had for a second husband Rev. Busby, and Elizabeth, her sister, married Col. Lawrence Beale. The children by Jacob's second marriage were a son and daughter, George and Eleanor.

The marriages of Jacob's children is given briefly: John married Sarah ——— and had three daughters, Mary married Edward Grant, Catherine married Thodoric Lee, Sarah married Alex. P. Buchanan, Second, Thomas Hite, born 1750, married Frances Beale in 1772. Jacob O'Bannon Hite, mentioned as the third son of Jacob, was killed by Indians in South Carolina. The mention of this incident very properly introduces the very dramatic incidents in the life and death of Jacob, the father of the last named son. After his unsuccessful effort to secure the location of the County seat of Berkeley County on his land, he became dissatisfied with his surroundings and sold the larger portion of his land in Berkeley County, and prepared to move his family to South Carolina. Before leaving, however, he made ample provision for such of his family as desired to remain in Virginia. His son Thomas and his Daughter, Mrs. Willis, and his son George, as the family tradition gives it, endeavored to dissuade their father from this removal, he would not yield. Thomas and Mrs. Willis were given large tracts of well improved land not far away from their old homestead, and George was placed at William and Mary College; and then in 1786 he started on his southern journey with his wife and younger children and his slaves, and a few neighboring families migrated with him. Kercheval says, “He had not been long settled in his new home in S. C. before the Indians murdered him and several of his family in the most shocking manner”—then adds—“before the bloody massacre took place, an Indian squaw who was much attached to Mrs. Hite* called on her and warned her of the intended”

* This seems to be the daughter, C. Pearis, who was engaged to her son. Keep in mind that this is a second- or third-hand Hite family version, told several generations after the fact.
O Margaret or Susan

massacre, and urged her to remove with her little children to a place of safety. Mrs. Hite immediately communicated this intelligence to her husband who disbelieved the information, observing "the indians were too much attached to him to do him any injury." The next morning, however, when too late to escape, a party of Indians armed and painted in their usual war dress, called on Hite and told him they had determined to kill him. It was in vain that he pleaded his friendship for them, and the many services he had rendered their nation. Their fell purpose was fixed, and nothing could appease them but his blood and that of his innocent and unoffending wife and children, they barbarously murdered Hite, his wife, and several of their children. After this terrible massacre they took two of his daughters, not quite grown, and all his slaves as prisoners. and carried off much plunder and

The writer has additional traditionary history relating to the capture of the Hite daughters and slaves, which may be regarded as authentic, considering the source; and as it presents a pathetic coloring to the sad picture drawn by the old historian Kercheval, the writer will give it here as well as he can recall from memory the incident as related to him in the long ago. After the capture of the two young girls, the chief of the Creek tribe chose Eleanor for his squaw wife, and guarded her with great care and concern while the marauders were retreating from the scene of the massacre. At that time the Indians were allies with the British, and the retreat was towards the nearest British Army post. It was during this retreat that Eleanor and a negro girl made their escape. Eleanor was recaptured, but the negro girl, who succeeded in securing a fleet pony, was not overtaken. After the Indians reached the British Army, one of the officers saw the young captive Eleanor, and succeeded in buying her from the chief. He took her to the Florida sea-coast, and there wooed and won the affections of the young Eleanor; but owing to her broken health, as a result of her hardships of her capture and imprisonment with the band of savages, she died at Pensacola upon her arrival

there. George Hite, the son, who had been placed at William & Mary College by his father, hearing of the awful calamity that had overtaken the family, immediately started upon a search for his sisters. He found some of the old slaves who enabled him to trace his sister Eleanor to Pensacola. He learned enough to satisfy him that his sister had experienced severe hardship, but no maltreatment, and that she had been cared for by a British officer named Johnson; and in after years he learned of the attachment between him and his sister. George Hite found the negro girl who had escaped and brought her back to Virginia." When we recall that Jacob Hite with his father spent the greater part of their lives with several Indian tribes, and were on friendly terms and understood Indian habits, customs and Indian treachery, it is strange that he allowed his delusion to overcome his caution and thus be sacrificed. Kercheval in his narrative concerning this massacre states that he obtained his information from Jacob's son, Col. James Hite, and then adds, "Mr. Hite kept a large retail store, and dealt largely with the Creek and Cherokee tribes. It is said a man by the name of Parrish who went to Carolina with Hite and to whom Hite had been very friendly, growing jealous of Hite's popularity with the Indians, instigated the savages to commit the murder, and then adds that about the year 1784 or 1785, he saw the late Capt. George Hite (Who had been an officer in the Revolutionary Army), who had just returned from an unsuccessful search after his two young sisters, who were taken captives at the time of the murder of his father. He had traversed a great part of the southern country among the various tribes of Indians, but could never hear anything of them. Capt. Hite, a short time after the war of the Revolution, recovered part of his father's slaves who had been taken off by the Indians. and states that one of these slaves was owned by Maj. Issac Hite of Frederick County. This woman brought home an Indian son. Kercheval adds that he frequently saw this son, who had all the features of an Indian; and that part of Hite's slaves remained with the Indians and were kept in rigorous slavery;

The above is part of a much longer Hite Family sketch given by T. K. Cartmell in Shenandoah Valley Pioneers and their Descendants, from which the nice photos were also taken. Information about other Hites was deleted, not being part of this story.

From: Tyler's Quarterly Magazine Vol 3:49

OTHER WILLS—AND RECORDS—ABSTRACTS.

John Hite, dated 25 Oct. 1776, proved 18 Mch., 1777. To wife Sarah half of the plantation on which he now lives, the other half to son Jacob O'Bannon, who shall also have all lands in West Augusta. "Inasmuch as my father has been killed by the hand of Violence, & it is probable he left no will behind him, whereby the inheritance of his lands will descend to me, but as brotherly affection will not permit me &c, if my brothers and sisters will be at equal expence in securing the right & title to that tract of land in So. Carolina, lying in the Indian Country within the State of South Carolina, Part whereof being an undivided tract held by my father under a deed granted by the Cherokee Nation to Richard Pearis, the said Pearis' son, and my father, and part whereof being a purchase from John Neville &c;" children Jacob O'Bannon, Mary Catherine and the infant unbaptized; sisters Mary and Elizabeth. Executors: Rev.. Daniel Sturgis, Tavana Beale, Thomas Rutherford, William Gibbs, and James Keith.

Subsequent to the probation of the above will, the US government took pity on the Hites and compensated them for their loss in the War. Below is another version of the fate of the Hite Family in South Carolina. The following is excerpted from pages 43/4 of

History of Greenville County, South Carolina
by James M. Richardson (1986)

..... These two young men had often been into the Indian country on trading and hunting expeditions, and had many friends there, so it was thought that they might be able to win back the savages. Another to go into the Cherokee country was a son of Colonel Hite, who lived within present Greenville County near where the Old Spartanburg road crosses Enoree river. By some chroniclers, this young gentleman is referred to as Jacob O'Bannon Hite, but he could not have been Jacob O'Bannon, as will be shown later. But regardless of name, this noble Patriot was a young man of character and culture. At the time, he was a student of the law, about to apply for admission to the bar in Charles Town. It is also said that he was engaged to be married to a daughter of Richard Pearis.

When the two Hampton brothers arrived among the Cherokees, they found that they were too late. Cameron and other British sympathizers had thoroughly poisoned the minds of the red men against their former friends, and now they were in an ugly mood. Everywhere the war dance was in progress and hurried preparations were being made for a raid upon the frontiers. The Hamptons were made prisoners and their horses, guns, and other supplies seized; but by some means (possibly with the assistance of friendly Indians) they made their escape, and hurrying back to their homes on foot, reporting their sad experiences to the people there. Young Hite, traveling into the Cherokee country a few days later than did the Hampton brothers, met a large band of warriors headed toward the white settlements. By

these he was killed and scalped, thus becoming the first victim of the most bloody massacre ever suffered by the Carolinians at the hands of the Cherokees. The place of his death was on the Estotoe river in present Pickens County, in a narrow pass between two mountains. After killing the young man, the Indians proceeded to the residence of Richard Pearis, where the daughter of Pearis, recognizing "the ravenlocks of her lover" in the bloody scalp displayed by the savages, knew only too well what were their intentions. In an effort to save the family of her lover from the sad fate which had already befallen him, she set out on foot to warn the Hite family of its impending danger. But whether this dusky maid of the forests reached her destination and had her warning disregarded, or was overtaken by the Indians and brought back before she had delivered her message, is unknown. At any rate, the Hite family was visited by the Indians and paid a fearful toll.

When information reached the frontier that the Indians had taken up the tomahawk, there was great alarm among those adhering to the Patriot cause. Quickly they set about strengthening the crude forts and block houses which had been constructed along the Indian boundary during the troublous days of the French and Indian war, and into these rough fortifications many of them fled, taking as much as possible of their portable property with them. Still there were others who remained at their homes—some because no fort was within reach, and others because they thought the Indians would pass them by on account of past friendships. But it was only among those who had espoused the cause of the province that a feeling of impending danger existed, for secret messengers had previously advised the Tories that they would be safe from attack, if their loyalty to the King were shown by the erection of peeled poles, wrapped around with white cloth, before their homes. This emblem, or badge of loyalty to the King, was referred to as "the passover" and was to be a sign to the Indians to leave that household undisturbed. Sad to relate, many were the passovers erected among the frontiersmen.

Since the commencement of the war, Cameron and his Tory friends had neglected no opportunity to poison the minds of the Indians against the Whigs, and in July, 1776, the savages marched to the attack. After killing young Hite, they proceeded to the Pearis plantation where they were joined by a number of Tories. Then they moved on to the home of the sorely distressed Hite family, where Colonel Hite and a number of his children were killed, and his wife taken captive. From here a

The two brothers mentioned here were sons of Wade Hampton, and that family was granted lands on or near the confiscated Pearis ranch as an award by the American government after the war. In Colonel Richard Pearis's Loyalist Claim, the records show that he had loaned Colonel Wade Hampton 1350 pounds on a note which was never paid. General Nathaniel Gist owed him 1316 pounds sterling and Colonel Jacob Hite owed him 2500 pounds on bond, never paid. Others owed him smaller sums.

Lending money at interest was considered to be a good investment in those days, provided one was paid back. Richard never collected!

After the Revolutionary War, the new government took pity on the Hite heirs and they were given land in new Greenville County, South Carolina, at a very reduced rate in compensation for their loss.

Though wealthy tidewater planters had so many advantages, they considered that their exalted position entitled them to ever more riches. As we have seen, they rationalized that the backcountry settlers, who by 1774 comprised 3/4 of the white population, was to be exploited to the advantage of the elite. Attorneys and court officials, wishing to extort legal fees as high as the traffic would bear, were chagrined when they were forced to allow a few courts to operate in the interior. So just imagine how angry they became when the Mother Country, in an effort to recoup some of the costs of defending the colonies during the French & Indian War, started imposing taxes. They grumbled over new export duties on rice and other byproducts, which now had to be routed through England instead of direct to natural markets; but the Stamp Tax seemed to them to be the last straw. All legal documents had to be served & recorded on purchased, specially-stamped paper which could be acquired only through agents of the Crown, whose sole occupation was collection of those fees. The anguished cry went out that their rights as English citizens was being violated. (The extorter was now being extorted!)

Charlestonians who had never been in the least concerned about rights of backsettlers in the rest of the colony, much less of dirty, uncivilized Indians, or of black slaves who were regarded simply as expendable property, now cried self-righteously about liberty. The brave patriots of the Boston environs now became their special heroes. Never mind that the New Englanders had different ideas about how to treat one's fellow man. Much-appreciated money and food was now sent to the relief of the oppressed patriots to the north, which was fine except that they should have been thinking of the needs of the people whom they, themselves, were oppressing nearer to home.

Though Stuart had been only temporarily successful in his 1773 court battle with Pearis and Hite, he had, he thought, entirely prevailed against someone who turned out to be a much more dangerous adversary. A spoiled, rich Charleston official by the name of William Henry Drayton** had wished to lease fifteen square miles of the Catawba Indian reservation for a number of years. (To get a rough idea of where that was, look at our maps. The Catawba River was named for this tribe. They were in that area straddling the border in both colonies, and east of the Cherokees.) "Stuart opposed this lease because the land in this reservation had never been ceded to the King. In this he was upheld by the home government, and the Earl of Dartmouth wrote him on 5 May 1773: 'The King much approves the step you took to defeat Mr. Drayton's intended views; the proposal made by that gentleman to the council of South Carolina was highly irregular and improper and the Council have given him solid testimony of their respect for and duty to the King in unanimously rejecting it.'"

William Henry Drayton, a young aristocratic court official who earlier had been contemptuous of the unwashed multitude, became a violent democrat opposed to all British authority. Perhaps the 1773 rejection of his rights to lease Catawba land was a factor in this. At any rate, when in 1774 Charlestonians, taking their cue from New England, began organizing opposition groups he was one of them. In January

**Federal Indian Relations 1774-1788, Walter H. Mohr (1933) page 13

1775, at the first Provincial Congress, Drayton headed their secret Committee of Five which, on the night of 21 April 1775 committed their first overt act of revolution, in seizing 1600 pounds of gunpowder, 800 guns, and 200 cutlasses, property of the government arsenal. This was an act of theft, of course, though they rationalized that they were in the right and anyone opposed to them was wrong. But when Drayton and his gang accuse their opponents of theft, keep this in mind. If they lied, it was clever to deceive the enemy; if the enemy lied it was a dastardly deed. Anyway, now that the Whigs (or Patriots as they called themselves) had stolen all the government arms, the ability of others to counteract them was severely limited from the beginning.

In 1775 news traveled slowly. It took months to deliver a message overseas and several more months to get a reply. The Province was temporarily without a Royal Governor when on 3 May 1775 a fallacious letter was received from Arthur Lee in London stating that the British were planning to raise an Indian war and Negro insurrection against the colonies.* This news and that from Lexington MA a few days later spurred vigorous action. On 1 June the Provincial Congress reconvened and immediately assumed extensive governmental powers in ordering 1500 special troops raised, issuance of a million pounds of paper currency, and a Council of Safety of almost unlimited executive authority. On 3 June an Association test was authorized, and all non-signers were to be dealt with according to "sound policy."

"The Association which pledged men to war against their sovereign and to treat non-signers as enemies was difficult enough for the conservative friends of liberty in the lowcountry to accept, but to a large segment of the backcountry it was completely unacceptable...active opposition flared up. The Germans of Orangeburg would not sign, but they were passive and would not fight for the other side, either, so were considered no threat." A militant Scotch-Irish loyalist party was forming in the Ninety-Six-Camden district. Thomas Fletchall, the most important person between the Broad & Saluda rivers owned plantations on Fair Forest Creek and environs totaling 1650 acres. He was a combined justice of the peace, coroner, and militia colonel (though not physically agile enough to actually engage in combat, being very corpulent and along in years). Therefore, the Committee made every effort to win him over. On the first week of July they sent him word to muster his regiment and secure the men's signatures to the Association. In compliance he assembled his regiment on 13 July. The paper was read to "every company" but not "one man offered to sign it." Instead they had Joseph Robinson draw up their own Counter-Association signed by men from "Savannah River to Broad River"--more specifically Fletchall's regiment of the upper Saluda, Col. Stark's lower, on the forks of the Saluda, and Col. Savage's at Ninety-Six.

*Loyalists and the American Revolution: Thomas Brown and the South Carolina Backcountry 1775-1776, by Gary D. Olson, printed in Vols 68 & 69, South Carolina Historical Magazine 68:203-5

PEARIS FAMILY

No. Car.

10 0 10
Mil

NORTH CAROLINA

CHEROKEE
TERRITORY

* Richard Pearis's Plantation was at what became Greenville, upper left.

LONG CANES
NINETY SIX
Andrew Williamson's Plantation
Cuffinham Creek

GEORGIA

AUGUSTA

SOUTH
CAROLINA

SAXE
GOTHA

AMELIA

German
Settlers

Col
Richard Richardson's Plantation
Colonel of
"Snow Campaign"

DORCHESTER

GOOSE CREEK

MONCK'S CORNERS

CHARLES

ST. HELENA
SOUND

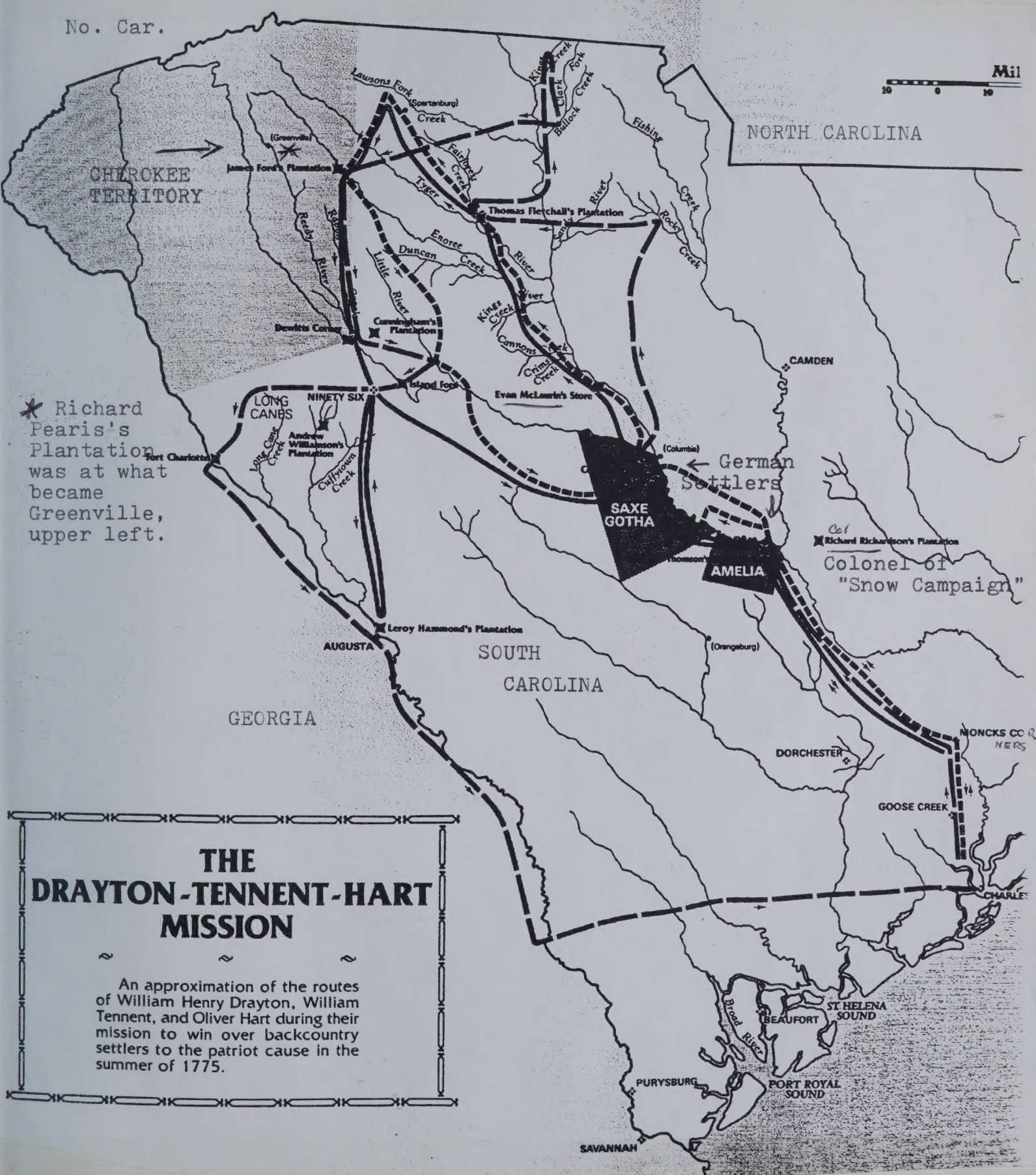
PORT ROYAL
SOUND

PURYSBURG

SAVANNAH

THE
DRAYTON-TENNENT-HART
MISSION

An approximation of the routes of William Henry Drayton, William Tennent, and Oliver Hart during their mission to win over backcountry settlers to the patriot cause in the summer of 1775.



This intelligence they communicated to the new Royal Governor, Lord William Campbell, who arrived in Charleston 18 June 1775 and found much to his surprise, that the only effective government was now in the hands of the revolutionary party. Within two weeks, however, he was in contact with several "very respectable people" from Camden and Ninety-Six Districts who assured him that thousands in those districts were loyal to the King. He promised them they would be amply rewarded when it became in his power to do so. But while he was essentially powerless, struggle for control of the back country increased. Whig Major James Mayson with companies under Captains John Caldwell and Moses Kirkland captured Fort Charlotte on Savannah River with a store of munitions. While Caldwell held the fort, Kirkland with a large share of the munitions proceeded to the Ninety-Six Courthouse. It is said he was angry that Mayson and not he had been made Major, and he got word to Fletchall who was mustering troops at Ford's (see sketch) on the Enoree that they could go there and get the ammunition with no resistance. He then persuaded his rangers to go home leaving it unguarded!

There are those who have speculated that if Governor Campbell had personally come there at that particular time and assumed control of Fletchall's men he could have won the war in that area. But Campbell did not believe they had enough munitions to sustain them in case of a long siege without more assistance from abroad, and he was probably correct. Therefore, hoping for help, he cautioned the already timid Fletchall to avoid giving offense until they were in a better position to launch an offensive. But in the meantime the Liberty Boys were hard at work and not above using cruel intimidation tactics. Ezekiel Polk's company of rangers rode roughshod over the region while early in August Sons of Liberty led by Thomas Graham abducted Thomas Brown, a wealthy planter newly arrived in Governor Wright's Georgia Colony, who later described how "upwards of a hundred men" came to his plantation and ordered him to sign an association test renouncing the King. He retreated to his house and armed himself to resist, when he was knocked unconscious by a rifle butt from behind. They drug him five miles where they tied him to a tree. When he regained consciousness they applied burning torches of lightwood to the soles of his feet so that he was unable to walk for a long stretch of time, and tarred and feathered him.

The Whig report of this incident states merely that he "consented voluntarily to swear that he repented of his past conduct." (Though Drayton unwittingly disproved that by referring to Brown as "he that was tarred and feathered at Augusta.") A friend then furnished him with a horse on which he made his escape. Burning with a desire for revenge, he headed straight to Fletchall's, where his sorry condition made quite a dramatic appearance. Afterwards, hoping to overcome the great impression he made on others, the Sons of Liberty circulated the story that he was really the son of Lord North, sent there to poison the people's minds. Many years later, Brown actually met that great man, and had the pleasure of telling him that, "according to others, I am your son."

Realizing now that the recalcitrant backcountry must be won over by fair means or foul, Whig emissaries from the Charleston Council of Safety were sent there to "explain" to the people the "nature of the unhappy dispute" between Great Britain and the colonies. The commission was made up of William Henry Drayton, Joseph Kershaw, Colonel Richard Richardson (site of his plantation shown on sketch), and two Charleston clergymen, Presbyterian Rev. William Tennant and Baptist Rev. Oliver Hart. Drayton and Tennant were considered as charismatic, at least in their own environs. The talks commenced with mixed results at the Congarees, especially in the German settlements where no one attended until threatened. Under coercion, most signed but without conviction. At the next place the Germans were in attendance but refused to sign. Cutting off all supplies of merchandise to the local storekeeper, Evan McLaurin, had some effect on them.

At King's Creek on the Enoree, Drayton spoke with some apparent success until the arrival of Robert Cunningham and Thomas Brown. The latter read a message from Governor Campbell and after that no one would sign. When the committee sponsored an election for local delegates to the Provincial Congress, Brown, Cunningham, and Kirkland quashed the election. No matter how hard they harrangued, these men, considered so eloquent in their own element, made no impact on these people. Nobody would sign the association test. That evening at Fletchall's, Brown insulted Drayton to the point that he lost self-control. A duel was prevented only by Fletchall sending all of his guests to bed.*

Up to this point Richard Pearis had avoided all of these gatherings, not wanting to be drawn into conflict, though he began to realize that war was inevitable. He hoped not, but because he would not commit, both sides suspected he was against them and began a propaganda war. At the same time he was much feared because of his persuasiveness with the Indians. Of course his adversaries, Cameron and Stuart, being British agents, were on his Majesty's side so that he had a natural reluctance to team up with them, though he had no wish to rebel against the King unless to reduce harrassment. He wished to be with the Indians and stay where he was. He was not much impressed with Drayton and his bunch when they contacted him but decided to hear them out and, at their request, arrange that they might talk to the Cherokees.

It appears that, to obtain his cooperation, Drayton must have dangled the prospect of a special commission as Indian Agent as bait. One of the papers of the Council of Safety correspondence does contain the phrase, "If a commission is given to him (referring to Pearis) it must be a special one." Some writers have speculated that he desired the post George Galpin (McApline) received and others that it was different ones, and that Pearis, angry, then changed sides. Some or all of this may be true, but I can find no confirmation that he was offered a post at all, just that they were considering it should the occasion arise. Pearis had a way of attracting detractors! It was only natural for the Council of Safety to criticize him when he tricked them after taking the Indians to visit Drayton. The first version here is Cameron's report before Richard declared for the King.

*The King's Ranger - Thomas Brown and the American Revolution on the Southern Frontier, by Edward J. Cashin, (1989) page 31. (Univ.GA Press-Very informative!)

Intelligence from Alexander Cameron¹

8 November 1775 Enclosed in John Stuart's letter to Dartmouth, 8 January 1776, Vol. X, No. 778.
Intelligence contained in Mr Cameron's letter of 8th November. William Henry Drayton, accompanied by two Independent parsons, Hart and Tenant, made a tour through the interior and back parts of Carolina and Georgia, haranguing the people and exciting them to rebellion by enumerating a long list of pretended grievances and representing the Acts of Parliament respecting Boston as cruel, tyrannical and oppressive, by which means they seduced a great many people. Mr Drayton authorized Richard Pearis to give and receive talks from the Indians, to use his influence to get Mr Cameron killed or taken prisoner, in which he failed of success although he tried every means in his power to effect it, first by endeavouring to raise a sufficient body of men, and when he could not get a sufficient number he then offered a considerable reward to any single person who would shoot him from behind a bush, then mount his horse and escape into the settlements. Pearis was at the same time writing Mr Cameron privately to be on his guard against the designs of some of the frontier inhabitants upon his life.

Mr Drayton sent Pearis with a talk into the nation (of which I send a copy herewith [Vol. X, No. 778iii]) who delivered it to the Indians and prevailed upon Eccuy or the Good Warrior and three more Indians to go with him to visit Mr Drayton at the Congarees. These Cherokees were told by Mr Drayton that Mr Cameron was a very bad man and spoke with two tongues, that the white people were determined to drive him out of the Cherokee nation, and that if the Cherokees attempted to protect him they would involve themselves in a war by which the lives of their women and children would be exposed, and that for a person who could not now be of the least service to them whatever he might tell them to the contrary. Eccuy seemed to approve of what Mr Drayton said and promised not to protect Mr Cameron, but upon his return home, being severely reprimanded by the headmen for listening to Mr Drayton or Pearis's talks, denied that he had made any such promise.

Richard Pearis was to have delivered Mr Drayton's talk to the Indians on the 9th of October and the Indians met accordingly at Sugar Town to hear it; but as Pearis had been taken sick they were disappointed. But on the 10th his son, George Pearis, with one Dutarque, an officer, and a party of rangers, met the Indians. Mr Cameron took care to be present where Mr Edward Wilkinson was also. Eccuy first addressed the Indians, said he had been told by Mr Drayton that the Great King was going to make the white people pay much more for their goods than usual and that of course the Indians would be obliged to pay two pounds of leather for what formerly they could buy for one pound etc., but as Pearis was sick and could not attend he desired them to go over to his house where they would hear Mr Drayton's talk explained. Mr Cameron then reminded them of Mr Pearis's behaviour upon many occasions when by lies and forgeries he had imposed upon them and defrauded them of their land, in doing which he, Pearis, had not been singular as the same had been practiced by many of the frontier inhabitants, and had it not been for the line run and marked by order of the King they would not have had a foot of land left them at this day, and then they would have been obliged to serve as slaves; that they seemed to have

forgot how much trouble and expense it had cost their father the Superintendent to recover a part of their land of which they had been defrauded by the same Pearis, that lying rogue who now wanted to talk to them; that they could not suppose he would tell them truth as he never knew it; that the people by the waterside wanted them to take up the hatchet against their Great Father the King who had supported them time out of mind and would always do so while they behaved properly and listened to his talks. Upon which a chief named Keanitah made a manly speech, desired that they would pay no attention to Pearis, who was a rogue and a devil and could never speak truth. This he desired his son, George Pearis, tell him: that Scotchie (Mr Cameron) had been appointed by their father the Superintendent to take care of them, that he never had deceived them, that they would hold him fast and protect him notwithstanding the anger of the white people. He was seconded by another chief, upon which all the Indians went away and left Eccuy, young Pearis with the officer and his detachment, by themselves in the town house. Some Indians went a few days afterwards to Pearis's house in hopes of getting some ammunition which had been promised them, but they returned without any and much disappointed.

On the 12th September 4 Senecka Indians were fired upon about break of day near the Buffalo Lick on the new ceded lands in Georgia. One of them was killed and two wounded; the 4th, who was not hurt, named The Raven, set up the war-hoop and the wounded men stood to their arms, upon which the white people ran off. This murder was perpetrated by three brothers named Cloud, for which they have since been committed to prison in Georgia. The Indians were much exasperated at this piece of treachery and were with difficulty restrained by their chiefs from taking immediate satisfaction of the traders, and Mr Cameron thinks they will not pass it over. What adds greatly to the discontent of the Cherokees is their being disappointed by the Carolinians who promised them 2000 pounds of gunpowder of what they had seized off of this place and at Georgia. The ammunition had actually been sent, but the escort was beaten and all of it taken away by Mr Richard Cuninghame who is at the head of a party in support of government.

Colonel Fletchall of the militia, having put himself at the head of 1500 men, in August last declared for government. William Henry Drayton assembled about 2000 men at Ninety Six and sent a manifest to Fletchall's camp proposing an accommodation, which his want of ammunition induced him to accept of. But his assistant, Lieut.-Colonel Robert Cuninghame, stood out and was followed by most of the men, but about the first of November he was surprised in his own house and made prisoner. His brother Richard went with a party to rescue his brother but took a wrong road, he missed his brother but took the ammunition abovementioned. The rebels are collecting all their force to attack Cuninghame.

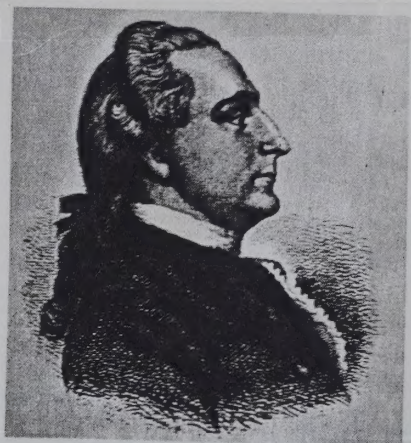
In October some of the principal Cherokee chiefs went to Augusta in Georgia to get a supply of ammunition. After staying there about two weeks they got about 600 lbs powder and ball in proportion, with which they returned. They all got sick of a fever which at that time raged in Georgia. One of our best friends, Skalalusky of Toqua, died much lamented by Mr Cameron. *Copy.* [C.O.5/77, fo. 81]

Greenville County History(pages 37 et seq) tells the story using Cameron's version just shown, so to get a balanced view of this and the following conflict we have to consider both this and the reports from others, including the Whigs. But before we do, let us consider who George Galpin was and whether Richard Pearis really thought he thought he might receive the appointment the Revolutionary party awarded to him. I'm far from an expert and could easily be in error, but here is what I came up with. First off, it appears that Galpin was given the post prior to Drayton's initial contact with Pearis, and that he was far too powerful with the Creeks for anyone to even consider transferring his commission to anyone else.*

George Galpin, as he was called (actually McAlpine but nobody called him that) was one of the licensed trading partners who by 1741 were associated with Charles Town merchant Archibald McGillivray in a lucrative business long before Georgia was settled. Three of the partners, Irishmen John Rae and George Galpin and Scotsman Lachlan McGillivray, lived among the Creeks and took Creek wives. In 1750 South Carolina Gov. Glen called upon Galpin to counteract French influence and mend ongoing hostilities between Creeks and Cherokees.

Out of their trading houses in Augusta and Silver Bluff on the opposite (SC) side of the Savannah River, these three men monopolized over 3/4 of the trade with the Creeks and Chickasaws. They were well connected with Henry Laurens by 1755. Does it make sense to you that Richard Pearis had been offered, or would have expected, that man's position with the Creeks, not the Cherokees? That Drayton & Laurens would attempt to bribe Pearis with some position sounds logical, but the chroniclers seem to have overlooked the possibility that Richard simply did not trust Drayton once he became better acquainted. Perhaps he was really sick at the time the man spoke to the Cherokees; on the other hand, sending his son George Pearis in his place could have been because he was suspicious and wanted to avoid commitment. He also knew that Cameron would be there to create a diversion.

*John Stuart and the Struggle for Empire on the Southern Frontier,
J. Russell Snap (1996) pages 17-19



William Henry Drayton



Henry Laurens

It is believed that much of the bloodiness of the Revolution in South Carolina could have been prevented had not the moderate Henry Laurens been replaced as head of the Council by the radical Drayton.

Henry Laurens to William Henry Drayton*

Sir:

Charles Town 15 September 1775

Moses Kirkland came into Charles Town on Monday late in the Evening & disguised, repaired immediately to the Governorat whose House he was accommodated with a Bed & from whence he embarked on Tuesday Morning in the Tamar's Boat & got safe on board that Man of War--these facts the General Committee were informed of on Wednesday--the Committee examined a young Man one Bailey Chaney who was said to have accompanied Kirkland & amidst heaps of shuffling & prevarication they collected enough to confirm not only their belief of Kirkland's being actually on board the Man of War but also that His Excellency held a correspondence with our Enemies of a very different nature from that which he had endeavored by various arts to represent to us as the true motive of his writing to Fletchal & others of that party,...(He goes on to excoriate Royal Governor Campbell for having the audacity to oppose them..after this they attacked the Man of War but)...Kirkland has eluded all your schemes, but we will not yet think him out of our Reach, tis possible we may still bring him to answer for his misdeeds--his companions Robinson, Brown & Cunningham's we hope will be taken or driven out of the Colony by you. (Kirkland sailed North to contact General Gage.

16th Septem. last night a packet arrived from Capt. Pearis who was at Congarees (note: modern Columbia) with four Cherokees who were waiting for you--Mr. Pearis laments your delay, represents the anxiety of the Indians & fears bad consequences will follow if they should return without seeing you or some person to Talk to them in your stead--this appears to be a matter of great moment & will require your immediate attention--we need not inform you of the contempt in which Indians hold the man who deceives them & they scarcely know the difference & never will make the distinction when their friendship is courted, between disappointments & deceit--Cameron too will exult & repeat his slanders, we therefore recommend this business to your most serious attention.

last night also the Governor, who was on board the man of War sent Capt. Innes to demand at Fort Johnson--(who commanded the fort and by what authority the Americans took it over, etc, etc.)

Henry Laurens to William Henry Drayton**

Sir:

Charles Town 21 September 1775

We refer to our last dated the 15th by your messenger from Ninety Six which we hope has reached you & that you are now on your way to meet those Indians who led by Capt. Pearis came from the Cherokees at your Command & who have in the utmost anxiety & impatience been many days waiting for you.--

We have Several Copies of interrupted Letters from the Superintendant at St. Augustine to his Agents in the Nation. they look so much like design to amuse us that we hold it unnecessary to trouble you with them but since you have entered upon that branch a Caution against every stratagem may not be unnecessary. Pearis applies for a Commission to the Good Warrior. if one is granted it must be special & you will be the best judge of the necessary terms. we have therefore referred him to you..... (underlining mine, not part of original)

Wm Hy Drayton to Henry Laurens*

Sir:

Camp near Ninety Six

.....I now hear that all Cunninghams Party are dispersed. I begun this letter in the morning & I am now writing by the light of light wood; and yet I have lost no time in proceeding with my letter. Tomorrow I shall discharge the Militia. Today I returned the army public thanks. They are really a fine body of Men.

I inclose a letter from Mr. Wilkinson. I mean to stay here with the Rangers some days to watch the consequences of the violence mentioned in that letter...in order to quiet the fears of the People above, but with orders not to advance any thing near the Indian line. I have not yet seen Paris & his Indians, but I expect to see them in a few days, after which I shall return to Charles Town...

Council of Safety to Saxe Gotha Committee

Gentlemen:

Charles Town 24 October 1775

The affairs of this Colony must be reduced to a very precarious situation when the information of Mr. Lewis Dutarque & Ralph Humphreys is to Supercede the orders of those who are authorized & required to do everything which to them Shall Seem needful & expedient for the defence Security and protection of this Colony.....We desire you will do your endeavours to forward the Waggon with Safety & order the Waggoner to deliver the Letter directed to Mr. Wilkinson to Mr. Pearis as we Suppose Mr. Wilkinson will be gone from Keowee to attend his Duty at Salisbury. We have ordered an escort of Rangers to conduct the Waggon & request your assistance if needful.

(footnote says The Powder promised to the Cherokees by William Henry Drayton and voted by the Council of Safety October 4 was stopped at the Congarees by citizens who feared that the Council of Safety planned to employ the Indians against settlers who had not adhered to the patriot cause. Ralph Humphries and Lt. Lewis Dutarque of the 5th company of Rangers under Col. Wm. Thomson may have been influenced by Richard Pearis. Pearis had decided about this time to bolt from and discredit the patriot cause. He told the people of the Congarees that Drayton, acting as the agent of Charleston, would use the powder to disrupt the backcountry. It refers to Pearis's Affidavit 11 Nov. 1775, Kendall Collection.)

The footnote to the next item (shown on next page) accuses Richard Pearis of defecting because he did not receive Edward Wilkinson's appointment (not Galpin's) It says, "The notoriously dishonest Richard Pearis, jealous of Edward Wilkinson's appointment as an Indian commissioner, apparently attempted to discredit him with the Council of Safety by questioning his loyalty to the American cause. On November 11, by which time he had joined the British, Pearis signed an affidavit in which he claimed that the Cherokees said "that Mr. Wilkinson was a Roague and Desir'd he Should be taken out of the Nation."

COUNCIL OF SAFETY TO RICHARD PEARIS
Charles Town, October 24 1775

Sir—

We have received your Letter of the 15th Ins^t & Shall give [its] contents full & proper consideration— in the mean time we are Sorry to learn that the Ammunition Viz^t 1000. * Gun Powder & 1000 * Lead intended for the Cherokees has been Stopped & detained at Congaree— it is necessary that it Should be forwarded & properly distributed— but as we have no hopes of meeting M^r. Wilkinson at Keowee, presuming that he will have been Set out upon his Journey to Salisbury before this can reach you, we desire that you will receive the ammunition, open M^r. Wilkinson's Letter & follow the Instructions given to him as if they had been directed immediately to your Self, & also in M^r. Wilkinson's absence take a Letter which we now direct to him.¹

You Shall hear from us or from the Provincial Congress in due time relative to recalling M^r. Cameron, but we desire that you will not abate your vigilance to counteract his Schemes & projects— We cannot forbear expressing our good opinion of M^r. Wilkinson & our hopes that upon further investigation you will find that you had mistaken his principles & his conduct— We have no partiality for any Man but him who is a fast & Steady friend to American Liberty— if M^r. Wilkinson Shall here after be found to be or to have been faulty, He Shall receive no countenance from us— but we cannot condemn any Man unheard we hope you will either prove clearly that he has acted contrary to the Interest of America in order that he may be properly, distinguished— or that you will endeavour to colesce with him for common benefit.²

By order of the Council
of Safety.

PEARIS FAMILY

The quotes from this and the previous page are taken from Papers of Henry Laurens Volume 10.

COUNCIL OF SAFETY TO EDWARD WILKINSON

Charles Town, October 24, 1775

Sir—

We are Sorry to find that from misapprehensions the Ammunition intended for the Cherokee Indians to be distributed by you has been detained at Congrees— we have now ordered it to be Sent forward immediately but as we have no expectation of your having time to take upon you the distribution we have authorized M^r. Richard Pearis to transact that business & we desire you will deliver to him the Letter which we wrote to you by the Waggon in which the amunition is put & direct it to him for his Government in acting in your Stead—

We hope you will not fail to be at the meating of the Indian Commissioners at Salisbury on the 10th. Novem^r. M^r. Galphin, will probably be delayed, two or three days— from a necessity for illegible attending certain Creek Indians who are to be at his House about the latter end of this Month.¹

By order of the Council of Safety—

Council of Safety to Edward Wilkinson Charles Town October 29, 1775

We have just received and taken under consideration your letter of the twentieth instant, and we thank you for the intelligence contained in it. Mr. Pearis had some days before intimated to us what passed between Mr. Cameron & the Cherokees. We shall only observe to you, that when Mr. Cameron in his talk to the Indians "that but for the Care of the Great King &ca they could not have had a foot of land left to them by the white" Your silence was a Tacit Confirmation of a Short Change against us comprehending every thing that could or can be said to render us odious in the sight of the Indians.....

(This goes on to command Wilkinson to discredit Cameron in the eyes of the Cherokees and says, "he has afforded us too much reason to say we are sure that whenever thought proper by his Employers to order the Cherokees to fall upon and murder our Frontier Inhabitants Man Woman & Children.")

Following is a footnote from page 515, same source--"Richard Pearis, in the presence of several Loyalists including Patrick Cunningham, offered his deposition before Justice of the Peace Evan McLaurin in Ninety Six District 11 Nov 1775. His primary purpose was to discredit the patriot cause and Drayton in particular. Much of Pearis's dissatisfaction seems to have stemmed from the fact that he had not been appointed an Indian Commissioner, as he claimed Drayton had promised. Accusing Drayton of attempting to use the powder sent to the Cherokees to obtain land for himself. He also repeated the rumor that Drayton intended employing the Indians against the white inhabitants on the frontier. The Council of Safety read it 30 Nov. and condemned it "as a false & malicious libel." Drayton answered the allegations in a 6 Dec. "address to the frontier settlements." Historians, of course, have taken their cue from Drayton, considered a hero because he was on the winning side.

This story could be drug out for volumes by relating all the incidents in the many sources cited so far, with many more to come. You can consult them if you like; but hopefully the quotations so far have served the purpose of giving the reader a sense of those times, and the way those on both sides of the conflict believed. There were complex and genuine differences in how people in the many factions viewed situations. So before we move on, just one more quotation by a noted author which expresses an important sentiment. For centuries it was considered unpatriotic to say anything good about those base and villainous Tories or anything bad about the noble patriots, but in the last half-century some historians have begun broadening their horizons to let a little light in on the subject.

It would be simply silly to say Richard Pearis was not a bold opportunist, but I can find no evidence that in his whole life he ever deliberately hurt anyone, except maybe in battle, and especially Cherokees who, with their reduced population agreed that they did not need the particular land they desired him to settle on; though such thinking may have been short-sighted. His own family was part Cherokee, and he loved them dearly. Many people such as Cameron, were bitterly jealous of his success.

Few Americans were in favor of the 1763 Proclamation prohibiting all westward migration. My own take on his situation is that the Revolution caught him by surprise. He was not very optimistic about changing sides, but with Stuart and Cameron so set against him, perhaps their position was the one he wanted. So he decided to hear the other side out and was disgusted by Drayton and his cohorts.

Nineteenth century South Carolina Historians were extremely biased against those on the losing side, and that includes the Regulators, calling them all corrupt, ignorant, unprincipled, licentious, violent etc., etc. The two most noted writers were the early Ramsey, who followed that line of thinking and, by 1959, the second, McGrady, was starting to realize that there was blame enough to go around on both sides. In his remarks, he wrote:

".....
but there were some in the upper part of the State who were as honorable and high-minded men as any who stood out in the Low-Country--indeed if not as true men as any of those who espoused the other side.

"Nothing has ever been alleged as dishonorable of Robert or Patrick Cunningham or of Fletchall, Robinson, or Pearis. It is to be feared indeed that the first of these had stronger cause of complaint against the conduct of the Whigs to himself than he had ever afforded to them.

"Nor can we be blind to the fact that the British officers charged great atrocities upon the part of men calling themselves Whigs, charges which are, at least in some measure, sustained in the correspondence of our own officers. Colonel Wade Hampton writing, as we have seen, that after the army left the neighborhood of Friday's Ferry for the High Hills of Santee, almost every person who remained in the settlement after the army marched seems to have been combined in committing robberies the most base and inhuman that ever disgraced mankind; and another officer declaring that the practice of plunder continued to such a degree that the poor inhabitants trembled the moment a party of men appeared in sight."

Just think what it must have been like to be a South Carolinian during those terrible times. No wonder so many left the state as soon as they could when the war was over, including some of my other ancestors. Deprived of courts almost till the war, then that hell during it.

*History of South Carolina in the Revolution, Edward McGrady, pp 548-9, quoting Revolution in South Carolina, by Ramsay Vol II:275-7

Next we quote Loyalists in the American Revolution, Gary D. Olson, So. Car. Hist. Mag. 68:213-7

After Kirkland had left the backcountry, Drayton led a force of militia across the Saluda River into Ninety-Six district and detached parties to seize prominent loyalists. Nine men were taken into custody, but Robert Cunningham managed to escape. Drayton nevertheless felt confident that in a few days he would be able to march into Fletchall's district of the Upper Saluda and easily disperse the opposition there "without blood spilt in battle."⁴⁴ Brown and Cunningham, however, had been more successful in raising men to oppose him than the patriot leader wanted to believe. Indeed he was soon forced to conclude that the loyalists numbered over 1,200 men while his own force barely totaled one thousand. Drayton decided to try deception in order to avoid bloodshed and perhaps defeat.

To play further on the fears of the loyalists, Drayton arranged to have a letter addressed to Colonel Richardson intercepted by his opponents. This fabricated letter directed Richardson to raise a force and to be prepared to attack the loyalist party from the rear. Also Colonel Thomas purportedly had been ordered to burn the houses of all non-associators who were absent from their homes. With this groundwork laid Drayton invited the loyalist leaders to come to his camp for negotiations.⁴⁵

Brown and Cunningham refused to attend but allowed Fletchall "with some officers of inconsiderable consequences" and "as ignorant and illiterate as himself" to act as messengers. Brown demanded guarantees that the backcountry remain unmolested as a sanctuary for loyalists as the only condition acceptable in a settlement with the whigs.⁴⁶

On September 16, 1775, the treaty of Ninety-Six was signed between Drayton and the loyalist delegation led by Fletchall. The loyalists declared that their refusal to sign the Association reflected only a desire to live in peace, and they promised not to join or aid any British troops that might be sent to the provinces. They further agreed to allow any person who censured or opposed the proceedings of the Provincial Congress to be punished. In return the loyalists were promised that persons observing these provisions would be protected and allowed to remain at home. This protection was specifically withheld from those who refused to accept the agreement.⁴⁷

To Brown, Cunningham, and many of their followers this treaty was a disgraceful surrender. Brown believed that Fletchall had been hoodwinked by Drayton's deployment of his troops into thinking that Drayton had the loyalist force at his mercy. He accused Fletchall of being drunk at the negotiations and of allowing Drayton to draw up the treaty without consulting anyone.⁴⁸ The treaty, however, was far more rational than Brown thought. First, it allowed both Drayton and Fletchall to avoid a battle which neither was sure he could win, and second, the terms of the treaty reflected the neutralist sentiments of Fletchall and many of the back settlers. Indeed, Governor Campbell had advised avoiding a conflict and preserving peace in the backcountry until assistance arrived.

Brown and Cunningham, on the other hand, perhaps saw Drayton's intentions more clearly than did Fletchall. They rightly believed that he intended to destroy any effective opposition in the backcountry.

While Brown was in Charleston, significant events occurred in the backcountry. The treaty of Ninety-Six virtually ended Drayton's mission, but before returning to Charleston he took two steps which were to have

an important bearing on future events. One was to hold a conference with some Cherokee chiefs who were brought down to the Congarees by Richard Pearis for the occasion.⁴⁹ The other was to draw from Robert Cunningham an open refusal to be bound by the recently concluded treaty. The wily Drayton accomplished the latter by a skillfully written letter which Cunningham unwisely but frankly answered. Cunningham declared he was not bound by a treaty which he considered "false and disgraceful from beginning to end."⁵⁰ In the last part of October he was seized by a party disguised as Indian traders acting on orders of the Council of Safety. Tried in Charleston on a charge of sedition, Cunningham was imprisoned in the town jail.⁵¹

This occasioned a second loyalist uprising. Patrick Cunningham raised a body of men to rescue his brother from the whigs. While he failed to effect this, he did succeed on November 3 in capturing a wagon loaded with a thousand pounds of gun powder which the Council of Safety was sending as a gift to the Cherokee Indians. The ammunition was valuable to the Tories not merely for rifles, but for propaganda as well. The loyalist leaders now turned the tables on the patriots by using the fear of an Indian attack to rally the people of the backcountry around themselves. Richard Pearis, a newly turned loyalist, did much to aid this development. Pearis made affidavit that the Council of Safety was planning to use the Cherokee Indians against the loyalists, and, though this affidavit was entirely false, the gift of powder convinced many that the charges were true.

On November 4 Maj. Andrew Williamson in the Long Cane militia district, on learning the powder had been taken, immediately raised part of his militia regiment and marched to join the patriot irregulars of Ninety-Six. This force eventually numbered about 550 men and their avowed objective was to "retake that ammunition and bring those people to justice."⁵² This was in reality a pretext, however, for even before Patrick Cunningham had raised his men and seized the powder in Ninety-Six district, Colonel Richardson with a force of patriot militia was taking local loyalists into custody in the fork between the Saluda and Broad rivers. This was a direct violation of the treaty of Ninety-Six.⁵³

The force led by Williamson in pursuit of Patrick Cunningham and his group constituted the more immediate threat to the loyalists. Fletchall, conceding that the treaty had been broken by the whigs, but physically unable himself to lead, directed Maj. Joseph Robinson to raise the loyalist forces in opposition. Aided by the Indian scare created by the Pearis statement the loyalists quickly assembled about 2,000 men.⁵⁴ Commanded by Robinson with the assistance of Patrick Cunningham, Evan McLaurin, and Richard Pearis, this force on November 19 besieged Williamson and the whig militia at Ninety-Six. Three days later the belligerents agreed to terms: prisoners should be released, the fort destroyed, and the loyalists should retire to the other side of the Saluda River. During the twenty-day truce period the loyalists might submit their case to Governor Campbell, and the patriots theirs to the Council of Safety.⁵⁵

This was the closest thing to a victory that the loyalists ever won in South Carolina. The only benefit they received, however, was that Williamson's men could not take the field for twenty days.

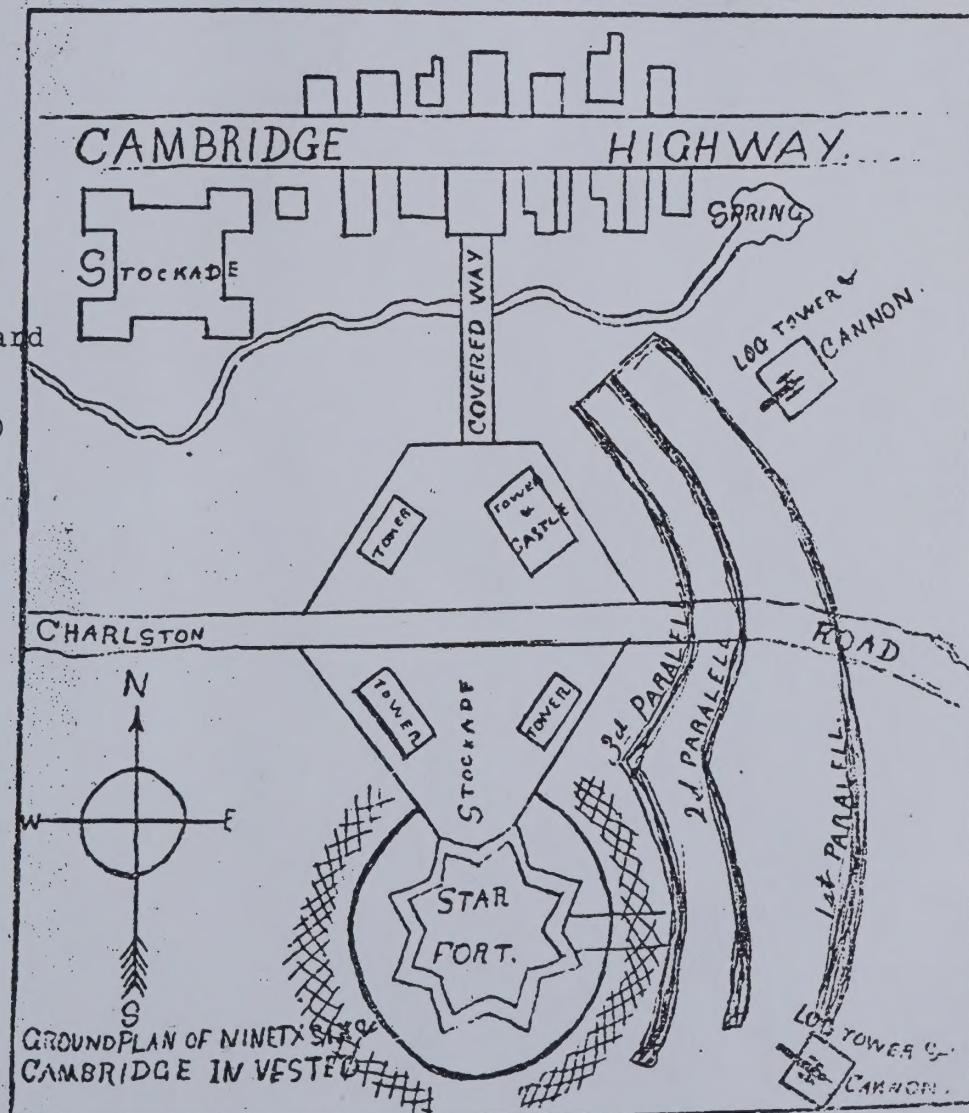
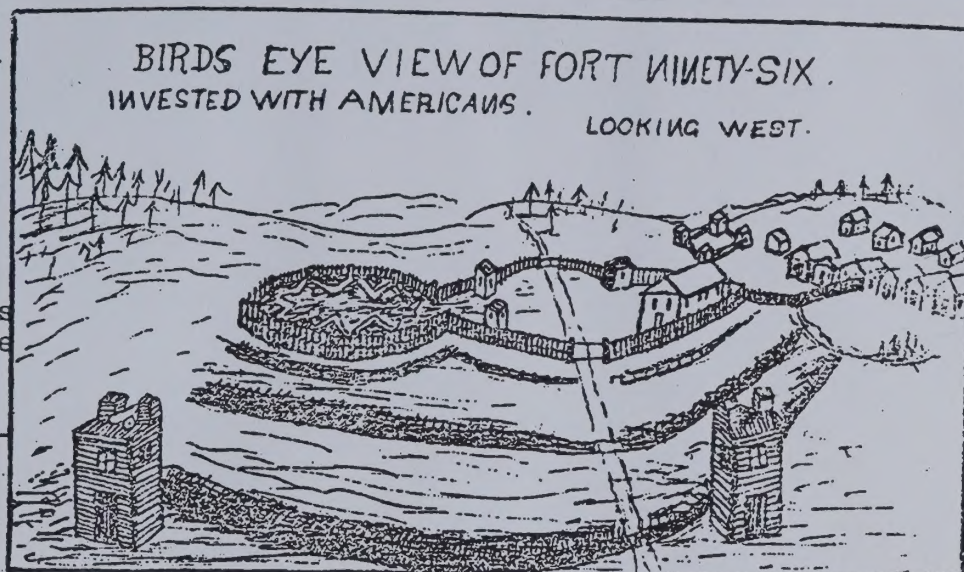
Years later a son and daughter of Robert Cunningham, mentioned above, married a son and daughter of Richard Pearis. Patrick Cunningham was the brother of Robert. In 1769 he was appointed surveyor-general of South Carolina.

Sketches of Fort Ninety-Six as shown in Colonial and Revolutionary History of Upper South Carolina by J.B.O. Landrum (1897)

The signers of the treaty of peace on 22 Nov. 1775 for the Council of Safety were Andrew Williamson, James Mayson, Andrew Pickens and John Bowie

The signers for the governor and king were Joseph Robinson, Patrick Cunningham, and Richard Pearis.

Despite the terms of the treaty, the leaders of the king's friends were hunted down by Col. Richard Richardson and an army of about 4500 including North Carolinians.



The following reflects that news must not have spread rapidly, but on the other hand while Galpin was in Salisbury NC, he or something else got the Patriots stirred up. A great host of them would soon show up to assist SC Col Richardson who, with a 4000 man army, effectively swept away all Tory resistance in the "Snow Campaign." (As you will note, Galpin had a habit of keeping Indians happy with rum.)

GEORGE GALPIN TO COUNCIL OF SAFETY

Silver Bluff, December 9, 1775

Gentlemen

Inclosed is the Proceedings of the Comm^{rs}: at Salisbury,¹ only Mr. Wilkinson did not arrive there 'till we all left that place, he was detain'd on Acc^t of the Ammunition that was taken by Cunningham's Party, we Expected no tother than they had him at the Camp as well as Mr. Parise_ (I Rec^d. a Letter from him this day), if it was Possible to Send him Some Powder for the lower Town Cherokees, as they got none before I went to Salisbury, I Deliv^d. 500 * of Powder and as much Ball to the overhill Cherokees Sent them by the Council of Safety from Savannah, they beg'd verry hard for 500 * more and as I heard you had sent 1000 * for the Lower Towns I wrote to Savannah to the Council of Safety and they Sent it up, 400 * is gone to the Lower Cherokees, 250 * is now gone to Mr. Wilkinson, 150 * went some time ago. I Borrowed 100 * for the Overhill Cherokees which made them 600 *_ & I pay'd it out of the last 500 *_ I wrote Mr. Wilkinson he must write the overhill Indians to acquaint them how the Powder is gone as they are all one people they cannot think much of it, it will Satisfie them now, it will be Sufficient to kill meat for them but they cannot make any hunts with it, Mr. Wilkinson Writes me there are about 40 Cherokees gone to Augustine to Meet Mr. Stuart, to get Amunition and presents, I am afraid they will think but little of our presents, they will get so much from Mr. Stuart for it will be a hard matter to get goods, We must provide a good Quantity of Rum for

without that the Goods wou'd be nothing, the Commiss^{rs}. thought it was best to draw upon you for the Money, as they Goods must all be purchas'd here, I Suppose it will make no odds with you, the Currency of Carolina will pass best in those two provinces in buying Provision or any thing else we may want, I wou'd have wrote you Som[e] days ago, but I Expected some ~~one~~ of the Traders in, and did not know but he wou'd brought some News from the Indians th[at] went to Mr.² Stuart, he is arrived but there is none returned, it was all Peaceable when he came away there is a man Just come down from Cunningham's Settlement he says they have made a Strong Fort & they are a Fiddleing and dancing & tells every man that Joins them the King will give them 500. Acres of Land and pay beside, he Says he heard up there they had 4 Hog^{ds}. of Gunpowder Sent them and it pas'd for rum Hog^{ds}. & that they have a great many Men_

I hope that Fort will be a Trap to Catch them all in, it will save the Country the trouble of hunting them out of the Swamps_ In case we can not get Gun powder in Savann[ah] do you think you cou'd Spare us 2000 *_ for that will be as little as we can give both Nations_

Mr. Walker³ told us he had Just came from Fort Pitt whe[re] he was holding a Congress with the Indians there, and_ they are all well disposed towards the Colonies he gave them Some Presents & they went off well Pleased_

After that the situation went from bad to tragic. We may as well hear it from the pen of the enemy.

Col. Richard Richardson to Hon. Henry Laurens

CAMP GREAT SURVEY, DUNCAN'S CREEK, Dec. 12, 1775.

SIR:—In the evening of yesterday, the honor of your commands from the Council of Safety, came to hand by the Express, which has ~~given~~ ^{given} me infinite satisfaction, the rather as they convey the lenitive measures, which I have been happy at the distance of two hundred miles to adopt. The eighth instant I wrote and made public a kind of declaration, of which I herewith inclose a copy, which I hope may in some measure meet with your approbation, upon which they have come in, many of them, and delivered up their arms, all of whom, where they have not been capital offenders, I dismiss with soft words and cheerful countenances, and admonish them to use their interest with their friends and neighbors, which seems to have a good effect. Our army which is now formidable strikes terror, and the opposite party have hitherto fled before us, keeping fifteen or twenty miles distant. We often are told they will give battle, but yet have not attempted it, and do hope we shall by the measures pursuing so weaken their party that most

will abandon them, and they will not be able to make head with any great body, and the salutary measures prove the best conquest. Should their behavior be otherwise we shall deal with them accordingly. We have several prisoners, amongst whom are Col. Fletchall, Capt. Richard Pearis, Capt. Shuburg, and several others of the first magnitude. By the capture of Col. Fletchall (who was hid in a cave, and taken by Col. Thomson and rangers, and the volunteer companies who were sent out on that and some other service) papers have fallen into my hands which the Council of Safety will be glad to see, but which I cannot venture to send by this conveyance; but shall transmit by the officer of the guard, with the prisoners, which I intend to dispatch to-morrow. Our army is about three thousand of different corps, viz: my own regiment, Col. Thomson's, and volunteer light horse. Col. Thomas, Col. Neel, Col. Polk and Lieut. Col. Martin of the North Carolina regiment, upon the continental establishment, who voluntarily stepped out on this occasion, as did Col. Thos. Polk, and say if you have occasion for their services, they are ready to go to Charlestown when called upon. I conceive when we are all in conjunction we shall muster between four and five thousand men and hope we may be at liberty to afford you any aid you may have occasion for. It will take time to settle this disturbed part in peace, which is now quite disjointed. When I write you again, which shall be as often as distance and circumstances will admit, the omission of which for the time past craves your indulgence as I have been marching from place to place, &c., and waiting the return of express, has occasioned that remissness. Draughts on Congress and new Council of Safety have been received for larger sums, which we have been obliged to draw, paying the lesser sums and husbanding it in the best manner to keep our credit good. If a small supply could come safe, it would be acceptable, but just now I don't think

of a proper channel. The article power is well considered, and I shall know where to send if we want the additional numbers, I have made each portion small—but possibly may do. This minute, while I am writing, Capts. Plumer and Smith with thirty men surrender themselves and arms. All as yet goes on well, and hope, by Divine assistance, the Company may answer every good intention (if the inclemency of the season does not impede us), as our troops are illy provided, but well fed. The more minute circumstances you will suffer me to omit.

And believe me to be the servant of my country,

and the honor of being, sir,

your obedient humble servant,

RICH'D. RICHARDSON.

Letter of Colonel Richard Richardson to Henry Laurens, Esq.,
President of the Council

CAMP LIBERTY HILL, Dec. 16th, 1775.

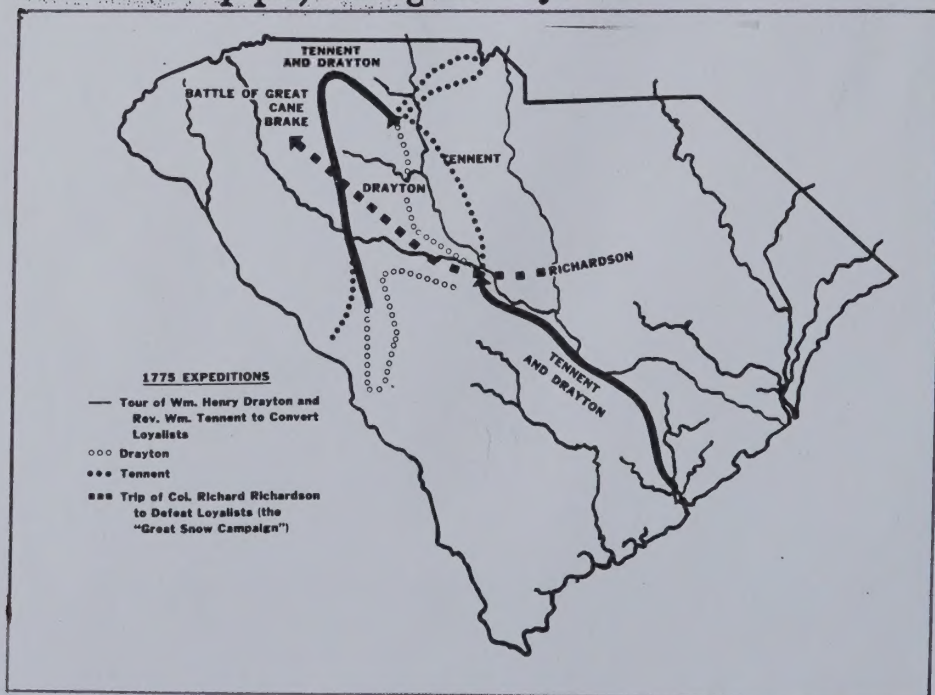
SIR:—I herewith send you the persons of Col. Thos. Fletchall, Capt. Richard Pearis, Capt. Jacob Fry, Capt. George Shuburg, John McWilliams, Philip Wells, James Davis, Capt. McDavid, alias McDade, and Joseph Alexander. These being all adjudged by the officers and people here to be offenders of such a nature that from the active part they have taken, it would be dangerous for me (however innocent they may appear before you) to let either of them go; they are under guard of my son, who, from his camp dishabille, will appear before you. I have nothing particular since my last. These unhappy people are in a great panic, still flying before us, and it is told that young Pearis and others have gone to bring the Indians down, in person; if it should be the case, it could not be in a better time, and if any such intentions, should be glad the whole would come while we are here. I shall use every measure in my power that appears to be salutary, but some things distress me much that I want advice upon, and for which I shall write you by express which may be down before this. Had I no fears for Charles Town, we could command every thing here. Though Cunningham, Robertson, and others, of the first class are fled, they may yet come in our way; should they, you will soon be acquainted with it.

I have the honor to be, sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

RICH'D. RICHARDSON.

P. S. Excuse paper, it being now very scarce.



Colonel Richard Richardson's List of Prisoners sent to Charles Town

- | | |
|---|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Col. Fletchall 2. Capt John Mayfield, Ninety-Six 3. Capt. Benj. Wofford 4. R'd Pearis, Scophalite Captain
Ninety-Six 5. Capt Math. Floyd, Militia 6. Capt. George Day " 7. Capt. Pat. MdDade 8. Capt. Wm. Hunt, Scophalite,
Mulatto, Ninety-Six 9. Capt Geo. Zuber, 96, said to
murder a Prisoner 10. " Jacob Fry, Scophalite, 96 11. " Wm. Jones " colored " 96.
Cane Brake, powder man 12. Capt Robt. Pearis-Scophalite
Adjutant, Cane Brake, 96 13 " Bowman, 96 Cane Brake, powder
man, militia 14 " Harvey - same 15 " Clery Scophalite, 96 16. " Lindley 96 Cane Brake, militia 17. " York, 96, C.B. powder man mil. 18. D'd. Cunningham, deemed a bad man
by both parties, to be delivered
by Maj. Williamson 19. Geo. Nealey, Commissary Gen., 96
C.B., powder man 20. Thomas Combs, C.B., powder man 21. Thomas Tomlin " " 22. Jeremiah Ward, " 96 " very bad man 23. Capt. Henry Green, 96 C.B. p.m. mil. 24. Capt. Sam. Proctor, " " " 25. John Norris, " " " 26. Benj. Stone, 96 " " " 27. John Davies, " " " 28. Dav'd Reese " " " 29. Thomas Carter " " " 30. James Derumple " " " 31. James McGill " " " 32. Wm. Johnston " " " 33. Thomas Wisdom, Lt mil. " " "
extreme active man 34. Abra'm Nabors, C.B. powder man 35. Isaac Nabors, " " " 36. Geo. Carter, " " " 37. Thos. Gill, " " " 38. Wm. Stone, 96 " " " 39. Rob't Proctor, 96 " " very bad man 40. Caleb Stone, " " " 41. James Carter, " " " 42. Rob't Grey, " " " 43. Capt. Jno. Hilburn, an active man 44. Elisha Watson, C.B. 45. John Helms, 96 C.B. 46. Thomas Allen " " " 47. Wm. Matthews " " " 48. Dav'd Allison " " " 49. Wm. Alison " " " 50. Rob't Wood " " " 51. John Miller, sent from 96 52. Henry Strum, 96 53. Tho. Neville, C.B. 54. Christ'r Reuben, " C.B. 55. Robin Brown, 96, C.B., p.m. 56. John Reid, " " " 57. James Reid, " " " 58. Adam Frelick, 96 59. Fred. Bagwell, " C.B. 60. John Wright, " " " 61. James Johnson, " " " 62. James Camel, " " " 63. Wm. Cox, " " " 64. Fred Reuben, " " " 65. Thomas Good, " " " 66. Moses Casey, " " " 67. Adam Purdue " " " 68. John Casey, " " " 69. Jesse Casey, " " " 70. John Rigdell, " " " 71. John Rigdell Jr. " " " 72. Edmund Miller, went from 96 to
join opposite pty. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 73. Henry Attolph, 96, C.B. Lt. Major 74. John Meek, " " " 75. James Mills, " " " 76. Francis Regin, " " " 77. Wm. Burrows, " " " 78. Benj. Stone " " " 79. Joshua Niblet. " " " 80. Joshua Fowler " " " 81. Rich'd Fowler " " " 82. Sam Harris " " " 83. John Goff. " " " 84. Rob't Westmorland " " " 85. Tho. Welch " " " 86. Holl'y Power " " (name sic?) 87. Hugh Abernathy " " " 88. Dav'd Reese, ment. above 89. Jacob Witherow, 96, C.B. 90. John Witherow " " " 91. Chris. Tonges " " " 92. John Burrows " " " 93. Hen. Center fitts, " " (name sic?) 94. Wm. Mills " " " 95. Henry Citeman, a very bad man 96. Wm. Caldwell, 96, C.B. 97. And. Averter " " " 98. Abel Boeling " " " 99. Owen Reid " " " 100. Dennis McCarty, " " p.m. 101. Tho. Rogers " " " 102. Harmon Dildine " " " 103. Isaac Evans, mentioned 104. Benj. Gregory 96, C.B. 105. Jos. Turner " " " 106. James Nicholl " " " 107. Edw'd Lang " " " 108. James Wright " " " 109. John Evans " " " 110. John Welch " " " 111. Wm. Elliott, 96, C.B. 112. Leon'd Nix, " " " 113. Wm. Payne, " " " 114. Henry Goff " " " 115. Dav'd Nielson " " " 116. John Morgan " " " 117. Fred. Hartwell " " " 118. Dan. Allen " " lame 119. Henry Counts " " " 120. Elisha Robinson " " " 121. James Burgess, " " an old man
but bloody minded 122. Thomas Gill, 96 C.B. 123. Holly Goff, died on the road 124. John Tominson 96 C.B. 125. Hugh Nealey, 96 but surrendered him-
self to Col. Richardson 126. Witnall Warner, supposed to rob Mr.
Pendelson's lodgings at 96 127. Wm. Watson, harmless man but at the C.B. 128. Chris'r Casey, 96 C.B. 129. John M. Williams, the machine maker to
set fire to the 96 fort 130. Jos. Alexander, 96 C.B. 131. James Davies " " " 132. Phil. Wells " " " 133. Jacob Stack " " " 134. Dan. Stagner " " " 135. Capt. Nealey Carghill and 136. Capt. Edghill, one sick, but both to be
delivered up by 1st Feb. |
|---|--|

NOTE: This is copied from pages 249-253 of
Documentary History of the American Revolution
by Robert Wilson Gibbes, M.D. (1855-Vol. 1)
Gibbes claimed he copied it verbatim from Col.
Richard Richardson's own list.

I took the liberty of abbreviating Ninety-Six,
Cane Brake, and powder man to save space.
It appears that there are duplications in his
list, and there certainly are mis-spellings of
names, in a few cases pretty odd.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN - DESOLATION AND RETALIATION

Captain Richard Pearis, considered very dangerous by the Rebels, was taken at the Battle of Big Cane Brake on Reedy, carried to Charles Town, and imprisoned in irons for nine months at the common gaol (jail). His second son, Captain Robert Pearis, also taken, was not so lucky because he disdained to take an oath of neutrality. He was kept in jail for three years until finally exchanged for a prisoner of war of the other side at St. Augustine, convicted of piracy.

Older son. George Pearis was not present during the capture, having gone to the Cherokees to seek help; but the Indians wisely refrained from getting involved in what would have meant certain defeat by such a huge force of armed men from two provinces. Besides, they were short on ammunition at the time and needed what they had for subsistence. It appears that, at the time, young Richard Pearis, Jr., was as yet a minor and not taken, though later on he became a brave captain, also. His future father-in-law, Col. Robert Cunningham, had already been arrested before any conflict occurred. and was treated with great leniency though not allowed his freedom for some time to come. His youngest daughter, Margaret Cunningham, would later marry Richard Pearis, Jr. More will be told later, but we are interested in him as one of our extended family though not an ancestor.

Now for a couple of interesting side notes. On a previous page we last saw Moses Kirkland (not a relative but an interesting character) on board the Man-O-War Tamar on the high seas. Before saying what became of him we will tell a little more about Regulators, for he had once been one. Many historians claim that most of the Regulators became Tories in the Revolution. Perhaps that was true in North Carolina though I'm not convinced, but the following will show that the split was probably about even in the groups we have become acquainted with. This is highly unscientific because, it is said, no complete list was ever made. Among old Charleston court records of Regulators absolved in 1771 (after upcountry courts were authorized but not yet built, in an effort to bring about peace in the Up Country) about 130 are mentioned. There may have been many more whose names are now lost if they were ever listed. Without trying hard, it was easy to spot the following, which have been mentioned on these pages about the Pearis Family.

Absolved 31 October 1771 were Moses Kirkland who at that time had 11, 460 acres at Kirkland's Ferry of Saluda River and 36 slaves; Robert Cunningham - 1000 acres at Island Ford of Saluda; Robert Stark - 1250 acres at Camden; John Savage 1130 acres at 96 Village. On the Rebel side I noticed Charles King, of Broad-Saluda Fork, 30 slaves but acreage not given-served 1775 provincial congress, died 1789; William Arthur- official at Saxe-Gotha; Major James Mayson - 1400 acres at Glasgow Plantation, Halfway Swamp of Saluda, slaveholder. Though only grazing the subject, it appears that having been a Regulator did not determine one's political affiliation in that area.

The list covered the entire province, and, though presumably these men were leaders of groups of Regulators, the underlings not being recorded, as widespread as the movement was, this must have been only a sampling. A complete list might change the picture, but somehow I doubt it, and think all these men simply sought justice according to their beliefs, all probably well-intentioned though towards the end some overdid it.

Drayton had ordered Moses Kirkland's arrest to stand trial for desertion, or else assassination, so that he always traveled with four armed guards. (Drayton's accounts magnified the four to a small army.) While the other Loyalists were busy investing Ninety Six Courthouse, he and Thomas Brown slipped away to Charles Town. Brown went to see Governor Campbell and reported that Kirkland was "on the errand well known to your Lordship." A disgusted Brown explained how Drayton had manipulated Fletchall. Drayton had demanded an interview with Fletchall, Cunningham, and Brown. The men had no objection to Fletchall's going, but felt that it was a trap and feared for Brown and Cunningham's lives. Brown drafted a set of instructions for Fletchall, who didn't even read them at the meeting but (according to Brown) "had such frequent recourse to the bottle as to soon render himself non compos." Drayton drew up his own set of articles and had the uncomprehending Fletchall sign them. Therefore, the other officers did not consider themselves bound by the treaty, but he and Patrick Cunningham (Robert's brother) decided war was a matter for Campbell to decide. The Governor was very unhappy at the premature skirmish before help from the British could arrive.

Now Kirkland was sent on just such a mission, safely aboard a British man-of-war in Charlestown Harbor. Kirkland's young son was with him, disguised as a girl because Kirkland had heard that his enemies planned to seize his son as a hostage. Kirkland went to St. Augustine, where he secured the cooperation of John Stuart, and from there sailed to Virginia. His intention was to proceed to Boston to put his plan before General Thomas Gage.*

"Kirkland's errand became a cause célèbre when he was captured and locked up in a Philadelphia prison. Gen. George Washington personally informed Congress that Kirkland was a dangerous fellow. He sent along the papers taken from Kirkland, including some of a 'very interesting nature' from John Stuart in which he suggested that the war between the Choctaws and Creeks should be ended so that the Creeks would be free to act....Washington told Gen. Philip Schuyler that..proved the British ministry intended to use Indians against the Americans. There was irony in the plan...They had borrowed upon the rumor the Whigs used for propaganda..."(No mention is made of the fact that the Whigs were already using Catawbas, though that was only a small tribe.)

Kirkland's plan to help had obviously gone very much awry, though one would think that, indirectly, General Gage would have learned that help was much wanted. Much clucking of tongues was heard when on 14 Aug 1776 it was reported that, "Kirkland, you may have heard, made his Escape when he left his son, a Child of 10 or 12 years old in Gaol." From this it seems, in the City of Brotherly Love it must not have been rare to hold an innocent 10-year-old child in jail! Surely the child must have been sent to his family after that. As for Kirkland, he made his way south to Pensacola to join the Loyalist forces.

About Patrick Cunningham, during the Snow Campaign at Big Canebrake, at the time the others were taken captive, he escaped on a horse bareback rather than be taken, telling his troops that each should "shift for himself," in trying to get away. **

*The King's Ranger, by Cashin page 32

**Hist. of SC in the Rev. War, McCrady I:97

Henry Laurens, Pres. Council of Safety to Col. Richard Richardson*
 Sir

Charles Town 20 January 1776

(He mentions what seem to be men-of-war, some large, "sailing too and fro the entrance to this harbour, and even coming near to Sullivan's Island." They seem to be reconnoitering for when the weather is better and says they are going on preparing for defense)... "We are well assured of your zeal, and place the greatest confidence in your indeavours to serve the public upon the present occasion. Robert Cunningham has petitioned for a hearing. We have some hopes, he will make such propositions we may with honour to ourselves and safety to the public accept and receive him and some other of the unfortunate men under his influence."

(Robert Cunningham had previously replied by letter that Drayton should be ashamed of himself for taking advantage of men who were frightened out of their wits by men shouting and wearing liberty caps and by cannon firing. As for himself, Cunningham had no intention of signing that "false and disgraceful" document.

"On the day the Congress met, 1 November 1775** it was informed that Captain Robert Cunningham had been taken into custody and brought to Charleston. He had been arrested under orders from Major Andrew Williamson upon the affidavit of Captain John Caldwell, charging him with seditious words. Cunningham having been brought before the Congress did not deny that he had used the words with which he was charged; he did not believe, he said, that Captain Caldwell had perjured himself; but though he did not consider himself bound by the treaty at Ninety-Six (the first one, not the one when the courthouse was taken, for he was in jail at the time) he averred "that he had since behaved himself as peaceably as any man, and although he had opinions he had not expressed them but when asked." Upon this frank statement, Captain Cunningham was committed to the jail of Charlestown by a warrant under the hand of William Henry Drayton as President; Thomas Grimball the Sheriff was directed, however, to afford him every reasonable and necessary accommodation at the public charge. But he was enjoined not to suffer him to converse or correspond with any person whomsoever, or to have the use of pen, ink, or papers unless by express leave from the Congress. The arrest of Cunningham was deeply resented by the people of the Upper Country,")

Now three months later he was asking for a hearing--but he was not to be released for some time yet, they were not ready. On that same day the following petition was also read.)

Petition from Backcountry Prisoners

We the Subscribers Humbly Sheweth, that whereas there has Been Deversity of Oppinions, and Disturbances, in the Frontier parts of this province--Which grieves us to heart that we ever Should have Been at Varience, with our Countrymen, and good Neighbours Hon: Gentlemen--We Therefore find the Greatest Freedom, to Enter into any Honourable Terms of Unity, to preserve the peace in this Disturbed province and the peace of good

*Papers of Henry Laurens, Vol II (1776-7) David L. Chestnut, Ed (1992) pages 50-52

**The History of South Carolina in the Revolution (1775-1780) by Edward McCrady LLD page 86

Neighbourhood. Gentlemen--We Your Humble Petitioners here in Common Goal, a Few of Whom You Do Call Leading persons of the Party that was Against you, And According to Your Honourable Articles that may be Agreed on--we shall on any Forfeit Promise to Endeavour to Settle Peace to Your Satisfaction, And the Unity of the Different Settlements, in the Frontiers Gentlemen--We Wait With Leisure on Your Call. And Forsodoing it will Always Esteemed by us Your Humble Petitioners--

N.B. there is Different Circumstances	)	Robt Cunningham
Amongst us, Which we Make No	)	John Mayfield
Doubt But Your Honours will	)	Jas Lindle
Know by Subscription--	)	

Thos Fletchall	David Rees	Matt Floyd
	henry Green	William Hunt
Benjn Wofford	Jeremiah Ward	Jacob Bowman
Richd Pearis	Thomas Wisdom	Robt Parris-
	Robert Proctor	George Neelly
Henery Centerful	Henry Citeman	David George
Henery Goff	William Burges	David McDavid
John Goff	John McWilliams	Jacob Fry
	Philip Wells	Grady Zieband
	Jas Davis-	Jos Alexander
	Wittenhall Warner	Daniel Jones
	Adams Pardue	Elisha Robinson

Orders of the Council of Safety

27 January 1776

(Among the items decided were--)

We approve of the measures which you have taken for apprehending P. Cunningham, Robinson & Brown & will pay the Reward when properly claimed-- R. Cunningham & Colo Fletchall are extremely anxious to be enlarged upon promises of the Strictest neutrality & inoffensive behaviour, we must refer the consideration of their proposals to the Congress-- as to Pearis every Account we receive marks his conduct as more & more Criminal.

"Collo Richardson in his general Report did you Justice & we repeat our thanks for your Services in the expedition under his Command....."

The facilities at the Charles Town "Gaol" were not set up to hold 130 prisoners of war (those on the long list) so after such an overwhelming victory, the majority of them were before long let go after taking an oath to remain neutral. A footnote on page 230 of this reference says, "The General Assembly on April 11, 1776, recommended that fifteen prisoners from among the captured backcountry insurgents be excluded from the declaration of pardon or amnesty." In addition to Robert Cunningham they were: Henry O'Neal, Jacob Bowman, Thomas Fletchall, Patrick Cunningham, Richard Pearis, Elisha Robinson, Pinkothman Hawkins, James Alexander, Thomas Wisdom, Henry Green, Robert Proctor, William Dodgen, Stephen Prosser, and John Morgridge. The source cited was Journal of the SC General Assembly, 1776-1780 pages 46-7, 51 & 54. Though that did not mention the son, Robert Pearis, we know from other sources that he, also, remained in jail. some of those on this last list were on a "wanted list" rather than in jail.

I seriously considered omitting Colonel Fanning's Journal to save space, but it contains interesting comments not found elsewhere, and he did serve for some time under Colonel Richard Pearis.

A Journal of Coln. David Fanning's transactions During the late War in America, from the year 1775--Commencing 1st of May until the peace *

Coln Thomas Fleachall of Fairforest ordered the Different Captains to call musters and present two papers for the inhabitants to sign(.) one was to see who was friends to the King and Government, and the other was to see who would Join the Rebellion (1) the first of may Capt James Lindley**of Rabirns Creek sent to me as I was a sergeant of the said Company to have his Company warned to meet at his house 15th of said month (.) I did accordingly and he presenting the two papers. There was 118 men signed in favor of theKing, who Declared To Defend the same at theRisk of Lives and Property in July 1775--there was several advertisements set up in Every part of the said District that there was a Very Good prispetearing minister to call at the Different Places to preach and Baptise Children.***

*The Narrative of Col. David Fanning, by Lindley S. Butler (pp 20 et seq)

David Fanning finished the journal of his wartime experiences on 24 June 1790 at his home on St. John's River, New Brunswick, Canada, where, as a Loyalist partisan in the Revolution, he was resettled by the British government. The narrative opens in May 1775 in back-country SC where, as a 20-year-old Indian trader with the Catawbas and possibly the Cherokees, he is faced with the awesome choice of loyalty to his king or armed rebellion and treason. He was born 1755 at Birch Swamp, Amelia Co. VA, where his grandfather, Bryan Fanning had settled. His father, David Sr., moved to present Wake Co. NC but drowned in Deep River before the boy was born, leaving him and his sister in the care of a young mother unable to cope with the struggle. They were bound out; he, though educated, had a cruel master from whom he escaped to Orange Co. NC, where taken in by the O'Deniell family and cured of scald head or tetter worm, an offensive scalp disease that left him bald. He afterwards wore a skullcap. It is said he was a superb horseman and tamer of wild horses. His efforts to regain his father's two plantations of 1100 acres in VA were not successful. At age 18 he moved to Joseph Keller's on Raeburn Creek of Reedy River in present Laurens Co. He was described as "a man of fine pysique," small but muscular, with sandy complexion and a wig, very self-reliant but reckless with "the astuteness of the Indian and the fleetness of Arab" and a strong constitution enabling him to bear toil and hunger. As a young trader he accumulated 20 horses, 6 cattle and two slaves. On one of his trips to the Indian region in 1775 his trade goods were pillaged by an alleged Whig militia band, and from that day a new-born Loyalist "swore vengeance on all whigs."

**James Lindley (1755-1779) native of Chester Co. PA lived in Orange Co. NC. He settled on Reaburn's Creek by 1768 in what became 96, where he was justice of the peace and captain in the Upper Saluda Regt. (Lyndley's Fort) Was at siege of 96 & captured at Great Cane Brake. He remained an active Loyalist until capture at Kettle Creek GA14 Feb 1779, imprisoned in 96 jail where he was tried & hung in April.

***This was Rev. William Tennent, who used religion as an inducement to join the Rebel cause.

"But at the time appointed, instead of meeting a Minister, we all went to meet two Jews By name Silvedsor and Rapely (note: instead of Tennent who evidently did not show up, they were harrangued by Francis Salvador and Richard Andrews Rapley, two Whig planters living in the 96 Dist.) and after many speeches in favor of the Rebellion and used all their endeavors to Delude the people away at last presented Revelation papers to see who would sign them(.) They were severely reprimanded by Henery Oneal* and many others (.) it Came so high that they had much adue to Get off with their Lives. the Rebels then found that we was fully Determined to oppose them. They Began to embody in the last of said month to Compell all to join them or to take away our arms: Our Officers Got word of their Intentions; I then Got orders From the Capt to warn the militia to assemble themselves, at Hugh Oneals mill which was done by Captains Companies and Continued for Several Days under arms. And then both parties was Determined on this Condition That neither parties should intercept Each other (.) (note: this was a truce period, as will be explained in other versions, which was agreed to because the Loyalists did not at the time possess enough arms and munitions to do battle.) this truce continued for some time untill the Rebels had taken Thomas Brown who after that had the Honor to be Coln of the Ridgment of the East Florida Rangers in Augusta and Burnt his feet tard featherd and cut off His hair, and after that he got so he was able to Set on horse Back. he came to our poast and the Rebels then began to embody again. Coln Fletchall formed a large Camp and marched from the Liberty Springs to Mill Creek on our way towards Ninety Six. 12 miles from Ninety Six the Rebels found that they was not Strong Enough for us Sent an Express to Coln Fletchall--to come and treat with them which Said Fletchall Did but the terms of their treatment I Dont Know.** We was all Dismist untill further Orders (.) in a Short time After the Rebels took Capt. Robert Cunningham*** and Carried him of to Charlestown (.) our party**** was then Informed of his being taken off in the night time and by makeing an Enquiry after him we got Information of a large Quantity of Ammunition that was there, on Its way to the Cherichée Nation for Capt Richard Pares

*Henry O'Neal was an early Loyalist leader, with Patrick Cunningham when the Cherokee powder was seized. An order was issued for his arrest and he was in custody by Feb 1776 & with other Loyalist leaders excluded from pardon on 11 April 1776.

**The Treaty of Ninety Six 16 Sept 1775, negotiated by Thos. Fletchall and Drayton. By its terms both parties agreed to disband and remain neutral. The treaty effectively defused the Loyalist uprising.

Robert Cunningham, b PA is on the 31 Oct 1771 list of absolved Regulators, at which time his address was 1000 acres on Island Ford of the Saluda. He was in the 96Dist. by 1766 (Much later a son and daughter of this man would marry children of Richard Pearis.) With his brother Patrick he was an active Loyalist and advised against any negotiations. He refused to abide by the treaty and on 23 Oct was arrested and jailed in Charleston, stayed there after release a year later, till the British, after capture of the city made him Brigadier general and he established a post at 96. At end of war he went to St. Augustine, then Nova Scotia, then in 1786 to Nassau, Bahamas where he died in 1813. *Patrick Cunningham, who settled in 1769, was deputy surveyor. He tried to rescue Robert and then seized the Indian ammunition. His career parallels his brothers except that after the war he settled in East FLA; but he returned to SC in 1785, and eventually became a member of the legislature! He died in 1794.

who swore to these facts. (footnote says "The powder and lead seized by Patrick Cunningham's Loyalists on 3 Nov. 1775 had been granted to the Cherokees by the Whigs on the condition that they attack the Loyalist settlers. William Drayton ordered the militia to apprehend the King's mad people concerned in this daring act.") we then formed a Large Camp Coln Fletchall Being So Heavy he gave up the Command to Majr Joseph Robinson*

In the month of November 1775 the South Carolina Militia of which I was at that time Sergeant under the Command of Major Joseph Robinson laid Seige to a Fort erected by the Rebels at Ninety Six Commanded by Coln Mason (Mayson) which continued for the space of three Days and Three nights at the Expiration of which time the Rebels were forst to Surrender and give up the Fort and Artillery**

Major Robinson then Ordered the militia to the North Side of Saluda River and Dischargd them for Eighteen Days (.) afterwards Orders was Issued for every Capt to Collect their Respective Companies at Hendricks mill about 20 miles from Ninety Six (.) the Rebels having Received Intelligence of our Intended motions they Immediately marched before us and took possession of the Grounds which prevented our assembling ther

But about 300 of our men met at Little River and marched from thence to Reedy River and Encamped at thebig Cane Brake for Several Days--the Rebels being informed of our Situation marchd unexpectedly upon us and made prisoners of 130 of our men (.)*** the Remainder fled into the woods and continued there--with the Cherichée Indians until the 18th of January 1776--when I was made a prisoner by a party of Rebels commanded by a Capt John Burns, who after Detaining me four days and Repeatedly urging me to take the Oath of Allegiance to the United States Stript me of Everything and made me give Security for my future good Behavior by which means I got clear on 19 may 1776 hearing the Rebels had issued a Proclamation to all the friends of Government offering them pardon and protection provided they would Return to their Respective habitations & Remain neutral-----TO BE CONTINUED ON LATER PAGES-----→

*Joseph Robinson had 400 acres on the Broad River, was a deputy surveyor & major in the Upper Saluda militia. After his successful siege of Ninety Six he was captured at Great Cane Brake 22 Dec 1775. After release he went to Pensacola, then St. Augustine where he was commissioned Lt. Col. of the SC Royalists in 1778. After the evacuation of Charleston he was in East FLA, Jamaica, and finally New Brunswick. Sometime after 1788 he moved to Prince Edward Island.

The TEST OATH taken at Major Joseph Robinson's camp in support of the King & royal government read, "I, (name) do swear that I will observe, obey and abide by all the laws of England which are of force in this his Majesty's province of South-Carolina, and all the Acts of the General Assembly of said province."

**The siege of Ninety-Six on 19-22 November 1775 was one of the few Loyalist victories. The Whigs had gathered there under Williamson and Mayson. More details and a sketch of the site will appear later.

***The battle of the Great Cane Brake on 22 Dec 1775 was a brief skirmish that ended the second Loyalist rising. The Whig militia commanded by Col. Richard Richardson and Lt. Col. William Thompson were reinforced by North Carolina militia under Col. William Polk and Lt. Col. Alexander Martin. Many Loyalists were taken prisoner--attacked by a huge force of 4000 men in the "Snow Campaign." Much more will be told later.

Greenville County History (Cherokee Attacks Continued)

---After killing young Hite, the Indians proceeded to the Pearis plantation where, though Richard and his son Robert were still confined in Charles Town Gaol, they were joined by a number of Tories.

Then they moved on to the home of the sorely distressed Hite family, where Colonel Hite and a number of his children were killed, and his wife taken captive. From here a number..moved into what is now Laurens County, killing Miss Austin of Gilder Creek, but most red invaders turned north and into.. what is now Spartanburg..(and other counties)..Having effected a union, these Indians joined forces with a body of Tories which was moving to the attack of Lindley's fort, located near the mouth of Raeburn Creek in present Laurens County. Here a large number..had taken refuge, hoping for defense. Upon reaching the fort..the savages and their Tory allies painted as Indians were repulsed, since a portion of the regiment of Col. Williams had moved there and was waiting...

The body of Indians turning north from the Hite home next visited the Hampton plantation (and killed most of the family excepting Wade, who became ancestor of many illustrious Hamptons who lived there later on),.

Now the savages, having taken up the tomahawk in earnest, were not to be stayed in their bloody course. Wherever the whites could be found they were murdered, the "passover" being small protection. Captain Ford, a well-known Tory, was killed...and two daughters taken captive...(many others were named)...abject terror seized the inhabitants..(Many) fled the country or found protection in forts, leaving homes burned and crops destroyed. While matters were in this sad state, a Capt. Howard..was able to organize a small company who, like himself, had taken refuge in the old Block House (which is still standing, having been converted to a residence)..Also taking part was Capt. John Earle, ancestor of many still living in that county..This little band of resolute men marched to Big Chief Warrior mountain in North Carolina close by a friendly Indian, Scuyuka. who led them through a hitherto unknown gap where they were able to surprise the enemy from the rear...

(Ouconnastotah, and his men had noticed activity, but were expecting them to come from a different direction.) Captain Howard and his men attacked the Indians fiercely..but they were greatly outnumbered and might have been defeated except for suddenness of their onslaught..The Indians were in no mood to withstand an organized attack after their orgy of bloodshed and pillage. They had brought their women and children..and knew their march back must be slow....so they buried their dead there on the mountain side and began a hasty march back toward Pearis' plantation, where they no doubt expected to receive ammunition and Tory reinforcements. This skirmish, unknown to history, but well authenticated in tradition as "the Battle of Round Mountain," gave the frontier settlers their first respite.....

At this time Colonel Andrew Williamson was in command of all organized Patriot forces between Saluda and Broad...He ordered Colonel Thomas to move against the Indians. However, there was some delay in getting the troops in motion, probably occasioned by the action of the Charles Town authorities in releasing certain Up-country prisoners. After the British attack on Charles Town during the latter part of June 1776 had been repulsed, the Government thought that generosity on its part would have a good effect, so Richard Pearis, Robert Cunningham, and the "rest of the back country prisoners who were in confinement" were released.

(Note: this sentence is misleading. Richard had not come home yet, nor had Robert, still incarcerated.)

PEARIS FAMILY

But the troops of Col. Williamson were greatly incensed at this action and for several days could not be prevailed upon to enter the conflict. However, as the savages were beginning to retreat after the Battle of Round Mountain, Col. Thomas appeared with a small force and gave chase. The Indians moved from the North Carolina border across the north-western portion of Spartanburg County towards the plantation of Richard Pearis. They were overtaken near Paris mountain by a small detachment from Col. Thomas' force, and a skirmish took place. The Indians continued their retreat, but being hard pressed, killed a number of their prisoners, who were hampering their progress. Among this was Mrs. Jacob Hite, But others were either released or permitted to escape..(including) two daughters of Captain Ford, the Tory killed during the raid. When the Pearis plantation was reached, the Indians did not find the expected reinforcements and continued their retreat. But for several days prior thereto, the Pearis home had been closely watched by spies sent out by Col. Williamson, and these emissaries reported unusual activity about the place. Col. Williamson concluded that Pearis was up to his old tricks again and sent couriers to Thomas, ordering him to give the Pearis home a call as he passed it..

So on 16 July 1776, Colonel Thomas took possession of the property of Richard Pearis, burned his home, mill, and trading station, confiscated all his cattle and horses for the use of his army, and carried away his wife, two daughters, and one son. Captain Pearis was still away at the time and thereby saved himself a second imprisonment. It is said that the family of Pearis was subjected to much abuse and punishment by their captors. According to some accounts, they were marched on foot 25 miles a day with little food and no covering for their heads against the heat of a summer sun, and were then confined for three days with practically no food, and afterwards sent off in an open wagon to a point near Augusta, 100 miles away, where they were left among strangers to shift for themselves, Without money or provisions.

After a few days' delay, awaiting reinforcements and supplies, Colonel Thomas set out for the Cherokee country with a fixed determination to revenge the bloody desolation which the savages had left behind them. Among his troops were many of the frontiersmen who had suffered sorely at the hands of the Indian, and who were in a mood to fight as they had never done before. Everywhere the Indians fled before them, leaving their homes and growing crops to be destroyed. By August 13th, the destruction of the lower settlements was complete. The Patriot army was now reinforced, and on September 13th a force of 2,000 men started on its march over the mountains toward the middle settlement towns, which were reached on Sept. 23rd. Here ...the destruction was soon complete, and in early October the army, having fully performed its mission, was disbanded. The successful termination of the Cherokee War of 1776 ended forever the danger of Indian massacres in the Carolina up-country.

So ends the narrative of the Cherokee War of 1776 as told by Greenville County History by James M. Richardson in 1930. Concerned only with the history of that county, he naturally leaves out the part played in the practical annihilation of the Cherokees at the hands of the white man by General Griffith Rutherford, commanding officer in charge, but a North Carolinian.

PEARIS FAMILY

GENERAL GRIFFITH RUTHERFORD.

General Griffith Rutherford was an Irishman by birth, brave and patriotic, but uncultivated in mind and manners. He resided west of Salisbury, in the Locke settlement, and actively participated in the internal government of the county, associated with such early and distinguished patriots as Moses Winslow, Alexander Osborn, Samuel Young, John Brevard, James Brandon, William Sharpe, Francis McCorkle, and others. He represented Rowan county in the Provincial Congress which met at Halifax on the 4th of April, 1776, and during this session he received the appointment of Brigadier General of the "Salisbury District." Near the close of the summer of 1776, he raised and commanded an army of two thousand four hundred men against the Cherokee Indians. After being reinforced by the Guilford Regiment, under Colonel James Martin, and by the Surry Regiment, under Colonel Martin Armstrong, at Fort McGahey, General Rutherford crossed the "Blue Ridge," or Alleghany mountains, at Swannanoa Gap, near the western base of which the beautiful Swannanoa river ("nymph of beauty") takes its rise. After reaching the French Broad he passed down and over that stream at a crossing-place which to this day bears the name of the "War Ford." He then passed up the valley of "Hominny Creek," leaving Pisgah Mountain on the left, and crossed Pigeon River a little below the mouth of East Fork. He then passed through the mountains to Richland Creek, above the present town of Waynesville; ascended the creek and crossed the Tuckasegee River at an Indian town. Pursuing his course, he crossed the Cowee Mountain, where he had a small engagement with the enemy, in which one of his men was wounded. As the Indians carried off their dead and wounded, their loss could not be ascertained. Thence he marched to the "Middle Towns," on the Tennessee river, where, on the 14th of September, he met General Williamson with troops from South Carolina on the same mission of subduing the Indians.

In skirmishes at Valley Town, Ellajay, and near Franklin, General Rutherford lost three men, but he completely subdued the Indians. He then returned home by the same route, since known as "Rutherford's Trace." The Rev. James Hall, of Iredell county, accompanied this expedition as chaplain.

The uniforms of the officers and men was a hunting-shirt of domestic, trimmed with cotton: their arms were rifles, and *none knew better how to use them.* Many of the hardy sons of the west there experienced their first essay in arms, and their bravery was nobly maintained afterwards at King's Mountain, the Cowpens, and elsewhere in the South.

General Rutherford commanded a brigade in the battle of Camden, (16th of August, 1780), and was there made a prisoner. After he was exchanged he again took the field, and commanded the expedition which marched by way of Cross Creek (now Fayetteville) to Wilmington, when that place, on his approach, was evacuated by the British, near the close of the war.

He frequently represented Rowan county in the Senate during and subsequent to the war, showing the high appreciation in which his services were held by the people. Shortly after his last service in 1783, he joined the strong tide of emigration to Tennessee, where his well-earned fame and experience in governmental matters had preceded him. The *Knoxville Gazette* of the 6th of September, 1794, contains the following announcement:

"On Monday last the General Assembly of this territory commenced their session in this town. General Rutherford, long distinguished for his services in the Legislature of North Carolina, is appointed President of the Legislative Council."

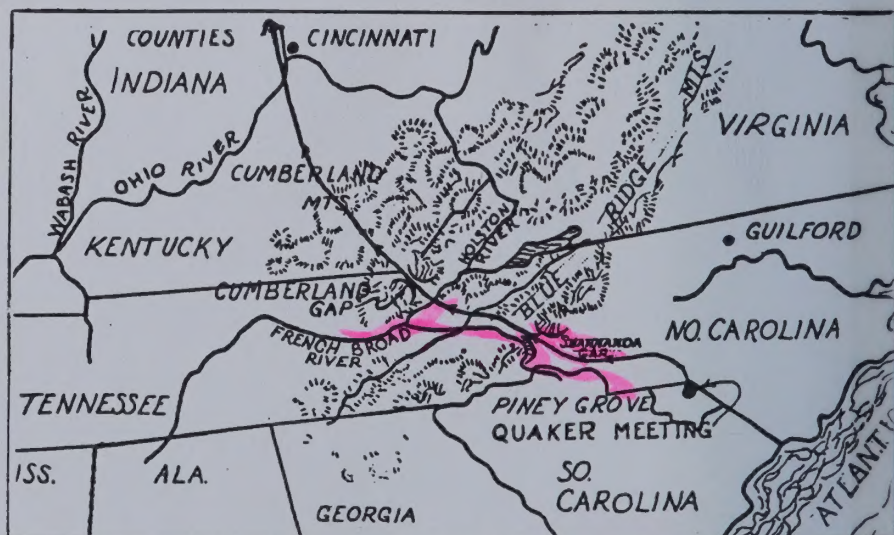
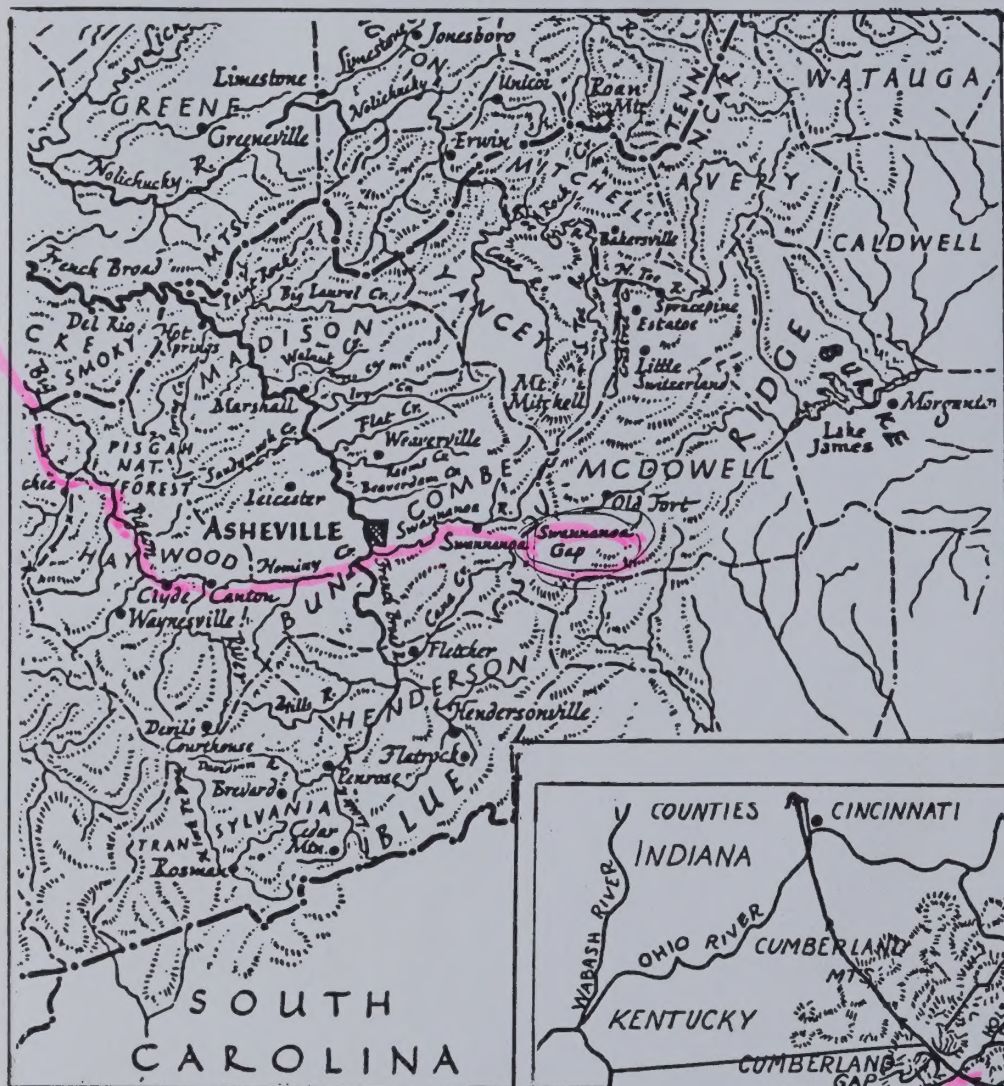
General Rutherford died in Tennessee near the beginning of the present century, at a good old age, and it is to be regretted more has not been preserved of his life and services.

Sketch copied from Sketches of Western North Carolina, Historical and Biographical by Cyrus L. Hunter (1877) Reprint 1995 Heritage Books

Under Col. Martin Armstrong of Surry Co., mentioned above, served a Lt. John Griffith who must have been part of the campaign. My sister Billie (Hansen) Pringle and I correspond with an awfully nice distant cousin Griffith who suspects he might be descended from this man and that our Rev. Samuel Griffith (b. 1768 in SC) was cousin or brother. I'm inclined to think his ancestor and mine were brothers not related to the above officer--it would break my heart! But war does that.

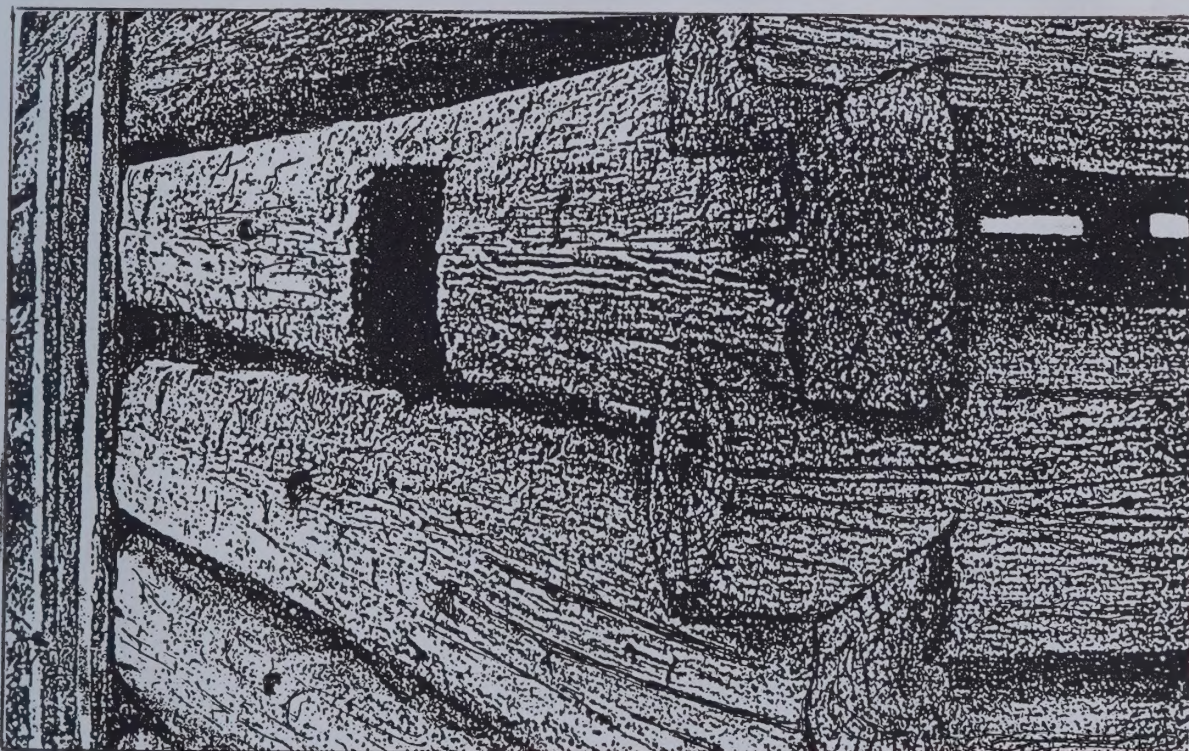
THESE POOR, PRIMITIVE INDIANS GOT CAUGHT UP IN A WHITE MAN'S WAR THEY DID NOT UNDERSTAND.

The maps below show part of the route General Rutherford used in his foray across the mountains to chastize the Cherokees (and maybe with an eye to acquiring some Tennessee land later, after they were forced to cede it--in that he succeeded). His army crossed the Blue Ridge at Swannanoah Gap, then up that river to Hominy Creek, and took Pigeon River north of Waynesville, thence to (not shown) Tuskegee River across Cowee Mountain and the Middle Cherokee Towns on the Tennessee River--called French Broad on the inset. The little map is from a much later time, showing how a group of Quakers got to early Randolph Co. IL. Some of their group used Rutherford's route across the mountains, with a cut-off to Cumberland Gap.



Following defeat of the Cherokees in 1776, a treaty of peace was signed 20 May 1777, ceding all remaining Cherokee land in SC to the white man, except a tiny sliver in the mountainous far western tip of the state, made into a reservation. The document was signed at a trading post at DeWitt's Corners (later called Due West), on the Cherokee path leading to Fort Charlotte on the Savannah River.

Though the Indians were driven out, the new state was too busy prosecuting the war with Great Britain to open the land to settlers and remained part of Ninety Six District until 1784 when counties were created, with Greenville Co. then so large it included what later became several counties. Most land went to former Whig military officers, though the Hite survivors managed to secure a grant. In the meantime, though some settlers stayed it was without sanction and they were later dispossessed. The only law in the interim was the "law of might and banditry reigned supreme." Roving thieves and cut-throats made it their favorite haunt from which they sallied forth at pleasure to rob and plunder under the guise of either Whig or Tory, as the occasion warranted says the county history. Following pages will show it was actually a little more complicated than that.



Above: Ruins of Thicketty Fort in present Cherokee Co. SC, built by settlers on Thicketty Creek between Pacolet and Broad Rivers as protection against Indian attack during the Cherokee uprising. This is 10 miles SE of "Hanna's Cowpens" the site of a well-known Rev. War Battle. This was taken from book. Vardry McBee (1775-1864) by Roy McBee Smith (1992) The subject's father, Vardry Sr., lived 3 miles from the fort and was a Captain during the "Cherokee Campaign," and personally participated in destruction of the Pearis plantation. (See Thicketty Fort on a Western Carolinas map soon to follow.)

Rev. Charles Cummings and Rev. Joseph Rhea accompanied the first battalion as chaplains. Colonel William Christian, with his command proceeded to Long Island on the Holston (Kingsport). Here they were joined by troops from North Carolina under Major Winston. On the first day of August, 1776, the Virginia Council gave the following instructions to Colonel William Christian as commander-in-chief of all the forces.

When your battalion and the battalion under Colonel Charles Lewis are completed, you are to march with them and the forces under the command of Colonel Russell, and such others as may join you from Carolina, into the Cherokee country, if these forces shall be judged sufficient for the purpose of severely chastising that cruel and perfidious nation, which you are to do in a manner most likely to put a stop to future insults and ravages and that may redound most the honor of American arms. If the Indians should be reduced to the necessity of suing for peace, you must take care to demand of them a sufficient number of their chiefs and warriors as hostages, for the performance of the conditions you may require of them. You must insist on their delivering up all prisoners who may choose to leave them and on their giving up to justice all persons amongst them who have been concerned in bringing on the present war, particularly Stuart, Cameron and Gist, and all others who have committed murder or robberies on our frontiers. You may require any other terms which the situation of affairs may point out and you may judge necessary for the safety and honor of the Commonwealth. You must endeavor to communicate with the commanding officer of the Carolina forces and cooperate with him, making the attack as near the time of his as may be.

You are from time to time to write His Excellency the Governor, giving him a full account of your operations, and requiring his further instructions.

Instructions to Colonel Charles Lewis of the second battalions of minute men: You are to order the captains under your command to march their companies to their respective counties, then to discharge such of their men as are not properly qualified to serve on an expedition against the Indians, and to raise with all possible dispatch in their stead the best recruits that can be found for the service, and, having so completed their companies, to repair to the Big Island on Holston river in Fincastle county, the place of general rendezvous.

In the month of September, 1776, that portion of the troops under the command of Colonel William Russell began their march to the Great Island of the Holston.

THE TREATY OF LONG ISLAND

July 2, 1777, was a momentous day in the history of Long Island and the Holston settlements.

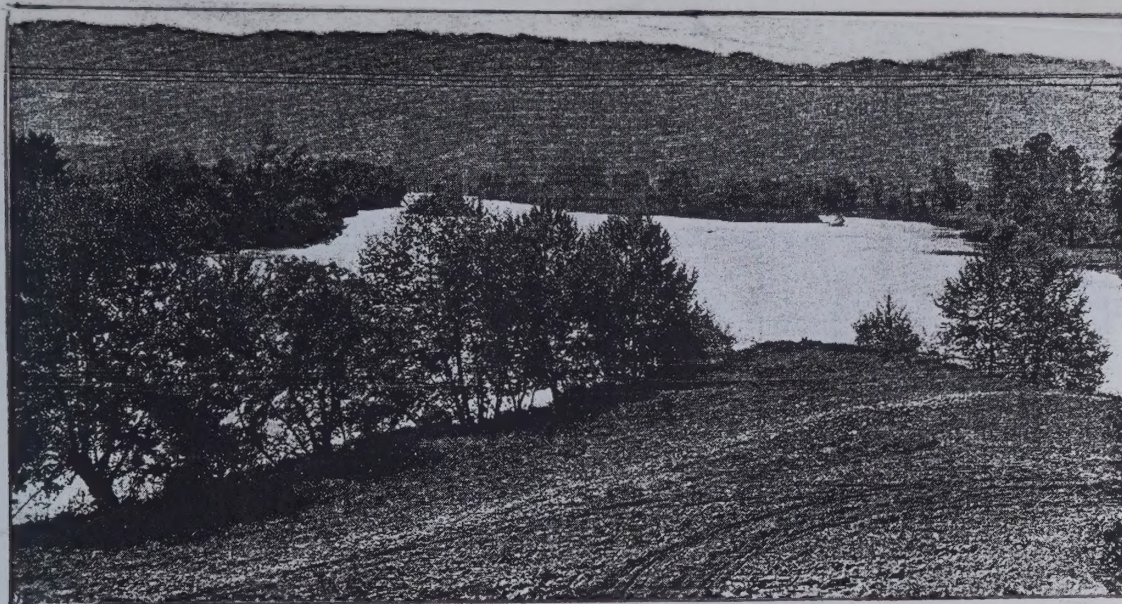
In accordance with the truce agreed upon the previous year the mighty chiefs of the Cherokee nation with their retainers and braves had gathered at this historic spot. Among those present were Oconosta of Chota, Rayetach of Toquoe, the Raven of Chota, Oo-tosse-etch of Hiwassee, Ooskuah of Chilhowie, Atta-Kula-Kula of Natchey Creek, the Terrapin of Chilestooch, Sunne Wauh of Big Island and many others. Also came Colonel William Preston, Colonel William Christian and Colonel Evan Shelby, commissioners for Virginia duly appointed by His Excellency Governor Patrick Henry. North Carolina was represented by Waighstill Avery, William Sharpe, Robert Lanier and Joseph Coniston. The Fourth of July was duly observed, being the first anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. As was the custom when treating with the Indians there were many "Big Talks" and much ceremony observed.

This treaty was soon broken by the white men, who persisted in encroaching on the Indian territory. The distant lands always seemed more attractive to the settler and he pushed over the Indian boundaries, in his quest for fertile land, with no thought for the consequences of his act.

After many days of parleying a treaty was finally agreed upon on July 20, 1776. The Cherokees were forced out of their rightful heritage whose boundaries originally comprised an empire embracing the richest natural resources to be found on the American continent.

The boundaries agreed upon between the commissioners and the Cherokee chiefs were as follows:

That the boundary line between the State of North Carolina and the said Over-Hill Cherokees shall forever hereafter be and remain as follows, (to wit) Beginning at a point in the dividing line which during the treaty hath been agreed upon between the said Over-Hill Cherokees and the State of Virginia,



JUNCTION OF NORTH AND SOUTH FORKS OF HOLSTON RIVER AT ROTHERWOOD
Site of Treaty--Long Island at left. Also see illustration pg 66.

where the line between that state and North Carolina (hereafter to be extended) shall cross or intersect the same, running thence a right line to the north bank of the Holston River at the mouth of Cloud's Creek, being the second creek below the Warrior's Ford, at the mouth of Carter's Valley, thence a right line to the highest point of a mountain called the High Rock or Chimney Top, from thence a right line to the mouth of Camp Creek, otherwise called McNama's Creek, on the south bank of Nolichucky River, about ten miles or thereabouts below the mouth of Great Limestone, be the same more or less, and from the mouth of Camp Creek aforesaid a south-east course into the mountains which divide the hunting grounds of the middle settlements from those of the Over-Hill Cherokees.

It was with the greatest reluctance that the Cherokees yielded Long Island. For generations it had been held sacred as their treaty ground. Many peace pacts had been held on this mystic island, many peace pipes had been smoked here and the council fire had burned many times.

So great was the sentiment attached to this strip of land that a protest memorandum was entered into the treaty as follows:

The Tassell yesterday objected to giving up Great Island, opposite to Fort Henry, to any person or country whatsoever, except Colonel Nathaniel Gist, for whom and themselves it was reserved by the Cherokees. The Raven did the same, this day, in behalf of his people and desired that Colonel Gist

might sit down upon it when he pleased as it belonged to him and them to hold good talks on.

Petty border warfare continued and in 1779 Colonel Evan Shelby led a campaign against the Chickamaugas who resided near Lookout Mountain (Chattanooga) on the Tennessee River. Colonel Shelby collected his troops at Long Island (Kingsport). With nearly one thousand men at his command he adopted a different style of warfare. Boats were built for the entire command and they swiftly descended the Holston and Tennessee rivers to Chickamauga, the Indian stronghold. Dragging Canoe with five hundred warriors fled on the approach of Shelby's army and his town was destroyed. As the Indian chiefs did not respond to his request that they come in and make peace, Shelby destroyed twelve of their towns and vast stores of corn. Quantities of goods as well as horses were also captured and confiscated. After this chastisement Shelby destroyed his boats and returned overland to Long Island. His men had to march over two hundred miles through a trackless wilderness and suffered much on this return journey.

Poor, devastated Cherokees!

CHAPTER FIFTEEN - THE WAR DRAGS ON

In spite of all those British Men-O-War sailing around Sullivan's Island, which Henry Laurens had mentioned as early as January 1776, in March the ruling Whig provincial government of South Carolina sitting in Charleston declared independence from Great Britain. On 28 June a rude palmetto fort, hastily constructed on that same island was able (despite detractors by such as the General Charles Lee) to withstand attack by absorbing the fire from British cannon which could not penetrate the spongy wood when bombarded by the fleet of Sir Peter Parker. (Ever since then, South Carolina has been known as the "Palmetto State.")



The British Strategy: "Planning to split the colonies by driving* a wedge through New York, they thought they could first use their time well, with so many Carolina 5th columnists to help, by bringing pressure on the south. Admiral Sir William Howe went to North Carolina with the fleet. Sir Peter Parker came from England with transports and troops under Charles Lord Cornwallis. Gen. Henry Clinton, to have command, came south from Boston. They would rendezvous at Cape Fear NC in February. Everything went wrong: Parker sailed late. Clinton arrived late in April, and the whole plan was spoiled by Patriots who clobbered Loyalists at the Battle of Moores Creek Bridge, so they picked a second target, selecting Charles Town. Its harbor would be a good base for operations--the new fort on Sullivan's Island was not completed. By 10 June they had arrived off their target where they faced 6,500 poorly-armed Patriots hoping in vain for Back Country support.

*South Carolina--A Synoptic History for Laymen, Lewis P. Jones (1971) pages 104-6

AN EXACT PLAN of CHARLESTOWN-BAR and HARBOUR.

From an Actual Survey.

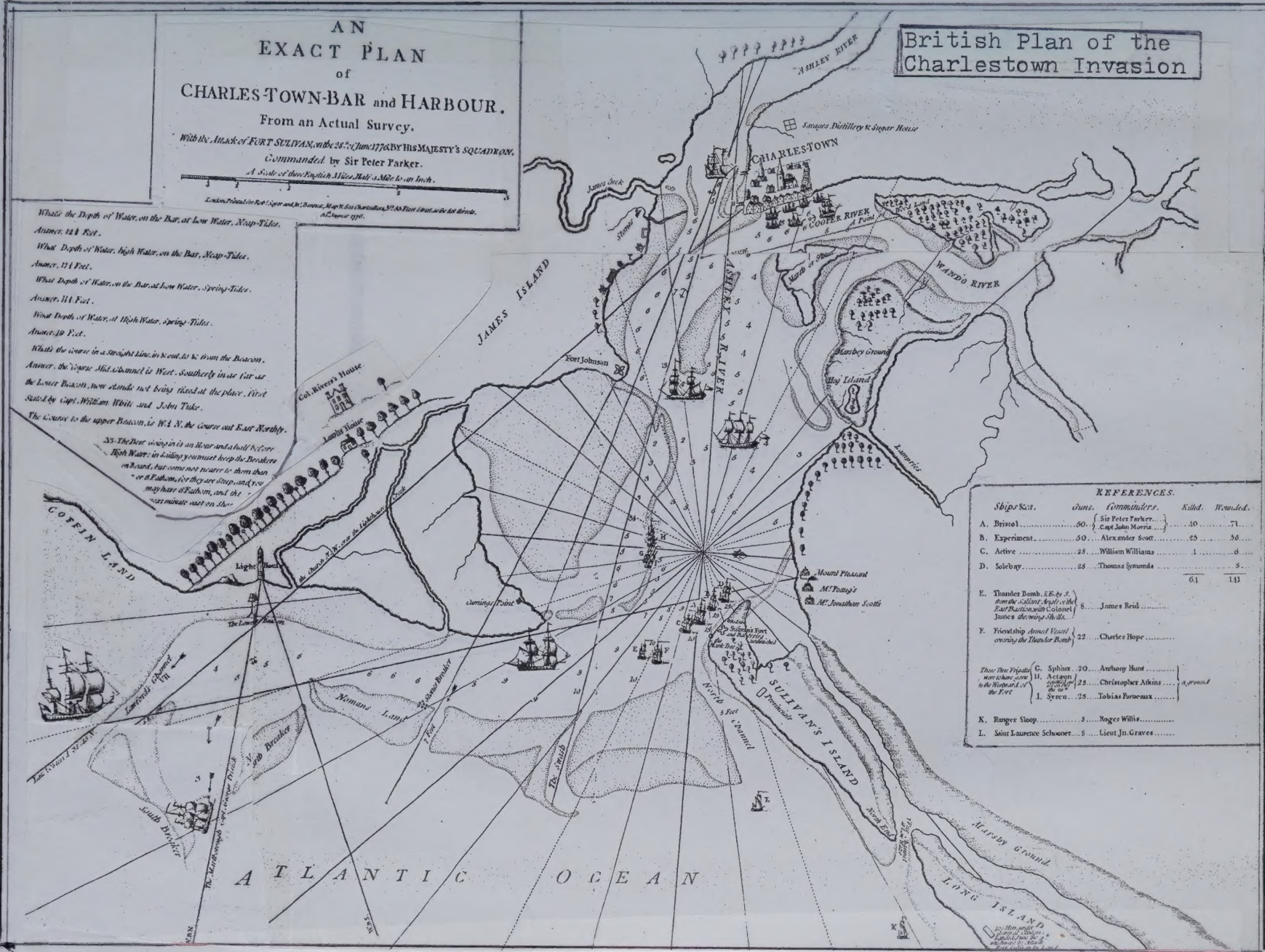
With the ASK of FORT SULLIVAN, on the 28th June 1776 by His Majesty's SQUADRON,
Commanded by Sir Peter Parker.
A Scale of three English Miles. Half a Mile to an Inch.

London, Printed by R. D. and J. B. in the Strand, near St. Dunstons Church, 1776.

What's the Depth of Water, on the Bar, at Low Water, Neap-Tides.
Answer, 12 1/2 Fathoms.
What Depth of Water, High Water, on the Bar, Neap-Tides.
Answer, 17 1/2 Fathoms.
What Depth of Water, on the Bar, at Low Water, Spring-Tides.
Answer, 11 1/2 Fathoms.
What Depth of Water, at High Water, Spring-Tides.
Answer, 16 Fathoms.
What the course in a straight line is to be taken from the Beacon, Answer, the course Mid-channel is West, southerly in the fur as the Lower Beacon, now stands not being fixed at the place, West sailed by Capt. William White, and John Take.
The Course to the upper Beacon, is W 1/2 N, the Course out East North by.

33. The Port being in is an Hour and a half to four High Water, in sailing you must keep the Breakers on board, but come near nearer to them than you are at Fathom, for they are steep, and you may have a Fathom, and the water terminate and on the shore.

British Plan of the Charlestown Invasion



REFERENCES.

Ships &c.	Days.	Commanders.	Killed.	Wounded.
A. Bristol	60	Sir Peter Parker	10	71
B. Experiment	60	Alexander Scott	63	36
C. Active	28	William Williams	1	6
D. Solebay	25	Thomas Symonds	8	13
E. Thunder Bomb	5	James Reid	8	13
F. Frigate Ship	22	Charles Hope	22	13
G. Sphinx	20	Anthony Hunt	20	13
H. Arcton	23	Christopher Atkins	23	13
I. Syren	25	Tobias Furness	25	13
K. Ranger Sloop	8	Noger Willis	8	13
L. Saint Lawrence Schooner	8	Lieut. Jn. Graves	8	13

The British strategy appeared sound: To hit the fort guarding the harbor from the land side with an amphibious force, and to sail the fleet into the southwest side of the fort and bombard it from its unprotected, uncompleted flank.

The American strategy was desperate: Hold what they could. President Rutledge sent word to Gen. Charles Lee, ordered to take command, "For God's sake, lose not a moment." It was good advice, with the British to the east, mercurial Tories to the west, and restless Cherokees farther to the west. Lee's strategy: Abandon the fort, a proposal bluntly vetoed by Rutledge and repudiated by the commander of the fort, William Moultrie.

It was probably the most dramatic battle ever fought in the state, but everything went wrong for the invaders. Some ships arrived late. Then they put their amphibious force of 2,000 to 3,000 ashore north of the fort on adjacent Long Island (which, with the addition of a pavilion and other marks of civilization, later became the Isle of Palms) and let them swelter there from June 8 to June 28. They blundered again: When they contemplated moving this force across from Long Island to Sullivan's Island, they had a good idea but then found the channel was seven feet deep, not 18 inches, and hence they could not wade as planned. (The Patriots were doubly lucky: Those facing this invading force numbered only 780, had 26 guns and 28 rounds of ammunition. Perhaps Gen. Lee may be excused his panic.) The Navy advised Gen. Clinton not to worry, however,

since they would soon have the situation well in hand, whereupon they sailed off for that vulnerable southwest sector only to have some ships ingloriously run aground in front of the fort and end up participating in a frontal assault. There was bravery enough for both sides (Sgt. Jasper's rehearsal for the flag scene at Iwo Jima was equalled by the heroism of Capt. Morris of the Bristol), but the outcome was one-sided: South Carolina lost 12 killed and 25 wounded; the British, 115 and 65. Capt. A.T. Mahan probably omitted this in his emphasis on the influence of sea power.

By August 2, all the British had departed. The impact was clear: Southern colonies still remained firmly in Patriot hands; the Loyalists in the Back Country had decided to continue to remain quiet; the British suffered considerable damage to their ships and even more to their pride.

In July, the South Carolina delegation to the Continental Congress reversed itself (without authorization) and voted for the Declaration of Independence. When word of the action of these four young men (average age: 29) got back to Charles Town on August 5, many felt that they had acted too precipitously—that reconciliation was still possible. As late as April, the Provincial Congress had asserted that they did "still earnestly desire" an accommodation with Britain.

In 1776, the Carolinians faced a new threat, a second Cherokee War. Some English authorities urged Indian agent John Stuart to stir up such, but he acted more circumspectly and simply sought their neutral cooperation, knowing that

once on the warpath the red men would not know a Redcoat from a Radical. (He also knew the Patriots held his wife as hostage.) Irked by many factors, including the constant encroachments of settlers, the Indians did not take much nudging to go into a wild slaughter as the whole frontier blazed up in July 1776. This time the settlers could not call on British regulars for help. Andrew Williamson then led a successful foray into Indian Country and finally ended the menace with a treaty at DeWitt's Corner (origin of name for modern Due West, six miles south) on March 20, 1777.

From 1776 to 1779, the state was spared further military violence. It did get a new constitution in 1778 that disestablished the Anglican Church and provided for popular election of the upper house (now called Senate). It also permitted some more blunders to the radical plutocracy: Representation remained unfair to the back country, and hence statesmen missed an opportunity to remove one of the frontier Tories' grievances. The right to suffrage and to office holding was still restricted to those with considerable property.

The Patriots blundered further during this interim by becoming increasingly intolerant of dissent. Now that the new state constitution specifically approved the Declaration of Independence, many began demanding an oath renouncing allegiance to George III, and by 1778 they were demanding positive allegiance to the Patriot cause on pain of possible persecution. Naturally this alienated many, and some emigres departed in the face of this witch hunt.

With all of the above going on, the Charlestonians realized their defenses needed beefing up. Moultrie's palmetto fort had served in a pinch, but it was not enough; though a 1779 attempt by Prevost, not mentioned above, was also repulsed. With so much to do, those Upcountry prisoners in the Charleston jail were a distraction.

Governor Rutledge urged the Council of Safety to release any prisoners who would sign a pledge of neutrality. Richard's son, Captain Robert, would not sign, but Richard was anxious to be back with his family and thought they needed him. Having been held incognito in irons in the jail, he was not aware of what had gone on in the last nine months, during his absence.

By the time he was released it was already September. He hurried home, anxious to see Rhoda and the other children. He was fortunate to have been under an order of protection from Rutledge, for some of the Whigs on route were ready to tear him limb from limb. But as he neared home he was broken-hearted to learn from neighbors about the inexcusable treatment of his family. On 16 July 1776 Rhoda, young Richard and the two girls had been forced by Thomas's troopers to march 25 miles a day, bareheaded in the scorching Carolina glaring mid-summer sun, without water and sufficient food, to Augusta GA, penniless and at the mercy of strangers. The plantation house, mill, and all the outbuildings had burned to the ground. His horses and livestock had been stolen to use for the sustenance of Williamson's army on their march to destroy the Cherokees.

As we have learned through David Fanning, Richard Pearis, burning with a desire for revenge, under those circumstances no longer felt himself bound to any pledge of neutrality to those who had tortured his family so shamefully. Working secretly in company with Lt. Fanning, Major Joseph Robinson and Captain John York, raised a company of about 450 men to join the British force in East Florida--unaware that one of the recruits was actually a Whig spy who betrayed them to their enemies. Some of them were able to escape, though Fanning and some of the others wound up in Ninety-Six jail. Pearis was able to flee (on foot it is said) through the wilderness. He managed to get to Pensacola early in 1777. There he joined up with the forces of his one-time nemesis, Colonel John Stuart and in January 1778 was Captain of Light Horse Troop, West Florida Loyal Refugees.

Letters of John Lewis Gervais to Henry Laurens*

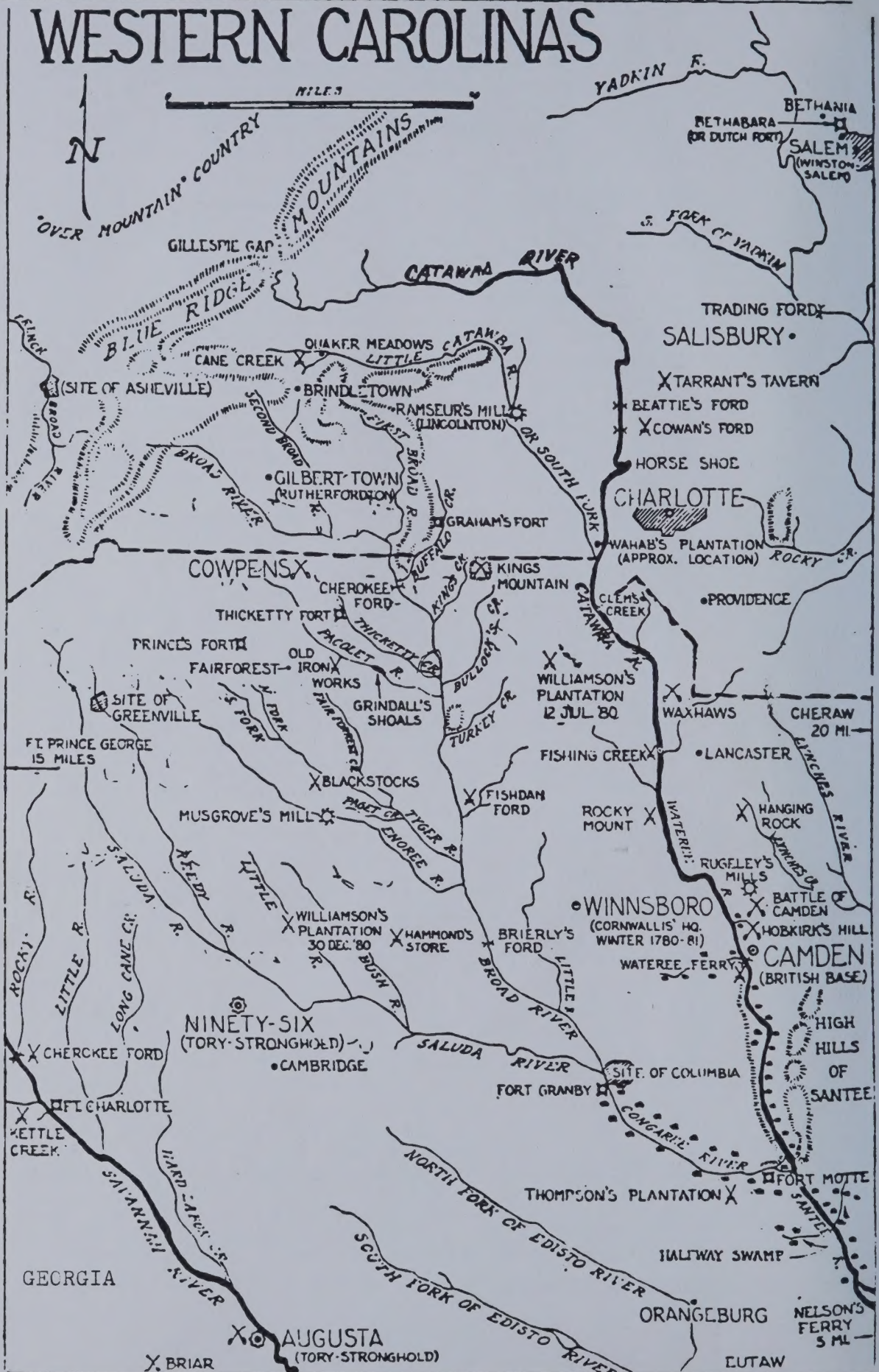
February 1778--....Richard Paris & John Lindlay have again endeavored to enlist for the King. William has sent parties in pursuit of them. Eight or nine concerned in this treacherous act are in Ninety Six Goal--it is hoped Paris & Lindlay will soon be added to the Number and meet their just desert.....

8 May 1778--....Yesterday a Flag of truce returned from St. Augustine where she was sent with 45 prisoners..they sent back above one hundred. Capt. Hatter also returned upon his parole for (torn) Months, they would not exchange him as he had been guilty of an Act of piracy. however Governor Tonin writes to the president that he may stay if we will give in Exchange Capt. Robert Paris, who has been in Goal here ever since the Year 1775 among the rest of the disaffected & refused to take the Oath, it is a Lucky Circumstance for Hatter no doubt he will be sent....two Vessels full of Tories are ready to Sail among them...

(Footnotes say Capt. John Hatter commanded the privateer Hope with a letter of marque dated Nov. 1776, and that Robert Pearis was one of the Loyalist officers captured by Richard Richardson in Dec. 1775.

---from Papers of Henry Laurens Vol 13, David L. Chestnut, Ed (1992)

This map will help you identify many places David Fanning mentioned.



Colonel David Fanning's Journal, Continued - pages 23 et seq

--this induced for (me) to Return to my home where I arrivd on the 15th of June (1776) on the 20th the Rebels Being apprehensive of the Cherichée Indians breaking out dispatched several of their Emissaries amongst the Loyalists for to Discover their Intentions, one of which was Capt Ritchie* who came to me and told me that he was a friend to Government and some time before--left the Indian Nation and then wanted a Pilot to conduct him to the Indian nation again--I agreed to Conduct him to any part of the Country he wanted for to go provided he would Keep it secret. this he promised for to do But Immediately went and lodgd an Information against me and swore that I then had a Company of men Ready in order for to Join the Indians (.) in Consequence of this I was made prisoner again--on the 25th by a Capt. John Rogers and thrown into close confinement with three Centinels over me. On the 1st of July the Indians came down into the Back Country of South Carolina and Kild Several families--at which time the Rebel Camp being in Great Confusion I made my Escape and went to my own house at Rabirns Creek but finding a number of my friends had already Gone to the Indians and more Disposd so for to do (.) I Got 25 men for to join me and on our arrival at Pareshers (Pearis's) plantation on Reedy River in the Indian land we formed a Junction with the Indians (.) on the 15th in the Evening the militia and the Cherichees to the amount of 260 Surrounded a fort Built with Loggs containing 450 of the Rebels and after a smart fire on both sides for two hours and a half we Retreated without--any Injury Except one of the Indian Chiefs being Shot through the hand**

I then left the Indians and pursued my way to North Carolina, where on my arrival I was taken up again and Close Confind but was rescued by my friends Three Different times after which I made my Escape Good. I then Endeavord for to go home again, and after Experiencing a numberless hardships in the woods I arrived the 10th of March 1777 at Reburns Creek South Carolina--I was made prisoner again on the 11th by a Capt Smith bound hand and foot and carried under Guard towards Ninety Six Gaol (.) after marching 12 miles the Company halted for the evening and I watching an opportunity I cut the Ropes I was bound with and Stript myself (.) when the Guard was asleep I threw myself out of the window and Returned back to Reburns Creek by a Different way from that which they had--Carried me prisoner. I was now obliged now for to secret myself in the woods until August and was supplied with provision by some Quakers and other Loyalists in the neighborhood--

A Company of Loyalists of which--I was one, was thin Raised by a Richard Parish*** and it was determined to Go to mobile and Join the British army but one of the Company proving treacherous Gave information to the Rebels who Raised a body of Troops, for to Suppress us (.)

*Probably the William Ritchie, a militia captain, who persecuted the family of William Cunningham (later called "Bloody Bill.") Ritchie killed John Cunningham who was lame, mistreated the father, and threatened the life of William Cunningham who had fled to Savannah. Cunningham returned to Ninety Six and killed Ritchie. The brothers Robert and Patrick Cunningham were William's cousins.

**Lyndley's Fort was on Raeburn's Creek, presumably home of James Lindley. The skirmish was 15 July 1776, turning point in the Indian rising.
***In his Loyalist claim, Richard Pearis stated that he raised a force of 400 to go to West Florida, where Mobile was. See map previous page.

they took me with five more prisoners and Carried us to Ninety Six Goal. the 5th of August 1777 Captain Parrish escaped with some of the Loyalists belonging to the Company and made his way Good to the British army at mobile in West Floriday--Myself with the five others who were taken remained in Close Confinement untill November following and were then tried for our Lives on a Charge of High Treason for Rising in arms against the United States of America but where Acquitted and went home (.) the fees and expenses of my Confinement amounted to 300£ Virginia money allowing Dollars at 6 Shillings each which I paid and was then Ordered back to the Goal for the Rent of the Room.

on the 1st of march 1778, Capt. John York of East Florida Received Orders from the Commander in Chief for the Loyal militia of Georgia and South Carolina to assemble themselves accordingly they were embodied. the majority of the people chose me their Commanding Officer (.) we took a number of prisoners furnished ourselves with horses and marched to Savannah River on the Borders of Georgia 12 miles above Augusta. (footnote says these border raids by the So. Car. and GA militia were apparently designed to disrupt the impending Whig invasion of Florida under Major Gen. Robert Howe. The poorly organized and supplied invasion was aborted at the border in July.) Capt. York who was our Pilot then Got discouraged and would not Suffer any of the militia to proceed with him back to East Florida except these men; we were then under the necessity of Returning home upwards of 100 miles through the Rebels Country and betake ourselves to the woods as formerly. During our Retreat we were pursued by 300 of the Rebels but Got Back home to Reburns Creek--when the Rebels found we were Returned they Raised a body of men for to take us and for the space of three months Kept so Constant a Look out that we were oblidged for to stay in the woods.

(Now for four pages he relates almost unbelievable suffering yet courage and daring on Raeburns Creek, North Carolina, etc., in the woods, in local militias, several escapes from jail and an abortive attempt to embody troops to go to St. Augustine, betrayals, etc., We take up with him again with two bullet wounds, unextracted in his back which began to fester and then thrown from his horse, 12 miles farther on. He remained in the woods eight days with nothing to eat but herbs and three eggs, his wounds becoming very offensive for want of a dressing. He then managed to get on a horse again and went to a friend's house where he made a signal)...and a young Girl 14 years old came to me. But when near enough to see me She was frightened So at the Sight She Run off But I pursued after her on horse Back and telling her who I was She Said She new it was me But I was Dead and that I then was a Sperit and Stunk yet. I was a long time before I could Get her to come to me I looked . So much like a Rack of nothing But Skin and bones and my wounds had never been Drest and my Clothes all Bloody (.) my misery and Situation was beyond Explanation and no friend in The world that I could depend on(.) however these people Seeing me in that Distrest Situation took the Greatest Care of me and Drest my wdunds....My horse having been Seen by Some of the Rebel party they concluded I was not Killed and wrote Several letters which they gave one of my friends offering to treat with me and advising me to Surrender threatening at the Same time in case I did not to Banish eight families of my Friends out of South Carolina.

Bibliog. - T. Van Dyke

VANE, Sir HENRY, called **the Elder**, 1589-1655, English secretary of state, born in Kent. In 1639 he was made treasurer of the royal household. He sat in Parliament for Lostwithiel (1614), Carlisle (1621-26), Retford (1628), and was sent to negotiate peace between Holland and Spain (1629-30), and to arrange terms with Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden (1631). He became secretary of state (1640). Being dismissed from office by Charles I, Vane joined the opposition (1641), and represented Kent in Cromwell's first Parliament.

VANE, Sir HENRY, called **the Younger**, 1613-62, English author and statesman, born in Hadlow, Kent. He went to America in 1635, became governor of Massachusetts (1636), but having lost his popularity with the colonists by advocating religious toleration and taking the part of Anne Hutchinson, he was not re-elected, and returned to England (1637), where he became joint treasurer of the navy (1639-41). He represented Hull in the Short Parliament, and was knighted (1640). Vane was a notable leader of the parliamentary party during the Long Parliament; was one of the commissioners who promoted the Solemn League and Covenant (1643); and succeeded Pym as leader in the House. Through Vane's influence and aid Roger Williams, in 1643, obtained the charter of Rhode Island. With Cromwell he passed the "accommodation order" (1644), but took no part in the execution of Charles. He was elected member of the Council of State (1649), was one of the commissioners who negotiated the union of England and Scotland (1652), and took a prominent part in the government of the Commonwealth till 1653, when he retired into private life. After the restoration (1660) he was executed by Charles II.

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